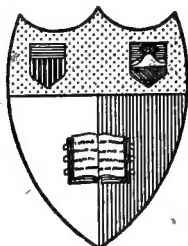


# LYLY'S EUPHUES

EDITED BY MORRIS W. CROLL  
AND HARRY CLEMONS

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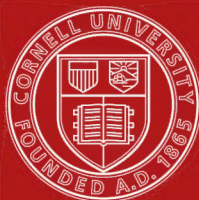
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EUPHUES: THE ANATOMY OF WIT  
EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND



EUPHUES:  
THE ANATOMY OF WIT  
EUPHUES & HIS ENGLAND  
BY JOHN LYLY

EDITED BY

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## PREFACE

It is proper to make a statement concerning the division of editorial labours and responsibilities in the present work. It was begun by Mr. Clemons, who devoted scrupulous care to the production of the text—the first text of the *Euphues* in modern spelling and punctuation. The collation of texts stands almost as he left it. But in the process of writing the notes, evidence has sometimes come to me which has led me to prefer a different reading, or to desire emendation of the text for the removal of errors in the early editions, or to disapprove of emendations introduced (or accepted from other modern editors) by Mr. Clemons. In these cases I have thought it necessary to make the changes in Mr. Clemons' manuscript which my judgment approved; and I must therefore assume responsibility for doubtful points in the text and textual notes. Before he had proceeded further, Mr. Clemons decided to devote his life to work in the Protestant Missionary College at Nan King, China; and at his suggestion I undertook to complete the edition. I alone am responsible for the *Introduction* and the *Notes*, therefore, and I wish to make some explanations concerning each of these sections of the book.

The *Introduction* does not give all of the general information about the *Euphues* and its author which might be looked for by some readers. At first I intended to resume the knowledge of the subject gathered by scholars during recent years; and especially to describe the style which takes its name from the book, and to which, after all, it owes its chief interest now, as it did in its own day. But as I proceeded with the work, I found that I could not do this without seeming to accept a view of the history of the Euphuistic style which seemed to me to place it in false historical relations; nor could I justify my departure from the accepted view of Euphuism without entering upon a long and complex argument. The *Introduction* therefore is addressed chiefly to scholars; and I regret this fact the less because the task of *describing* the style of *Euphues* and the general criticism of Lyly and his work have been so admirably

done by the writers whose names are mentioned in the early part of my essay.

As regards the *Notes*, my aim here is chiefly to record obligations and add necessary bibliographical information. Mr. R. W. Bond's notes have, of course, been invaluable. They are the only annotations of the work—with the exception of a fragment annotated by Landmann—and they are particularly useful in indicating Lyly's indebtedness to Pliny, to Plutarch, and to Ovid. But since Mr. Bond's edition Lyly's sources have been further studied; and two works in particular deserve mention. In M. Feuillerat's excellent book on the life and writings of the novelist, a number of obligations to Ovid are noted which had escaped Mr. Bond's investigation, and a large part of the *Cooling Card* is traced to this source. Still more useful is the work of a Dutch scholar, Mr. H. De Vocht, on *The Influence of Erasmus on English Dramatic Literature of the Reformation Period*, in which a host of Lyly's similes and sayings are shown to have been derived from the two famous works of the humanist, the *Similia* and the *Adagia*, and not directly from the classical authors with whom they originated. In addition to these, Mr. M'Kerrow's learned annotation of Nashe's works must be mentioned with gratitude.

My own search has resulted in the discovery of a few new sources. The most interesting is the popular book of Emblems by the Italian humanist Alciati, which was translated into all European languages (though in Lyly's time not yet into English), and will prove a rich storehouse for any scholar whose task is to study the literary imagery of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Perhaps a score of Lyly's similes and allusions are illustrated in Alciati's pictures, and his excellent epigrammatic Latin verses accompanying them; and at least half a dozen of them can be explained in no other way. It seems, also, that Lyly made use of Thomas Lupton's *A Thousand Notable Things*,—an undigested assemblage of brief observations, especially medical recipes and magic formulas,—though this book did not appear until the time when Lyly was already at work on the second part of his novel. More important is his indebtedness to the prose works of Gascoigne, especially the *Entertainments* he wrote for the Court; for these must be accounted among the most important models of the Euphuistic style.

The effect of these additions to our knowledge of Lyly's literary craft is to bring out more clearly his fondness for handy and compendious works, in which the materials for stylistic

parade were spread out before him like the silks in a mercer's shop. His classical knowledge is not that of the real humanist; his classical curiosity is strictly limited by the requirements of the current literary mode of which he is a delightful exemplar. Pliny, Ovid, and Plutarch are the only authors he uses constantly; and I have been able to add a certain number of illustrations from these authors even to the large number gathered by Bond. It is true that Herr De Vocht's researches have shown that half or more of his treasures from Pliny and Plutarch come second-hand from Erasmus' shop; but he himself used parts of these authors freely (Plutarch in Latin translation), and the pseudo-Plutarchian treatise *Of Rivers and Mountains*, which Bond does not seem to have consulted, was naturally one of his most useful books.

A feature of the *Notes* for which I may claim some originality is the treatment of Lyly's proverb-lore, which I have made as thorough and complete as the materials allow. Mr. Clemons should be given credit for some of this work; for the materials he had gathered for a treatment of Shakespeare's proverbs—a work that was nearing completion when he gave up his literary career—have made it possible. Both Mr. Bond and M. Feuillerat have greatly underestimated the importance of the proverb, popular and classical (but chiefly the former), in Lyly's work. He not only uses almost all of Heywood's savoury gatherings of popular literature, and many of Erasmus' more sober adages; he adds to these many proverbs of his own finding, or at least not recorded in earlier collections, some of which clearly owe their currency in later literature to the popularity of his book; and he also practises constantly the art of imitating their form and style in his own remarks. How large a part this process of imitation plays in the prose-style of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will only appear when the subject has been studied more carefully.

A brief bibliography (on page xii) gives the exact references for a number of books mentioned above and others used in the annotations.

M. W. C.

February 1915.

\* \* It is a pleasure to record the kindness of a number of Princeton friends, and especially of Professor Robert K. Root, who has read the manuscript of the *Introduction*, and made some useful suggestions. Several members of the staff of the Princeton University Library have helped me in the mechanical difficulties of the task.





## NOTE ON THE TEXT

THE text here printed follows the 1578 edition of the *Anatomy of Wit* and the first 1580 edition of *Euphues and his England* (as already reprinted by Bond), with occasional additions and variations from the earlier editions and perhaps a half-dozen modern emendations. In view of the careful collation of the various editions printed in the Bond edition, the textual notes given below include only (1) the additions to, or variations from, the first edition in the printed text, and (2), rarely, an attractive variation which has not been adopted. The following list of the editions will serve as a key to the references in the textual notes.

H. C.

## LIST OF EDITIONS

EA = EUPHUES, THE ANATOMY OF WIT.		EE = EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND.
1. EA 1578	[A] B.M., c. 40, d. 38; Trin. Coll., Camb.	
2. EA 1579 <sup>a</sup>	[T] Trin. Coll., Camb.	
3. EA 1579 <sup>b</sup>	[M] Bodl., Malone copy; Hampstead Pub. Lib., Morley copy.	
4. EA 1580	[C] Bodl.; Univ. Lib., Camb.; Princeton Univ. Lib.	
5. EA 1581	[G] B.M., Grenville copy.	
6. EA 1585	[D]	
7. EA 1587		
8. EA 1592		
EA 1595(?)	[E <sup>1</sup> ] Bodl.	
1. EE 1580 <sup>a</sup>	[M] Hampstead Pub. Lib., Morley.	
2. EE 1580 <sup>b</sup>	[A] Bodl.	
3. EE 1580 <sup>c</sup>	[B] Bodl.; Univ. Lib., Camb.	
4. EE 1581	[C] Princeton Univ. Lib.	
5. EE 1582	[G]	
6. EE 1584 <sup>*</sup>		
7. EE 1586	[D]	
8. EE 1588		
9. EE 1592		Columbia Univ. Lib.

9.	EA 1597 (?)	[E <sup>2</sup> ] B.M.	10.	EE 1597	[E] B.M.; Bodl.; Lib. of Congress, Wash.
	EA 1601 (?)	Harvard.		EE 1601	Harvard.
10.	EA 1605		11.	EE 1605	
11.	EA 1606	Lib. of Congress, Wash., D.C.	12.	EE 1606	[F] B.M.
12.	EA 1607	[F] B.M.			
13.	EA 1613	B.M. and Bodl.	13.	EE 1609	[H] B.M. (2 cop.); Bodl.
14.	EA 1617	B.M.; Bodl.; Univ. Lib., Camb.; Boston Pub. Lib.	14.	EE 1613	B.M.; Bodl. (2 cop.); Univ. Lib., Camb.; Boston Pub. Lib.
15.	EA 1623	B.M.; Bodl.; Univ. Lib., Camb.; Magd. Coll., Ox- ford; Dulwich Coll.	15.	EE 1617	
			16.	EE 1623	B.M. (2 cop.); Bodl.; Univ. Lib., Camb.; Advoc. Lib., Edin.; Dulwich Coll.
16.	EA 1630				Bodl., Clemons (in Princ. Lib.).
	EA 1631	B.M.; Bodl.; Trin. Coll., Camb.	17.	EE 1630	B.M.; Trin. Coll., Camb.
17.	EA 1636	B.M.; Bodl.		EE 1631	
18.	EA 1716	Bodl.; Magd. Coll., Oxford; Columbia Univ. Lib.	18.	EE 1636	B.M.; Bodl.; Princeton; New York Pub. Lib.
		B.M.			
19.	EA 1868		19.	EE 1868	
20.	EA 1887				
21.	EA 1902		20.	EE 1902	

\* Reported in a catalogue of *Tudor and Stuart Books*, issued by the firm of "Ellis."

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# INTRODUCTION:

## THE SOURCES OF THE EUPHUISTIC RHETORIC

### I

#### WHAT IS EUPHUISM ?

THE form of the Euphuistic rhetoric was finally defined, after much debate, by Landmann in a well-known paper,<sup>1</sup> and has since been made familiar by Child's excellent résumé of the controversy,<sup>2</sup> by Bond's edition of Lyly's works,<sup>3</sup> and by Feuillerat's recent volume.<sup>4</sup> It is impossible and unnecessary to repeat the details of these descriptions here. The object of the present discussion is to re-open the question of the ultimate origins of the Euphuistic rhetoric ; and for this purpose what is most needed is a general statement which will serve to isolate the essential and typical character of the style in question.

Such a statement cannot well be made, even now, without the danger of arousing controversy. But the simplest and **Euphuism** safest form of the definition is that Euphuism is a style **defined.** characterized by the figures known in ancient and medieval rhetoric as *schemes* (*schemata*), and more specifically by the word-schemes (*schemata verborum*), in contrast with those known as *tropes*; that is to say, in effect, by the figures of sound, or vocal ornament.<sup>5</sup> The most important of these

<sup>1</sup> F. Landmann, *Der Euphuismus*, Giessen, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, Erlangen and Leipzig, 1894. ✓

<sup>3</sup> R. W. Bond, *Complete Works of John Lyly*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1902, vol. i. pp. 120-34.

<sup>4</sup> Albert Feuillerat, *John Lyly: Contribution à l'histoire de la Renaissance en Angleterre*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 411-75.

<sup>5</sup> It is not strictly correct to speak of the schemes as being all figures of sound, since in some classifications a small group of figures (rhetorical question singly or in series, apostrophe, etc.) are included as a subdivision with the title 'schemes of thought or wit'; but these are sometimes differently classified and sometimes not included among the figures of rhetoric. The real figures of thought or wit are the tropes (metaphor, metonymy, allegory, and

figures are three which can be used, and in Euphuism are often and characteristically used, in combination in the same form of words: first, isocolon, or equality of members (successive phrases or clauses of about the same *length*); secondly, parison, or equality of sound (successive or corresponding members of the same *form*, so that word corresponds to word, adjective to adjective, noun to noun, verb to verb, etc.); thirdly, paromoion, similarity of sound between words or syllables, usually occurring between words in the same positions in parisonic members, and having the form either of *alliteration*, similarity at the beginning, or *homoioteleuton* (*similiter cadentes or desinentes*), similarity at the end, or, as often in Euphuism, of both of these at once. Other *schemata* are also frequently and characteristically used, such as simple word-repetition, and polyptoton (the repetition of the same stem two or more times within the same clause or sentence, each time with a different inflectional ending); but these need not be detailed. The essential feature of the style—to repeat—is a vocal, or oral, pattern, and all its other characteristics, such as the use of antithesis, and the constant use of simile, are only means by which the Euphuist effects his various devices of sound-design.

Such a characterization of Euphuism may not, it is true, pass unchallenged. It may be said, for instance, that it is not supported by the contemporary critics of Lyly, who invariably emphasize his similes from the natural history of myth and tradition, beasts, stones, and herbs. But these criticisms are directed at that feature of Lyly's work which was peculiar, or nearly so, to him, and owe their point to this fact. The style which we call Euphuism was, as everyone now recognizes, a very common form of style in the sixteenth century, and it is only in modern times that it has been given a name which associates it particularly with Lyly. The critics had usually no intention of finding fault with this style, because they really admired and in various degrees practised it. They were ridiculing a particular mode which had become associated with it through the popularity of Lyly's novel. In the definition suggested above, however,

so on); and the true distinction between these and the schemes is that the tropes are devices for adorning one's idea, or illustrating it, while the schemes are ornaments of one's speech or manner of utterance. The simplest description of the figures will be found in R. Volkmann, *Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*, pp. 40-9 (Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Alterthums-Wissenschaft.*, vol. ii. part 3).



Euphuism is taken as the name of the general tendency rather than of the particular form of it which appears in *Euphuës*. It is unfortunate that it ever received its name from Lyly's book, and it would be very desirable to substitute a more general title; but the association is perhaps too long-standing to be broken up. As far as the purpose of the present inquiry is concerned, there is at least an advantage in excluding the nature-similes from view; for their sources have already been carefully studied. Their form, it is admitted, comes from the *exempla* of the medieval sermon, and their substance partly from the same source, partly from the medieval bestiary from which the preachers also drew, and partly from Pliny.

On the other hand, it may be said, or rather it has often been said, that the characteristic feature of Euphuism is the constant **A second** use of antithesis.<sup>1</sup> But this statement is a prolific **objection**. mother of errors,—if it is not itself an error. Antithesis is the worst possible figure to use for purposes of characterization, because it may, according to the way it is used, look in one or the other of two opposite directions. It may be a figure of words, or sound, on the one hand, and a figure of thought (*figura sententiae*), on the other.<sup>2</sup> In the latter use, it is one of the most important *differentia* by which we recognize the style of the Anti-Ciceronian movement which arose at the end of the sixteenth century in reaction from the various forms of ornate, formal style in the preceding age, such as Euphuism itself, Ciceronian imitation, and so on. Without or with similarity of sound between the opposed words or members, it distinguishes the style of Bacon, who usually avoids balance in its use, and the style of Sir Thomas Browne, who likes just so much symmetry of form as will serve to point his artful and rhythmical departures from it, and the style of Montaigne in his latest period. In Lyly's use of it, on the other hand, antithesis is purely a "scheme," that is, a figure of the arrangement of words for an effect of sound. It is not meant to reveal new and striking relations between things; and it is as different as possible, for instance, from such a use of it as in Bacon's saying that "revenge is a kind of wild justice." This contrast will, of course, be admitted by everyone; and it is a pity to use as the test of style a figure which may lead to the identification—and, alas, still does lead to it—of styles so different in kind as that of Browne and that of Lyly.

<sup>1</sup> See Child's summary of the history of Euphuistic criticism.

<sup>2</sup> This is recognized by Volkmann, p. 46.

But whatever differences of definition may still remain to be resolved, there is nothing to add to Landmann's *description*. That chapter of the study may be considered ended. The same thing cannot be said of the history of the sources of the Euphuistic style. That chapter is apparently only beginning. In attempting a reconsideration of what has heretofore been said on the subject, it seemed the wisest course to begin with the removal of some technical difficulties; but we must now approach the problem from another side, namely, through a general view of the historical position of the book *Euphues* and its author.

## II

## HUMANISM IN LYLY'S DAY

M. Feuillerat has done a great deal in his recent work on Lyly toward placing *Euphues*—and particularly its first part, the *Anatomy of Wit*—in its proper relation to the literary movements of its day. Lyly's fame from his own time up to the present moment has rested chiefly on his work as a dramatist of the court and a fore-runner of those novelists who dally nicely with the psychology of love. And rightly so;—not only because the greater part of his life was spent in the effort to adorn and entertain the court of an ungrateful queen, but also because he was pre-eminently fitted by nature for this kind of labour. It was with far different prospects and ambitions, however, that he commenced his career; and M. Feuillerat has even been able to show that the change in the direction of his literary pursuits is connected with certain definite events in his life.<sup>1</sup>

The *Anatomy of Wit* was printed about Christmas-time in the year 1578. Its sequel, *Euphues and his England*, appeared in the spring of 1580; and in this work Lyly already shows a consciousness of the adventitious charm which had attracted readers to the first part, and professes himself, at the expense of all consistency, an expounder of the science of love. It is between these dates that the events just alluded to probably took place. We cannot exactly date the beginning of his service in Oxford's train, it is true; but the terms in which he

<sup>1</sup> Most of the biographical facts in the following pages are derived from M. Feuillerat's admirable study of Lyly's life. This acknowledgment is made in lieu of many specific references which would otherwise be necessary.

dedicates the new work put it beyond all doubt that he was already on terms of intimacy with Burleigh's Italianized son-in-law, in whose veins flowed some of the maddest blood that was stirring even in those hot days; and he may by this time have transferred his residence from the sober precincts of the Savoy Hospital to the Earl of Oxford's London house, where we know that he had steady employment of various kinds for a number of years following. It was in this circle that he found out for better or for worse the career that was open to such talents as his. His refined taste, his feeling for elegance and grace, his delicate lyrical gift, his wit, his moderate learning—"it is not deep, but it will suffice"—, and even his lack of profound or strong feeling, all his qualities, in short, adapted him to the task of clothing Elizabeth's court in the chic and brittle literary adornments which a gay society always admires.

The change indeed was inevitable. But it could not have been anticipated by his earlier friends and patrons, and to some **His be-** of them it must have been disappointing. For when **ginnings.** the young Lyly came up to London from the University, in search of a poor man's opportunities, every circumstance of ancestry, education, and patronage was guiding him in a different direction. His grandfather was, we now know, the Hellenist and grammarian William Lyly, the friend of Erasmus and Colet, a pioneer of humanism. His uncle, George Lyly, inherited the thirst for learning, and under the protection of Reginald Pole built himself a reputation as antiquarian, historian, and geographer. His father, Peter Lyly, a younger son of the grammarian, was prebendary and registrar at Canterbury under the learned Parker, and though he himself attained no distinction as an author, it would seem that he committed to his son the duty of perpetuating the traditions of a "family of scholars." For at the age of fifteen John was sent to Magdalen College, where his grandfather and his uncle had gone before him; and, what is more, he went with the patronage of Burleigh. With such a history behind him he could look forward to a grave career. His undergraduate record may indeed reveal to the historian some omens of his final destiny, but his lapses from sobriety were not serious enough to forfeit the favour of his great patron, and when he came to London nearly all his connections were within the circle of influence which had its centre at the Lord Treasurer's house.

In this circle Lyly found himself beset by intellectual and moral ideals, not only different from those of his later associates,

but often in direct rivalry with them. The coteries of Leicester, Oxford, and Sidney, which depended immediately upon Elizabeth's court, represented the Renaissance in all its worldly **humanist** pride and pomp. Their culture was courtly, aristocratic, and in part exotic, and their life often mirrored that of the small Italian despots and their trains. But at Burleigh's house life and thought moved in an austerer air, and severer standards were maintained, both in scholarship and in morals. Burleigh himself had been Greek lecturer at St. John's, Cambridge,—the college of Cheke and Ascham,—and had married Cheke's sister; <sup>1</sup> while his second wife, Mildred Coke, was famous even beyond England as one of the learned ladies of the Renaissance. Her household must have had all the gravity, though perhaps not all the graciousness, which has been recorded by a grateful son of the home-life of her sister, the wife of Nathaniel Bacon. These two houses were, in fact, the chief London centres of the humanistic movement; and the love of pure learning had descended to them, through a second generation of scholars, from the cell of Colet and the country-house of Sir Thomas More. Here, even more than at Oxford, Lyly must have felt the weight of his grandfather's name; and here he began his literary career, not as a dependent of courtiers, but as the successor of Ascham, to whom the task of carrying the discipline of humanism to a new generation had fallen as by natural choice.

The humanistic movement had not passed through the eventful half-century since his grandfather's death, however, without suffering some change of character. It had definitely allied itself, for one thing, with a certain religious and political tendency. Colet, More, and William Lyly had for the most part pursued learning in a spirit of disinterested idealism, and even when they engaged in party strife their scholarship remained, as it were, a neutral territory, in which their minds moved with greater freedom and had a broader range than in the controversies of the hour. Of Cheke, Wilson, and Ascham, on the other hand, it is not unfair to say that they gave up to party what was meant for mankind: they devoted their learning to the cause of the Protestant Reformation. Their first aim in education was to train up defenders of the Elizabethan settlement, and to maintain that sound native sentiment of morality which they regarded as the best bulwark against foreign ideals of conduct and methods of thought.

<sup>1</sup> See J. B. Mullinger (*The University of Cambridge*, in *Epochs of Church History*), and *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

They unquestionably gained vigour and effectiveness from this alliance with the movement of their time. They succeeded, as the more exclusive humanists always failed to do, in having something to say, in giving well-trained expression to a living national spirit; and, what is still better, they succeeded in doing this in the native speech. But, on the other hand, the scope of their learning and of their educational programme was inevitably narrowed in the pursuit of practical aims. And this does not only mean that their strong bias brought them into conflict, especially under Burleigh's inspiration, with some manifestations of the Renaissance spirit in Elizabethan literature. Their scholarship itself suffered in the same way that continental scholarship for similar reasons was suffering. The noble attempt of earlier humanists, such as Grocyn, Linacre, More, to naturalize all of the learning of antiquity, including the sciences and speculative philosophy, and more particularly their effort to naturalize the classical temper and habit of life, could not be reconciled with the need of immediate practical success which was felt so strongly by Melanchthon, Sturm, and Ascham. Perhaps it really was too ambitious a programme in view of the actual state of European culture. Minds that were still medieval below the surface probably needed to approach the intellectual freedom and curiosity of antiquity by some single well-defined avenue. At all events it is true that in the educational scheme of the later humanists literary culture assumed the almost exclusive rights which it has maintained in orthodox education ever since. And not only this. Literary culture itself came to consist chiefly in rhetorical excellence, to be attained through the study of the ancients; and the exclusive theory of Ciceronian imitation, which had been so effectively ridiculed by Erasmus and Ramus, resumed its sway, though in a somewhat less rigorous form, in the teaching of Melanchthon, Sturm, and Ascham.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the proper aim of classical scholarship was always kept in sight, namely, the enfranchisement of modern wits through contact with ancient ones; but the theory of Ascham and Wilson, as of all those who held the doctrine of "imitation," was that those who had attained the speech and gesture of the ancients by hard practice could not fail to resemble them in some degree in thought.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As regards a similar development in Italian humanism, see W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators*, Cambridge, 1897, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560, ed. G. H. Mair, Oxford, 1909, p. 5.

"Ye know not what hurt ye do to learning," exclaims Ascham, "that care not for words, but for matter,"—anticipating the very terms of the famous attack of Francis Bacon on him and his fellow-Ciceronians.<sup>1</sup>

In its content and the general character of its ideas, the *Anatomy of Wit* exactly represents this later phase of humanism.

**Euphues and the Scholemaster.** It appeared, as Robynson's translation of *Utopia* had done a quarter of a century earlier, and as Ascham's *Scholemaster* had recently done, with a dedication to Lord Burghley;

and this fact alone would suffice to stamp it as a work in which learning and sound religion, pedagogy and moral earnestness, should be found consorting together. And this external circumstance is only a sign of a real and intimate relation between this book and the *Scholemaster*. Its hero—or rather the barely-personified type chosen to illustrate its teaching—derives not only his name, but also his attributes, from a well-known passage in which Ascham attempted to interpret to his British public the Greek ideal of a harmoniously-developed human excellence. The passage is well-known, both in Plato and Ascham; but it has not been pointed out that an important change takes place in the character of Euphues in the process of translation.

And what is most notable is that nothing is said of Euphues' rank in society. He has the graces of mind and body in a just

**The bourgeois character of both.** balance, "excellence in learning . . . joined with a comely personage"; but the absence of gentle blood from the catalogue of his equipments is the most significant point in the description. His great gifts are not

meant for the service of his own ambition or to add glory to a Prince's name, but for a nobler end: "How can a comely body be better employed than to serve the fairest exercise of God's greatest gift? and that is learning."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, whenever Ascham speaks of the nobles and courtiers of his age he sounds a note of warning, or even of reproof. His book is inspired throughout by a bourgeois ideal: learning is a greater ornament than birth; and the best servants of the common good are the men sprung from the middle class of the professions and the humbler gentry, like More, Colet, Linacre, Burleigh, and Ascham himself, who attain influence by their intellectual

<sup>1</sup> Ascham's Works, ed. Giles, London, 1864, vol. iii. p. 211. Compare the *Advancement of Learning*, book i. sec. 4 (the first of the diseases of learning).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Giles, pp. 105-7; ed. Cambridge, 1904, pp. 194-5. See below, p. 2, note 7.

powers. This point is of some importance in connection with Lyly. The *Euphues* is often, indeed usually, spoken of as a manual of courtly culture, and its *estilo culto* as a model of courtly speech. Yet the bourgeois motif runs through the book, in a form only slightly different from that in which it is heard in the *Scholemaster*. It is true that Lyly wavers between two ideals that were inviting him, the humanistic and the courtly; and he makes *Eubulus* say to the hero: "Thy birth doth show the express and lively image of gentle blood."<sup>1</sup> But there is no hint of this in the set description of *Euphues* at the beginning, and the only addition to the Plato-Ascham model is the circumstance that *Euphues* owes to Fortune an "increase of his possessions,"<sup>2</sup> which is, of course, only a heightening of the bourgeois theme, suggested perhaps by the wealth of such men as Burleigh and Bacon, and by Lyly's own taste for elegant worldliness. The statement that *Euphues* is a Book of Courtesy must be accompanied, therefore, by the modification that it is not meant for courtiers, but for "gentlemen" in the somewhat vague sense that that term had already acquired, and for worthy young men, in general, who had obtained a good education and had useful connections. The point may not be of very great importance, since gentlemen of the upper middle class were apt to derive their manners finally from the court; yet it is interesting to note that, whereas the style of the *Anatomy of Wit* is associated in some way not yet exactly defined with a Spanish style known as *oratio aulica*, its subject-matter and social animus are due to other influences than those of courtiers and "society."

Moreover, the whole teaching and tenor of the book show that it is an offshoot of the *Scholemaster*. The name of the first **Their** part—*The Anatomy of Wit*—has perhaps created false **morality**. expectations in some readers; but of course "anatomy" is used here in the same disparaging sense as in the contemporary titles *Anatomy of Abuses* and *Anatomy of Absurdities*. Throughout the book *wit* is identified with the wanton and secular curiosity of the Renaissance (see a note on the word, below, p. 2), and is often in antithesis with *wisdom*, which stands for the indissoluble union of virtue, learning, and religion in the service of the national cause. The aim of the *Anatomy*, in short, as of the *Scholemaster*, is to rally the scholarship of the national party against the Italianizing influences which were so busy in the letters and life of the court; and this purpose is not as yet clouded by the conflict which makes itself apparent in *Euphues and his England*.

<sup>1</sup> P. 14.<sup>2</sup> P. 10.

## III

## THE PROBLEM STATED

The question of the relation between the *style* of *Euphues* and the rhetorical teaching of the later school of humanists cannot be so easily answered. That there is, in this respect as well as in the nature of their ideas, a certain *general connection*, may be taken for granted. The *style*. narrowing of the humanist effort toward the single path of literary study had brought about a great revival of rhetoric, and this revival had its part in creating the taste for ornate style of which Euphuism is one of the results. Perhaps the relation may be still more exactly stated, and in the summary of our final conclusions it must be fully taken into account. But it is not this general relation which we are to consider at this point. The question we wish to ask is the more definite one: Is the exact *form* of the Euphuistic rhetoric due to the same influences that formed the moral nature of *Euphues*? Are the "schemes," or "Gorgianic figures," which constitute, as we have already said, the most characteristic feature of Euphuism, and which run through so large a body of sixteenth-century prose in the vernacular, found there as a result of the humanistic training in the imitation of the ancients? It is the answer to this question which is the object of the present discussion.

The critics are now unanimously of the opinion that the answer must be in the affirmative. In the paper from which all recent study dates, Landmann expressed the belief, though he offered almost no proof, that Euphuism is a humanistic product, and that the figures which he first described accurately were used in imitation of the ancient orators. Child, Bond, and Wendelstein followed him in this respect, though both Child and Wendelstein<sup>1</sup> showed a disposition to push the inquiry into broader fields. Both of these authors cited examples which, if properly interpreted, might have raised some doubts concerning Landmann's conclusion. But in the meantime appeared Norden's wonderfully useful book, in which a long chapter was

<sup>1</sup> Ludwig Wendelstein, *Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Euphuismus*, Halle a. S., 1902, p. 67.



devoted to the question we are considering.<sup>1</sup> Norden accepts the opinion that Guevara and Lyly write practically the same style; and in a long argument, full of contemporary citation he tries to prove that Guevara was a humanist, as of course Ascham was, that Ascham and other humanists of the sixteenth century were particularly devoted to the study of two ancient writers, Cicero and Isocrates, that from both of these orators but more especially from the latter, they derived their use of the schemes, and finally that Guevara's style and Lyly's is the result of practice in such imitation. The weight of Norden's authority has settled the question for all subsequent critics, and in the last important work, Feuillerat's authoritative study of Lyly's life and writings, his conclusion is accepted and indeed more positively stated, with an emphasis on Isocrates' influence even stronger than Norden's.

This is a formidable array of authority, and it must be admitted that it is supported by arguments which have an appearance of solidity. Yet there are obvious objections. Appearances at least are against the opinion of the scholars, and it is safe to say that the ordinary reader, versed in Renaissance history, but unversed in the terms of the controversy, would reject the theory of classical imitation. For he would point out, in the first place, that the spirit of *estilo culto* in the sixteenth century is the reverse of classical. He would say that if it is due to the teaching of the humanists, then the humanists misunderstood the nature of that they worked in; and he would add that his experience had assured him that they did not ordinarily misinterpret the spirit of the classics. But, in the second place, such a reader might very well object that the actual form in which the schemata appear in *estilo culto* does not even suggest the way in which they appear in the ancients; that although they are present in both Isocrates and Cicero, they appear there in a minor relation to other features of their style, and with a wholly different effect upon the total result. In Cicero the cumulative and comprehensive period is the normal unit of expression, and the members of the period have a noble and varied rhythm; whereas in Lyly there is no periodicity, and the members are usually short and sharp. And in Isocrates the particular figures used by Lyly appear with comparative infrequency and are always used with a careful study

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 773-809 (vol. ii.).

of variety in form and rhythm which is in sharp contrast with Lyly's study of uniformity and exactness.

These are merely first impressions, it is true, the views of the casual reader, and they would perhaps be modified in some degree by consideration of certain facts which cannot be mentioned at the moment. Yet they are strong enough to raise a real doubt concerning the soundness of Norden's theory. They justify a reopening of the question and a search for other possible sources and models of the Euphuistic style and the related styles of the sixteenth century.

Other influences have in fact been suggested as having operated to aid and abet that of the classical orators. Some writers, for instance, have mentioned the parallelism of the Psalms and the prophetic books of the Old Testament, but this suggestion may be dismissed without consideration, though writers were often willing after the event to support their use of schemes by sacred authority. Much more interesting, however, is the use of the Gorgianic forms in the late and provincial Latinity of the church-fathers—and in the Greek and Latin romance-writers contemporary with them,—which is due, as Norden has shown, to a variety of influences.<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to illustrate the great revival of early Christian theology in the sixteenth century: More lectures on St. Augustine in London; Ascham reads Cyprian with the Princess Elizabeth; the school-curricula show these authors side by side with Xenophon, Cicero, and Sallust; and although there is a steady, thin stream of opposition to the early legalists of the church by some of the most enlightened spirits of the Renaissance, from Colet to Milton, yet on the whole the tendency of the age brought them into an extraordinary popularity. To deny that they exerted a great influence on prose-style would be to fly in the face of all the evidence. That they played a certain part in promoting the use of the Gorgianic figures, just as the revival of Cicero and Isocrates did, is perfectly clear.

It does not follow, however, that either the church-fathers or the classical orators played the most important part in produc-

<sup>1</sup> The form of the style of Apuleius, for instance, is hardly distinguishable in some of his works from that of Cyprian. A recent book, *The Greek Romances and Elizabethan Fiction*, by S. L. Wolff, New York, 1911, calls attention to a source which must be further investigated. It would seem, however, that the Greek romances served as a model for *estilo culto* in Sidney alone, if at all.

ing this result. For there is a third explanation which does not seem to have occurred to the minds of those who have given their attention to this subject, yet which lies closer at hand than either of the others. It is to be found in the great body of medieval literature in Latin which descended to the period of the Renaissance, and the immense influence which the medieval tradition exercised upon the sixteenth century, in matters of style as well as in thought. This is the element in the history of the Euphuistic style which I wish to emphasize, and to estimate as exactly as may be. Great difficulties, it is true, attend the student who would thread the maze of medieval Latin prose, and uncertainty is bound to wait upon his conclusions. Even the history of its monuments has only been written in part, and the description of its rhetorical forms has not even been attempted. It is a *selva oscura* in which one finds no guide. This fact explains clearly enough the neglect of it by students of sixteenth-century style, and at the same time it justifies a modest claim for the present discussion. In the existing state of our knowledge no conclusions can be considered final or satisfactory; but at least the lines which future investigation of Euphuism must follow may be indicated.

## IV

## MEDIEVAL LATIN PROSE

The study of rhetoric in the Middle Ages began at an early date to divide into two branches. The first was the method of study formulated in the rhetorical schools of the Empire, founded on the imitation of the Roman and Greek orators, and handed down, with inevitable changes, to the monastic schools of all Europe. At first, of course, the ancient tradition was represented with a fair degree of fulness: the well-rounded method of Cicero and Quintilian had worthy interpreters among a certain class of teachers; on the other hand the Anti-Ciceronianism of Seneca and Tacitus found advocates in other schools of the Empire; while in still others the rhetoric taught by the Greek sophists returned with renewed vigour from certain provincial centres where it had been adopted by leaders of Christian thought. But when instruction passed over into the monastic schools,

both the method and the subject-matter of the ordinary training in oratorical style were gradually narrowed and defined. The classical method of imitation of authors was replaced by the method of precept, definition, and example; church-fathers and the Scriptures replaced the classical authors to a great extent as the sources of illustrative citations; and the more solid and serious parts of rhetoric, dealing with invention, the disposition of materials, and so on, dropped out of use. This branch of rhetoric, therefore, was reduced in most schools to the study of the figures of speech; and the typical text-book or manual consists merely of a list of the schemes and tropes with one or two examples of each.<sup>1</sup>

The forms of prose in which the results of such monastic training are apparent are those in which the church addressed **1. The** itself to its popular audience in the tone of warning, **oratorical** exhortation, and appeal. The sermon is certainly the most important of these; the Lives of Saints are usually closely allied to the sermon; and the Treatise of Devotion or Edification is generally not very different, for it too is often meant to be read aloud. A heightened rhetoric of the same type appears also in some chronicles, especially in speeches, and in passages where the narrative is raised to a high emotional level. In short, the monastic rhetoric, as we may call it, betrays its origin in oratory, and its peculiar fitness for public discourse on elevated themes.

The other branch of rhetorical study, in which the figures of speech played only a minor part, is not less important. The **2. The** ars dictandi—to give it the name it assumed at the end of the eleventh century—began as an art of formal and **ceremo-** official letter-writing, but its important function was to **ntial or** control the style of the official documents and the ceremonial **secretarial.** forms of church and state. The secretarial offices of the Papacy and the Empire were the centres from which its influence emanated; and there was no phase of public life in the Middle Ages which it did not adorn and in some degree direct; it

<sup>1</sup> The chief sources from which information has been drawn in this and the following paragraphs are the following: Norden, as above, pp. 659-731; Abelson, P., *The Seven Liberal Arts*, N.Y., 1906, esp. chap. v.; Dietrich Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei* (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, vol. xii., Berlin, 1893), Einleitung; Carolus Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores*, Leipzig, 1863 (a reprint of important rhetorical texts); Karl Hirsche, *Prolegomena zu einer neuen Ausgabe der Imitatio Christi* (Berlin, 1873), vol. i. pp. 89-264.

was the school, it is now believed, in which medieval law was bred and brought to maturity ; it presided over the organization of the liturgy and the style of its prayers ; it prescribed the form of proclamations, bulls, decrees ; it directed the stately observances of princely courts. Indeed there is no form of art which expresses so fully the institutional life of the Middle Ages as the ceremonial Latin prose of church and state, and none, unless it be architecture, which expresses it in a nobler and worthier way.<sup>1</sup> It has its representatives, too, in certain forms of sixteenth-century English prose which are worthy of their Latin prototypes.

But we are concerned here with the *ars dictandi* only as it affected the history of the other kind of rhetorical training. It rapidly rose in importance and dignity after the new foundation of the Empire by Charlemagne, assuming finally most of the rights and privileges, and sometimes even claiming the use of the name, of *ars rhetorica* in the trivium. And as it grew in dignity it enriched its content by assimilating the noblest parts of the rhetoric of the ancients. The school-rhetoric of schemes and tropes, on the other hand, tended to become more arid and trivial as it isolated itself from the other features of an ancient orator's training. Its impoverishment was due in part, of course, to the widening gap between the ancient and the medieval world, but probably in a still greater degree to the aggrandizement of the *ars dictandi* at its expense.

It must not be supposed, however, that there was a real rivalry or competition between the two. They were both parts of the education of the medieval clerk, and the effect of the immensely important development of the dictator's function was rather to reduce the rhetoric of figures to an earlier period and a humbler station in the curriculum than to exclude it. Indeed it may have had the result of making the training in schemes and tropes more general and effective. For when such training lost ground in the higher education, it was apparently magnified in a corresponding degree in the elementary stages, where it had already had a part in the schools of the Empire. The great grammars of the early Middle Ages, Donatus and Priscian, each contained a section on the figures, and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, which in some places superseded these

<sup>1</sup> See L. Rockinger's article *Ueber die Ars dictandi* [etc.], in *Sitzungsberichte d. histor. klasse d. Akad. d. Wiss.*, München, 1861, pp. 98-151. Sketch and bibliog. in L. J. Paetow's *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, Champaign, Illinois, 1910.

old books from the thirteenth century onward, offered the same instruction in versified form.<sup>1</sup> What is true of these important books is also true of nearly all the minor grammars, and it is clear that the figures did not suffer from neglect by losing the name of rhetoric.

So much needed to be said in order to account for the forms of Latin prose that are involved in the history of Euphuism.

When the story of medieval style comes to be written it will have to proceed systematically along such lines as these, that is, by a careful study of the methods of rhetorical style.

But the subject cannot be followed farther here. All that can be done is to illustrate the results of the universal study of the figures of speech by gathering a few examples of the kinds of prose in which they appear. The difficulty arises only from embarrassment of riches; but there is no need for nice selection, because the countless examples offer but little variation, as regards the points of style with which we are concerned, except such as are due to individual choice. The examples we select are from the forms of prose-discourse mentioned in a previous paragraph, the sermon, the *vita sancti*, the book of devotion, and the chronicle; and they are all chosen from works which were either written in England or very well known there.

The earliest is from Bede's sermon on the Annunciation. (Some of the simpler forms of *paromoion*, or sound-correspondence, are indicated by markings.)

Nec se tamen de singularitate meriti excellentioris singulariter extollit,  
sed potius suae conditionis ac divinae dignationis in omnibus memor,  
familiarum se Christi consortio humiliter adjungit, famulatum Christo devota  
quod jubetur impendit.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the collection *Grammatici Latini*, edited by H. Keil, Leipzig, 1857-80, in seven volumes, which contains the texts mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera omnia*, voll. 90 ff. of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 94, col. 14, B. As to the figures of sound, note, first, that the first, third, and fourth members are bound together by transverse homoioteleuton (-iter (-etur) . . . -it); secondly, that within the first member there is transverse alliteration, within the second transverse homoioteleuton, between the third and the fourth transverse alliteration; and, thirdly, that combining with these at several places is the figure sometimes called *figura etymologica*, sometimes *polyptoton*, namely, that form of repetition in which the same stem occurs twice or more, but each time with a different ending or in different inflectional form.

Almost immediately following :

Cujus vocem mentemque nos, fratres charissimi, pro modulo nostro sequentes, famulos esse nos Christi in cunctis actibus nostris motibusque *recolamus*, ejus semper obsequiis omnia corporis nostri membra mancipetur, ad ejus implendam voluntatem totum mentis nostrae *dirigamus* intuitum.<sup>1</sup>

The author of the earliest Latin life of St. Guthlac was a certain Felix, who was an inmate of an English monastic house, possibly Croyland, at the same time that Bede was living at Jarrow. The following sentences are from his *prologus* :

- (1) Quapropter admoneo te, Lector, ut aliena non reprehendas, ne ab aliis quasi alienus reprehendaris.<sup>2</sup>
- (2) Quoniam igitur exegisti a me, ut de vita Sancti Guthlaci vel conversatione tibi scriberem, *quemadmodum* coeperit, *quidve* ante propositum fuerit, vel *qualem* vitae terminum habuerit, . . . addendi minuendique modum vitans eadem orthodemia depinxi; ad hujus utilitatis commodum hunc codicellum fieri ratus sum, ut illis, *qui sciunt* memoriam tanti viri, nota revocandi fiat, his vero, *qui ignorant*, velut latae panseniae indicium innotescat.<sup>3</sup>

In his narrative Felix is much more turgid :

- (1) Sic (sc. *Deus*) . . Guthlacum de tumide aestuantis saeculi gurgite, de obliquis mortalis saeculi anfractibus, de atris vergentis mundi *fauibus* ad perpetuum beatitudinis militiam, ad recti itineris callem, ad veri luminis prospectum perduxit.<sup>4</sup>
- (2) Quod ubi *qui* intererant prospexerunt, statim tremefacti stupentes steterunt, adeo ut vix fari potuissent, vix miraculum intueri auderent, et vix ipsi quid agerent nossent.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 94, col. 14, C. This is chosen to illustrate the less obvious use of the figures. Note, first, isocolon (the four members have 23, 24, 22, 24 syllables respectively); secondly, the rime (-amus); thirdly, the polyptoton in *nostro . . . nostris . . . nostri . . . nostrae*; etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Das Angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*, ed. Paul Gosser, Heidelberg, 1909, p. 102. Two cases of polyptoton crossing each other.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 102-3. In the last part occurs a phenomenon which, I think, is not noted by writers on medieval rime-prose, though it is very common, namely, transverse rime, *i.e.* rime between alternate members (-nt . . . -t . . . -nt . . . -t). Observe that rime-prose does not simply rime, but also involves other sound-correspondences within the riming members.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 59. Note the exact correspondence of final sounds, word by word, in successive members, and also the "syllabic antithesis" (intentional variation of vowels) in -am . . . -em . . . -um, near the end.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 13. Here, beside other figures, is enclosed rime, at the end (and also "syllabic antithesis"); -issent . . . -ērent . . . -ērent . . . -ossent.





Et tu  
 fons es semper plenus  
 et superabundans :  
 ignis jūgiter ardens,  
 et numquam deficiens.<sup>1</sup>

- (2) Etenim licet tanto *desiderio* tam specialium devotorum tuorum non ardeo, tamen de gratia tua illius magis inflammati *desiderii desiderium* habeo orans et *desiderans*, omnium talium fervidorum amatorum tuorum participem me fieri ac eorum sancto consortio annumerari.<sup>2</sup>

Now in the choice of these passages no attempt has been made to find those which particularly resemble Euphuism in the exact form of the *schemata* used. Such passages could be found by a careful selection. But they would not fairly represent the medieval Latin use of the *schemata*, and this is all that I aim to do here. Nor indeed can any selection of short passages accomplish this purpose as well as could be desired. For in medieval Latin, as in all other forms of style characterized by the schemes, variety is studied : a passage characterized by one of the schemes is followed by one in which a different one is used ; or if the same schemes are continued they are combined in a different pattern. By far the most prevalent figures, however, are those which are most characteristic of Euphuism, namely, *parison* with the various kinds of *paromoion*. Nor is there variety within a composition alone. Different authors have their characteristic patterns, their favourite schemes, their own ways of combining them, alternating, and varying them, their preferences in rhythm, clause-length, and periodic structure. There is the same variety, in short, in all these respects that there is between all the sixteenth-century ornate rhetoricians, between Guevara and Lyly, for instance, between North and Lyly, between Lyly and Sidney.

<sup>1</sup> The point chiefly to be observed here is the alternating rime (*abab*) spoken of in a note just above. The arrangement in lines is made (except at the end) for the purpose of illustrating this. It must be understood that this arrangement does not imply a belief in the metrical character of this prose ; it has no such character. The passage is from book iv. ch. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Book iv., ch. 14. This is a patterned web of sound. (1) The polyptoton on the stem *desider-* ; (2) the repetition at the end of the pattern *-ium -orum -orum* which had occurred near the beginning ; (3) the repetition of final *o* at fairly regular intervals in the first part (*desiderio . . . ardeo . . . habeo*) ; (4) the gathering up in the last words of these two sound patterns (*-orum* and *-o*) ; (5) the homoioteleuton in the final words of the last two members (*me fieri . . . -merari*).

It cannot be denied that there is a similarity between the medieval rhetorical style and the usual form of *estilo culto* in the sixteenth century. Two difficulties present themselves, however, when we attempt to establish a historical connection between the two things on the basis of similarity of form.

First, there is a difficulty due to the history of the schematic style. The source of the medieval use of the schemes is in the

**The schemes are also classical.** Gorgianic school of ancient Greece, of which Isocrates was the inheritor and the chief ornament. From him the Gorgianic rhetoric passed on to the sophists' schools of the decadent period, and was thence diffused

to Imperial Rome and the founders of Christian eloquence, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian; and it was by way of the latter, the church-fathers, especially perhaps through the mediation of Gregory the Great, that it proceeded to its great medieval destinies. It may be argued therefore, with some appearance of truth, that on the one hand it makes little difference whether we call the Euphuistic rhetoric classical or medieval, since whatever its immediate source may be its ultimate source is the school of Gorgias, and on the other hand that the problem is insoluble after all, since we have no instruments of precision delicate enough to mark the distinction between classical and medieval influence. But these inferences would not be justified by the facts. For the medieval oratory is in fact as unlike the Greek of Isocrates or the Latin of the church-fathers as Western Gothic is unlike Romanesque, or Romanesque unlike the pure architecture of Athens or Rome. It is different in spirit, as everything medieval is different from everything classical. But it is also different in form, so different from Isocrates that the similarity cannot be detected except by minute analysis, and unlike the style of the church-fathers (to which it is more closely related) in certain definite particulars.

The dissimilarity can best be explained by a reference to what has already been said of the method of medieval rhetorical study.

**Yet they are used in one way in the classics.** In the training of the Greek orator the study of the figures was a part—a small part—of an elaborate system of stylistic education. The word-schemes therefore occur, when they occur at all, in their speeches and writings, with comparative infrequency, and always in a subordinate relation to other elements in their composition, especially rhythmic design and periodic structure,

which they are meant to reinforce and illustrate. This is true even of Gorgias, who has more use of schemes than his followers and a less elaborate period; while it is eminently true of Isocrates. Indeed in the case of the latter writer, the alleged model of Euphuism, it was commonly recognized by Renaissance critics that the only one of the schemes which can be called characteristic of him is isocolon, or equal members, and that this is used by him for the sake of rhythmic effect. Parison and the various forms of paromoion he uses in the same moderation in which they appear in much good modern speaking, and always in simple forms rather than ingenious or complex ones.

In the Middle Ages, on the other hand, the results of an almost exclusive training in the figures are apparent. The schemes have become the main, often the only, resource for the adornment and heightening of discourse. Every other feature of style has become subordinate to them. Their use is no longer to mark and emphasize rhythm: on the contrary, rhythm arises incidentally from the use of isocolon, parison, and paromoion, and takes its pattern from the laws of these *schemata*. The period is only a certain complete design of verbal and oral device. In short, the figures give the style its pattern and structure; and it need hardly be added that in the characteristic works from which we have been quoting, Bede's sermons, the *Imitatio*, and so on, they appear, not occasionally, but in sentence after sentence, paragraph after paragraph.

But not only are the schemes very much more frequent in medieval prose than in classical. They are also used in different ways. The schematic ornament is constantly made more obvious in one of two ways. Either a single figure is repeated over and over in a succession of short members, with something of the effect of a magic incantation (parison with homoioteleuton being the commonest form for this purpose), or else different schemes or different forms of the same one are woven together in a complicated pattern within a period or paragraph. Both of these methods of elaboration are illustrated also in Euphuism and its related forms, but the latter is especially important in connection with our present subject of inquiry. It is abundantly illustrated even in the few illustrations quoted in the preceding pages. We have seen, for instance, in a single sentence of Bede, a very remarkable combination of transverse alliteration, transverse homoioteleuton, and paronomasia, each of these schemes occurring

more than once, and one crossing or including another ; in Felix, homoioteleuton used, not in the final words alone of parisonic members, but in all the words, and this not once but two or three times in the same sentence ; in Thomas à Kempis a pattern of transverse parison with transverse paromoion which equals in complexity some of the more difficult forms of stanzaic structure in verse ; and so on. In all the authors quoted there appears, moreover, in combination with the figures already mentioned, that form of repetition in which the same stem occurs two or more times, each time with a different inflectional ending, the scheme known as polyptoton.<sup>1</sup>

Of course it need not be said that nothing even suggesting such a use of the "Gorgianic" figures can be found in any classical author. To distinguish between the medieval rhetoric and that of Augustine, Cyprian, and other church-fathers is a somewhat more difficult task and one from which we are debarred here by limitations of space. It can only be said in general that, while the schemes are used much more profusely by the patristic writers than by any classical author, they give no signs of the exclusive medieval method of study, but on the contrary constant signs of intelligent imitation of the ancients, and in particular that these writers prefer the simpler of the two methods of schematic elaboration described above, namely, the use of parison and homoioteleuton in a row of phrases or clauses, while the more characteristic medieval method is the complication of figures within a period. This difference, however, is less marked in Cyprian than in Augustine and Ambrose ; and it must be said that if we had to depend on internal evidence alone, or on the style of single authors, it would be hard to distinguish the influence of medieval rhetoric on the *estilo culto* from that of Cyprian and his immediate imitators, or, we may add, from that of Apuleius, which Cyprian's so markedly resembles. When all of the authors of *estilo culto* and all the church-fathers are taken together, however, the case is very clear.

<sup>1</sup> A note is required on this figure. It is one of the commonest schemes in medieval Latin ; but some writers use it a great deal, others rarely. So also in *estilo culto*. Lyly uses it seldom, though he produces a similar effect by repeating a word several times in different parts of his sentence or period, each time with a peculiar difference of context—as, for instance, if it be a noun, with a different preposition each time, or preceded by a different verb. Guevara and Sidney, on the other hand, are very fond of it. In Sidney, for instance, *beauty . . . beauties . . . beautiful, likely . . . likeliest*.

The second objection that may be urged to some of the examples of medieval style which have been quoted, and to many which might be cited for the same purpose, is that they illustrate a very peculiar type of prose which should not be used in the discussion, namely, the medieval rime-prose, of which so much has been said, and so little said wisely. There are two answers to this objection. The first is that rimed Latin prose is nothing but a form of the medieval schematic prose-style with a special attention to parison and homoioteleuton. It is prose, not poetry; and Norden has proved that its origin is in the prose use of the schemes.<sup>1</sup>

The second answer, still more to the purpose, is that, whatever its history may be, rime-prose is very important in the discussion of the forms of style that appear in Euphuism. For it is not only rimed prose. Along with its rime (the character of which will be spoken of in a moment) it uses constantly all of the other figures of sound which appear in the schematic prose of medieval Latin and of sixteenth-century Spanish and English. This point does not need elaboration; it has already been illustrated in the specimens of medieval Latin prose quoted above.<sup>2</sup> But there is an observation to be made here which is of the very first importance to the student of Euphuism, though it has to do with a detail of style. In the rimed Latin prose there is a constant occurrence, not accidental or careless, but conscious and planned, of so-called rimes, in which there is correspondence of the final sound, but non-correspondence, intentional contrast, between the sounds which would have to correspond to make true rime. A typical case is where the unaccented final syllables are alike, but the preceding syllable, bearing the accent, has in each case a different vowel. Thus: *habere, audire, amare*. But it is enough if the final *sounds* correspond; the rest of the final *syllable* may differ. For instance, in the example quoted by Norden from Hroswitha: *extorsi . . . cremari*. A final consonant may even be the only trait of likeness, the vowel of the final syllable being intentionally different in

<sup>1</sup> *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 760-3 (vol. ii.). "I am satisfied to have shown that it is a thousand-year-long development from Gorgias, and the traces of its origin are found in it everywhere." But also, of course, the traces of the medieval schematic mind. There is no reason, in short, for drawing any distinction between rime-prose in the form in which it most commonly occurs, and the other forms of prose due to the monastic oratorical training. As we shall see below, rime-prose is a form which has special significance in connection with sixteenth-century style.

<sup>2</sup> See the notes on these passages.

each case, as in a sentence quoted above from Felix: *militiam . . . callem . . . prospectum*. Commenting on this usage, Norden wonders just when such correspondences of sound came to be considered rime or homoioteleuton, since they were never regarded as such by the ancient rhetoricians.

Now such correspondences are a common and characteristic feature of Euphuism, again not by accident, but by intention

**Syllabic** The examples are many: *nature . . . nurture, lover . . .  
anti- liver, travail . . . trouble, hapless . . . hopeless, and so  
thesis.*

on. Child discusses the figure, while limiting it too narrowly, under the name *anomination*,<sup>1</sup> and Landmann and Weymouth more exactly describe it as *syllabic antithesis*. But it has not been noticed that Wilson<sup>2</sup> refers to it when he says that "like endings" are made more attractive when "letters are altered," and in his examples of "like endings" gives *cart . . . court, labour . . . honour, living . . . hanging*. Norden might well have extended his query concerning this figure and asked how it happened that Lyly, Guevara, North, and so many other sixteenth-century writers came by it if the source of their rhetoric is indeed the imitation of antiquity. In fact, its occurrence is in itself a convincing evidence that *estilo culto* derived its form, in part at least, from medieval Latin prose, for this characteristic feature of it could not have come from the classics, from the church-fathers, from Apuleius, or from the Greek romances.

## V

### HUMANISTIC CRITICISM OF THE SCHEMATA

The foregoing survey has made it apparent, I think, that there is a striking resemblance between the oratorical prose of the

**Norden's** Middle Ages and the Euphuistic type of prose. The  
**argument** question of origins must ultimately be decided by such  
**from hu-** comparisons of form. But there are several kinds of  
**manistic** external evidence bearing on this subject which must  
**criticism.** not be disregarded. The first of these is found in the testimonies of contemporary critics who discuss the schematic

<sup>1</sup> *John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 54. Child quotes from G. P. Marsh's *Lectures on the English Language*, 1861, p. 567, the statement that this figure "can hardly be distinguished from Euphuism," meaning that it is the characteristic feature of the style.

<sup>2</sup> *Arte of Rhetorique*, ed. 1909, p. 202.

hetic and the forms of prose in which it appears. It is one of the many merits of Norden's work that it has revealed the remarkable soundness of Renaissance criticism wherever questions of style are involved. He has declared himself the champion of the humanists as against many modern scholars who are disposed to hold them lightly; and it must be said that he has made good his contention that they are better to be trusted as guides through the maze of Renaissance prose than any recent historians of the subject, and that they are usually better critics, too, of *ancient* prose than are we. Everyone who has to treat these subjects must acknowledge that he has revealed new sources of knowledge. In the particular case before us, however, it would seem that he himself has misrepresented the critics whom he values, as the result of his zeal for a theory which he has adopted too hastily. The passages he cites from the humanists seem, it is true, to support his belief in the classical origin of Euphuism and its related styles. But if space permitted their close examination, it would appear that they are either irrelevant, inconclusive, or to be interpreted in a different sense from that which Norden gives them. There are certainly other passages, overlooked by Norden, which militate against his theory.

Our first point, then, is that the testimonies of humanistic critics, in so far as they are significant at all—many of them we will not understand until we know more of medieval prose-style—indicate both a dislike of the schematic rhetoric and a disposition to associate it with anti-classical tendencies and tastes.

For instance, not one only, but many, humanists refer to the most familiar kinds of schemes as characteristic of the style of preachers, and especially of medieval preachers. Thus Wilson, writing of the custom of abusing "similar endings," says: "I heard a preacher deliting much in this kind of composition, who used so often to end his sentences with words like unto that which went before, that in my judgment there was not a dozen sentences in his whole sermon, but they ended all in Rime for the most parte."<sup>1</sup> Indeed the use of this figure is constantly qualified as *de more fratrum*—as, for instance, by an anonymous rhetorician of the fifteenth century quoted by Norden,<sup>2</sup> and in the following significant passage from Salutato in a letter to the bishop of

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique*, 1560, ed. G. H. Mair, Oxford, 1909, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> P. 765, n. (vol. ii.).

Florence. He is praising a sermon of his correspondent, in which, he says, everything is pleasing, but especially that "it does not trifle with that artificial rhythm; there is none of that equality of syllables, which is not wont to happen without exact counting; there are none of those clausules which end or fall alike. For this is reprehended by our Cicero as nothing else than a puerile thing which is far from decent in serious matters or when used by men of gravity. Blessed be God that we now see one sermon in which this ferment has not been at work, which can be read without a tune or an effeminate prattle of consonance (*sine concentu et effeminata consonantiae cantilena*)."<sup>1</sup>

In these passages the popular sermon is the object of the humanists' odium. Elsewhere, however, other forms of schematic style are compared with a pure prose in imitation of the ancients. And the terms of the comparison are always the same: the latter is serious, weighty, dignified; the other is vain and entertaining. Vives uses it when he compares the *oratio aulica*, that is, the style of Guevara, which he characterizes as *deliciosa, lasciva, ludibunda*, with the true form of a *gravis et sancta oratio*.<sup>2</sup> Wilson takes up the theme, ridiculing what he calls "Minstrels' elocution," which in lieu of "weightiness and gravitie of wordes," has nothing to offer but "wantonness of invention."<sup>3</sup> It is notable, moreover, that Wilson, as we shall see in a moment, does not mention the true classics in his elaborate discussion of the figure of like endings; while in writing of "equal members" he says: "Isocrates passeth in this behalfe, who is thought to write altogether in number [that is, rhythmically], keeping just proportion in framing of his sentence."<sup>4</sup> By the figure of "equal members" he means approximate balance in the *length* of clauses (not in their form), for the sake of rhythmical effect, and he disconnects it, as his examples show, from the more obvious schemes which are characteristic of medieval and Euphuistic prose. The significance of the passage is that a typical humanist shows a clear knowledge of what is really characteristic of Isocrates, distinguishes it from the other schemes, and praises the former, while he condemns the abuses which have arisen in the use of the latter.

<sup>1</sup> Norden, p. 675, n.

<sup>2</sup> *De Ratione Scribendi*, book ii. Norden's reference is to 114 in the 1532 ed. (See Norden, p. 794.)

<sup>3</sup> *Arte of Rhetorique*, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 204.



The objection may arise here that in some of the criticisms just quoted the critics use only the term "like ending" or its equivalent. It may be said that they are excluding the other schemes, or even that they are not thinking of anything but rime-prose. In the first place, concerning rime-prose, it has been shown above what figures are included in it. And, in the second place, the figure called *similiter cadentes* (or *desinentes*) does not, in the common use of the time, include only rime, even when it is scornfully alluded to under that name. It is the practice of rhetoricians, from Bede onward,<sup>1</sup> to treat under this caption all correspondences of sound between words occurring in similar positions in parallel phrases or clauses. The passage from *Alutatus* clearly shows, for instance, that he has in mind the general use of the schemes by medieval preachers, though Norden applies his words only to the rimed sermon; and the examples named by Wilson to illustrate the figure of like endings show how much he includes in it. Some of these are as follow: "Where learning is loved, there labour is esteemed: but when sloth is thought solace, there rudeness taketh place"; "A King honoured that is a King indeed"; "He is a meeter man to drive the cart than to serve the court"; "Through labour cometh honour, through idle living followeth hanging." Here of course are parison, repetition, alliteration, simple and transverse, and syllabic antithesis—all Euphuistic traits—as well as like-endings. After remarking, perhaps with allusion to the *Diall of Princes*, which had appeared three years before,<sup>2</sup> that "divers in this our time delite much in this kind of writing," Wilson goes on to sketch the history of "this kind of writing"; and the whole passage must be quoted at greater length than it has already been, because it supports in a remarkable way the contention that the associations of the Lylyan forms were chiefly medieval in contemporary thought:

"S. Augustine had a goodly gift in this behalfe, and yet some thinkes he forgot measure, and used overmuch this kind of figure. Notwithstanding, the people were such where he lived that they tooke muche delite in rimed sentences, and in Orations made allade wise. Yea, they were so nice and so waiward to please,

<sup>1</sup> *De schematis et tropis sac. scr. liber. Op. om.* (in *Patrologia Latina*), vol. i. ll. 175-86. He gives examples from Gregory, and says that this is the figure called by Jerome *concinnae rhetorum declamationes*.

<sup>2</sup> That is, before 1560. The 1553 ed. of the work is much shorter, and does not contain some of the most important parts.

that except the preacher from time to time could rime out his sermon, they would not long abide the hearing. . . . So that for the flowing stile and full sentence, crept in Minstrels elocution, talking matters altogether in rime, and for waightnesse and gravitie of wordes, succeding nothing els but wantonnesse of invention. Tullie was forsaken, with Livie, Cæsar, and other: Apuleius, Ausonius, with such Minstrell makers were altogether followed. And I thinke the Popes heretofore (seeing the peoples folie to bee such) made all our Himnes and Anthemes in rime, that with the singing of men, playing of Orgaines, ringing of Belles, and Riming of Himnes and Sequences, the poore ignorant might think the harmonie to be heavenly, and verely believe that the Angels of God made not a better noyce in heaven. I speak thus much of these ii. figures, not that I thinke folie to use them (for they are pleasant and praise worthy) but my talke is to this ende, that they should neither onely nor chiefly be used, as I know some in this our time, do overmuch use them in their writings. And overmuch (as all men knowe) was never good yet.”<sup>1</sup>

Of course this passage is a little obscured by the Protestant digression concerning the liturgical use of the parisonic figures; but it is clear that Wilson attributes the common use of these figures to the imitation of the church-fathers and their contemporary masters of late Latinity, that he regards it as a departure from true classicism, and that the associations of these figures in his mind are all medieval and non-humanistic.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Arte of Rhetorique*, pp. 202-4.

<sup>2</sup> We may quote, as in the same tone as Wilson's criticism, the discussion of the style of St. Ambrose by one of the speakers in Erasmus' dialogue *Ciceronianus: membris incisus comparibus numerosus ac modulatus suum quoddam dicendi genus habet aliis inimitabile, sed a Tulliano genere diversissimum. Opera*, Leyden, 1703-6, vol. i. 1008. ("Made rhythmic and measured by short members of equal length, his style has something peculiar to himself, inimitable by others, but most unlike the Ciceronian style.") This is a typical humanist way of apologizing for the barbarism of the Latinity of the fathers of the church.

In a famous interview with two Cardinals, Petrarch was loaded with compliments. He was very much disturbed and embarrassed by the consciousness that these would finally lead to an offer of employment. Though he was resolved to maintain his freedom, he saw no method of procedure open to him, until he learned that the offer was that of literary service in the Papal Chancery. Then his mind was set at ease. For he could show without difficulty that his kind of prose would be unintelligible to readers accustomed to the monkish style, "too aspiring," as he ironically put it, "for the humility

Not quite so clear as Wilson's, yet of the same effect, are the testimonies of two other English humanists of a little later date :

**Thomas Drant.** Thomas Drant and Gabriel Harvey. In the preface to his translations from Horace (publ. in 1566), Drant laments the difficulty of finding readers for "lettered and clerkly makings"; "and no doubt," he continues, "the cause that books of learning seem so hard is, because such and so great a scull of amorous pamphlets have so pre-occupied the eyes and ears of men, that a multitude believe there is no other style or phrase else worth gramercy." He describes the "wanton tricks of lovers" which form the subject-matter of these romantic tales, and at the same time parodies their style, which, in contrast with a clerkly style, is "easy to be understood and easy to be endited."<sup>1</sup> The passage must be written with reference to the recent successes of Painter and Fenton, who seem first to have used the schematic style in the *novello*, though less elaborately than Pettie and Lyly afterward did; for the parody is an imitation of the style that later came to be known as Euphuistic.

There is something more than mere abuse in Harvey's railing at Lyly's style; and though his *Advertisement for Pap-hatchet* was provoked by Lyly's part in the Martin Marprelate controversy, he makes it clear that his strictures are meant for the Euphuizing Lyly. After parodying Euphues for a few sentences, he says: "Gentlemen, I have given you a taste of his sugar-loaf, that weeneth Sidney's dainties, Ascham's comfits, Cheek's succats, Smith's conserves, and More's junkets nothing comparable to his pap." Here Lyly's style is opposed to that of five leading humanists in contempt, but no definite indications of the nature of the contrast are given. Immediately after, however, he says: "The finest wits prefer the loosest period in M. Ascham or Sir Philip Sidney before the tricksiest page in Euphues or Pap-hatchet." Here the true contrast between a classical style and a schematic one is drawn. And the same contrast is more fully brought out in a following passage: "As for a fine or neat period, in the dainty and pithy vein of Isocrates or Xenophon, marry that were a periwig of a

of the Apostolic Seat." (*Lettere delle cose familiari*, book 13, letter 5.) It is probable that the style he alludes to—the style which, as he says, he had had to unlearn when he grew up—was the familiar medieval rhetoric of schemes, specially since he boasts that his own writing is not meant to appeal to the *ars*. "I cannot cater to itching wits or pampered ears." (*Ibid.*)

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Wendelstein, p. 21, 11.

Siren, or a wing of the very bird of Arabia, an inestimable relique. . . . It is for Cheek or Ascham to stand leveling of colons, or squaring of periods, by measure and number ; his pen is like a spigot, and the wine-press a dullard to his ink-press." <sup>1</sup> Here, it is true, he is writing of Nash, or at least of the pamphlet style, not of the Euphuist ; but the words are worth quoting because they characterize the style of Isocrates and the efforts of his imitators in the correct terms ; in the terms used by Wilson and by all intelligent critics. It is inconceivable that a critic who recognizes that periodicity and rhythm are the master-qualities of Isocrates' prose should fail to draw the same contrast between it and the style of *Euphues*.

## VI

## THE USES OF THE SCHEMATA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In the following pages some further illustrations of how the humanists felt about *estilo culto* will occur. But we proceed to consider a second kind of external evidence concerning its history. This is to be obtained by observing the associations which the Euphuistic rhetoric had in sixteenth-century minds, as they are shown by the kinds of writing in which it appears.

Both Feuillerat <sup>2</sup> and Wendelstein <sup>3</sup> have devoted a good deal of attention to the history of Euphuism in the earlier part of the century. But they have both started with the supposed humanistic use of Euphuistic figures. theory that the tendency toward Euphuism is humanistic. Wendelstein, it is true, has extended his search very widely, and arrived at much more reliable conclusions, but Feuillerat limits his quest for the figures to three humanists—Fisher, More, and Elyot. Now Fisher yields him the most significant results, and indeed we may say that the only examples cited by him which are really characteristic of the Euphuistic tendency come from this writer. But Fisher is not a humanist in the writings which we have from his pen. He had his part in the revival of culture in England, but his own culture and his own style, however admirable they are, are essentially

<sup>1</sup> *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593 (including the *Advertisement*), reprinted in part in Gregory Smith's *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, vol. ii. ; the passages here mentioned are on pp. 273-7.

<sup>2</sup> *John Lyly*, as above.

<sup>3</sup> *Vorgesch. d. Euph.*, *passim*.

medieval. There is no test fine enough to discover any real change between the earlier fifteenth-century sermon and tractate and those which the Bishop of Rochester wrote for the Lady Margaret and the court of Henry the Eighth. So far as the citations of Feuillerat prove anything they prove the medieval origin of Euphuism.

But More and Elyot are humanists in a different sense, and if the passages quoted from these authors were really Euphuistic and really representative of their authors, they would have an important bearing on the question of origins. It must be said, however, that they are neither the one nor the other.

Occurring among a mass of passages from other authors, they may easily pass as having a general similarity with the rest. But if they are carefully separated from this association it will be found that they are not conspicuously schematic at all,—this is especially true of those which are written in the humanistic spirit,—and, further, if they are traced back to the works from which they are taken, and examined in their context, they lose all the significance which is attributed to them. For they occur there at wide intervals, just as they occur in almost any author who thinks of style. They are by no means representative, and it is hardly too much to say that the passages quoted by the investigators are the only conspicuous instances to be found in the works which they have examined. Indeed in the case of Elyot, the citation of a few uses of the *schemata* must be resented as a libel against the memory of a scholar who thoroughly understood the *phrasis* of Greek oratory and tried to reproduce its effect in English. To assume that he was a classicist so ignorant and inexpert that when he tried to imitate the ancients he fell unconsciously into the same devices that characterize popular preaching, is to show oneself ignorant of the real accuracy and intelligence of classical scholarship in that age. A careful study of any leading humanist will convince one that their knowledge is not to be treated so lightly.

Humanists, however, did not always write with a humanistic intention. They were citizens as well as scholars, and they could descend on occasion from the Olympian heights to speak the familiar dialect of their even-Christians. In order to understand the meaning of any traits of style that may be observed in their works this fact must be kept in mind, and the nature of the subject-matter and the general tone of the discourse in which they occur must be

Not often  
found in  
More or  
Elyot.

and least  
in their  
most hu-  
manistic  
writings.

carefully considered. Sir Thomas More is on fire with one kind of enthusiasm when he is writing his *Dialogue of Comfort*, and with quite another when he is translating the life of Pico; he has different models of composition before his mind when he is composing his *Richard III.* and his *Utopia*. And it would not be at all surprising to find that the former of each of these pairs of works is stylistically more medieval than the latter. This is in fact what we do find, if it be granted that the *schemata* are chiefly medieval survivals in the sixteenth century. For Wendelstein has remarked (pp. 8-9) that the figures appear in greater number in the religious works that he has examined than in the *Pico*, and the same difference exists, we may remark, between the *Richard III.* and the *Utopia*.

But there is little enough of elaborate schematizing in any of More's works. The case is not the same, however, with

The same distinction to be observed in the case of Ascham. Ascham, and it is chiefly with reference to him that the above remarks have been made. Both in the *Toxophilus* and in the *Scholemaster* there are passages that are very markedly Euphuistic in the use of figure, much more so than any in Elyot or More, and so much so that they cannot be excluded from a place in the line of Euphuistic development. The point that

we are now making, however, is that these passages are not to be regarded necessarily as examples of his humanistic ideals in style. For it is easy to draw a line between the passages in which Ascham is writing, on the one hand, in the grave classical manner (as, for instance, at the close of the *Scholemaster*, and in some letters to Cecil <sup>1</sup>), and those in which he writes, on the other hand, in the light, popular vein so well suited to his genius (as in most of the *Toxophilus*), in the tone of the anxious Protestant moralist (as in the passage of the *Scholemaster* which he entitles, Horsemen be wiser in knowledge of a good colt than schoolmasters be in knowledge of a good wit <sup>2</sup>), or in the manner appropriate to courtly observance (as in the dedication of *Toxophilus* to Henry VIII.). It will be found that the passages in which he

<sup>1</sup> For instance, Giles ed. of Ascham (London, 1865), vol. i. pp. 349-55, letter clxv. Any one who wishes to see what the imitation of the classics really produced in English should study this letter. I do not know of any other attempt to reproduce Cicero which is so successful. A single sentence will illustrate the difference between balance as carried out on the Ciceronian model and the same thing in the Euphuistic form: "Which sentences I heard very gladly then, and felt them soon after myself to be true."

<sup>2</sup> Giles ed., vol. iii. p. 104.

allies nicely with words in a Euphuistic manner are chiefly of the latter classes.

Yet there does remain in Ascham's letters, especially in his Latin letters to Sturm, and in certain passages of the *Schoolmaster*, a body of writing in which he uses with conscious preciousness the figures of parison and paromoion, and plainly does so in imitation of classical models. It is possible indeed to draw a distinction between the form of style which results from such imitation and that which results from the use of *schemata* elsewhere in his writing.

An ear trained in both the classical and the medieval use of the chemes will not fail to observe the difference. But this point need not be pressed. It must be frankly acknowledged that it was possible for a student of classical oratory by choosing particular models and laying a particular emphasis on certain traits—not the most important ones—in those models, to arrive at a style which would have the use of the *schemata* as its chief mark and signature. This is in fact what Ascham was doing in the latter part of his career, when his attention was chiefly given to literary style. He was studying Cicero and Isocrates constantly; and one direction that his study was taking is indicated by the fact that he corresponded with Sturm concerning the antitheta in the notorious oration *Pro Quinctio*.<sup>1</sup> One direction only it is true; for it cannot be too often repeated that these Ciceronians knew their Cicero better than any scholars of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. If Sturm wrote with affection of the balances of sound in Cicero he also wrote a treatise concerning his periods, and even another on those prose-rhythms which later scholars, until a recent date, declared to be the birth of disordered fancy in the critics who had observed them. Yet it is not to be denied that he and Ascham liked the frailer beauties of oratory too, and, as men of their time, exaggerated the beauties they liked.

I do not wish to minimize the importance of these considerations; but their importance must not be exaggerated either.

The force of the argument which Norden has built up on the strength of the facts we have mentioned might be considerably weakened by asking why it was that men who understood the real beauty of Cicero and Isocrates could yet be so beguiled by their faults or their lesser graces. It would then appear that their tastes at least were medieval, whatever their models were, and that their love of the figures was due to

<sup>1</sup> Giles ed., vol. ii. letter xcix., written in 1568.

a tradition they could not escape from. But even a weightier reply to Norden is that Ascham, the only humanist who makes much use of the Euphuistic figures, comes far too late to effect any important result in the movement that we are studying. His rhetorical ideas took form after the publication of *Toxophilus*, and appear in writings which did not see the light until the seventies. But even though this were not so we must still look for causes that were operating long before *Toxophilus* was published. If Euphuism is a product of classical influence then we must learn of the humanist activity early in the reign of Henry the Eighth that produced it. We must prove that Berners and Bryan in their translations of Guevara were under classical influence, or if they derived their style as well as their substance from Guevara, that Guevara himself formed his style as Ascham sometimes formed his. Nay, we must prove that all the popular, controversial, and sermon uses of the well-known figures, the figures which were indeed current everywhere, were due to the revival of Isocrates.

There is a last point. If it is true that the Euphuistic figures are characteristic of the humanists, why do they not appear in their Latin style, and why do not the critics who hold this opinion try to establish it by showing that the imitation of Isocrates and Cicero produces the same result in the language in which it is so much easier to imitate them? It does not do so except in some letters of Ascham. Petrarch, Erasmus, Bembo, Melanchthon, Vives, the humanists *par excellence*, always avoid them. Is it not true that the avoidance of them is the very mark of a classical taste in Latin?

In short, the gaudery of Euphuism plays a small part in the rhetoric of the humanists; and it is only when we have excluded

them from view that we can begin to answer the important question: In what kinds of writing are the *schemata* frequent, appropriate, and characteristic? This question is not without its complications. But I think that it can be simplified by observing that there are two main lines of tendency in the vernacular use of the schematic style, if we exclude its specialized use in Guevara, Berners, North, Pettie, and Lyly. One of these has been clearly established by students of the subject, the other has not yet been pointed out.

The first is the use of this style in the sermon and in related works of piety or devotion. In Latimer and Lever, who best represent the Protestant pulpit of this age, the use of the



schemes is of quite a different order of interest from that which is found in the works of More and Elyot. But even here a distinction must be observed. For, although Wendelstein and others have extracted many cases of the figures of alliteration, homoioteleuton, and word-repetition from Latimer, it must be said that they are not used by this orator in the way that is significant for the history of Euphuism. In this respect Latimer's sermons must be classified with the numerous and voluminous works of economic-theological controversy which have also been drawn upon for examples of Euphuistic figure. It is true that the schemes are extremely common in these works, and that they reflect common uses of them in medieval Latin prose. But they reflect only those uses which range on a lower artistic level. Their purpose is almost wholly to heighten the effectiveness of a rattling invective, or to wing the shafts of ridicule; they lack both the elaborateness of form and the dignity of use that we must look for in the sources of Euphuism. They ape, in fact, those successions of brief members, all in the same form, which characterize the medieval schematic style when it is written *submisse*, not *granditer*, to use a distinction which medieval rhetoric carefully observed.

To find an exact equivalent of the more dignified Latin style we must turn to other orators than Latimer, and especially to Thomas Lever. To show the significance of Lever's style it is not enough to quote brief phrases or sentences; for the characteristic of the medieval rhetoric, as of Euphuism, is not, as we have already seen, the occasional appearance of the schemes, but their constant use in patterned forms. When Lever is read in long passages it is apparent that he reproduces in English the effect of the rimed Latin prose, in which rime is never regular and long-continued, but only appears in a succession of phrases and then disappears—just as it does in Lever. And in Lever, as in Latin, the other schemes always accompany homoioteleuton in rime-prose.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exact effect of rime-prose is produced in the following, from a sermon made in the Shrouds in Pauls, 1550 (ed. Arber, 1870, p. 22): "Yea, but what mercyes of God have we refused, or what threatenynge of God have we here in England not regarded: whyche have forsaken the Pope, abolyshed idolatrye and supersticion, receyved goddes word so gladly, reformed all thynges accordynge therto so spedily, and have all thinges most nere the order of the primitive church universallie? Alas, good brethren, as trulye as al is not golde that glittereth, so is it not vertue and honesty, but very vice and hipocrisie, wherof England at this day dothe moste glorie." In a

Barely second in interest to Lever is Bishop Jewel—not in his controversial works, but in his sermons. The *schemata* which Jewel prefers are not those which Lever likes best, the transverse forms of sound-repetition, rime, and so on, but others which are equally important in the history of Euphuism. He is fond of word-repetition, especially at the beginnings and ends of successive parallel clauses or sentences—indeed the commonest form of parison in him is the form in which most of the words of a clause are repeated in the next clause, but particular ones, which thus obtain special emphasis, are different,—of the figure of climax or gradation, and of a succession of questions, each followed by its answer.<sup>1</sup>

But there is a second use of the *schemata* in the sixteenth century which may prove to be more important than their sermon use. This is their oratorical use in various ways connected with the formalities and ceremonies of court and state. I say “oratorical,” for the *official* prose, as in proclamations, state-letters, and so on, is in a different style, namely that described above as having its origin in the *ars dictatoria*. But wherever we have ornate public discourse for the purpose of persuading or pleasing or denouncing, and connected with a great occasion of public

different pattern: “Everye covetouse man is proude, thynkyng hymselfe more worthy a pounde, than another man a penye, more fitte to have chaunge of sylkes and velvettes, than other to have bare frise cloth, and moe conveniente for hym to have aboundance of diverse dilicates for hys dainty toth, then for other to have plenty of biefes and muttons for theyr hongry bellyes: and finally that he is more worthy to have gorgeouse houses to take his pleasure in, in bankettyng, then laboryng men to have poore cottages to take rest in, in slepyng” (pp. 23-4).

<sup>1</sup> For instance, from the sermon on Romans xii. 16-18 (*Works*, ed. Parker Soc., Cambridge, 1847, p. 1094): “Thus, good brethren, humility preserveth the church of God: humility upholdeth all good commonweals. Pride it is that scattereth the church of God: pride overthroweth all good commonweals. There was never yet pride in any city without dissension, nor dissension that continued without destruction of the whole commonweal. . . . In the city of Rome, which was called the lady of the whole world, there were two that took upon them the governance of the empire, Julius Cæsar and Pompey. Julius Cæsar was a man of so haughty courage that he could abide no peer: Pompey was of such an high mind that he could suffer no man to be his equal. . . . Rome, that sometime was the wealthiest city in the world, and called therefore the lady of the whole world, fell to division; and therefore was she overthrown and utterly destroyed. The Grecians, which were a people of greatest force, fell to dissension; and therefore was their whole estate pulled down, and cast flat to the ground.” Climax, or gradation, is illustrated in the third sentence of this passage.

life, we are likely to find that characteristic style that we are looking for. And, first, we find it in *Chronicles*, as in Grafton's;<sup>1</sup> and again in works cast in the oratorical mould, whether actually spoken or not, of which a remarkable example is James Harrison's *Exhortation to the Scots* to accept the terms of composition offered them by the Lord Protector Somerset in 1547, a work which is "Euphuistic" throughout;<sup>2</sup> in dedications and addresses of books constantly, as in the dedication of *Toxophilus* and in a number quoted by Wendelstein (in this use the Euphuistic figures are almost universal); and finally in a number of uses connected with court shows and entertainments. In the last of these classes belong certain passages in Goldingham's masque in honour of the Queen, performed on the 21st of August 1578;<sup>3</sup> the challenges and retorts of the opposing champions in the great tournament commemorated in a sonnet by Sidney, when four of Elizabeth's knights met a large band of the French followers of the Duc d'Anjou;<sup>4</sup> and many com-

<sup>1</sup> The following quotations are all from speeches: 1. "He can be no sanctuary man that hath neither discretion to desire it nor malice to deserve it." (Continuation (1543) of *Hardyng's Chronicle*, ed. London, 1812, p. 486.)

2. "And when you determined to besiege the town of Neuse, you thought yourself in a great doubt whether you should lose more at home by your absence, . . . or else gain more in Germany by your power and presence." (*Chronicle* (1569), ed. 1909, vol. ii. p. 47.) 3. "But if God will it so ordain that you and my master join in a league and amity, I dare both say and swear that the fine steel never cleaved faster to the adamant stone than he will stick and clasp with you, both in wealth and wo, in prosperity and adversity." (*Ib.*, p. 54.) 4. "A peace both as honorable and as profitable to you as a peascod, and not so wholesome as a pomegranate." (*Ib.*, p. 56.) The oratorical use of the figures here is in direct line with medieval tradition.

<sup>2</sup> "These be thei whiche professyng knowledge, abuse the ignorance of the nobilitie and commonaltie, to the destruccion of bothe: havynge peace in their mouthes, and all rancor and vengeance in their hartes: pretending religion, perswade rebellion: preachyng obedience, procure al disobedience: semying to forsake all thyng, possesse all thyng: callyng themselves spirituall, are in deede moste carnall: and reputed heddes of the Churche, bee the onely shame and slaunder of the Churche." E.E.T.S., Extra Series, 17 and 18, p. 209. I have used the colon here to indicate *rhetorical* structure.

<sup>3</sup> Masque Performed before the Queen, Aug. 21, 1578, in the publications of the Roxburghe Club, vol. 40. This is quoted by Wendelstein, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> The speakers who represent the different challengers had their speeches written for them by different persons, perhaps by the challengers themselves. At least the variation in style seems to show this. Query: Did Sidney write those which are addressed to the Queen by a young boy on behalf of all the challengers? They are very schematic, but in the Arcadian manner, not the Euphuistic. Most Euphuistic are those spoken for Sir Thomas Perot and Master Cooke, and for Master Ratcliffe. The following is from the former:

plimentary addresses and masques presented to the Queen on her various progresses through the towns and to the castles of her subjects, as, for example, those that George Gascoigne wrote and spoke on the occasion of her visits to the town of Kenilworth and the town of Woodstock in 1575.<sup>1</sup>

"Despair, no, not despair (most high and mighty Princess), could so congeal the frozen knight in the air, but that Desire (ah sweet Desire) inforced him to behold the sun on the earth; whereon as he was gazing with twinkling eye (for who can behold such beams steadfastly?), he began to dissolve into drops, melting with such delight that he seemed to prefer the lingering of a certain death before the lasting of an uncertain life. . . . [Later one of their pages, disguised as an angel, speaks to the Queen:] The sun in the highest delighteth in the shadow which is shortest, and nourisheth the tree whose root groweth deepest, not whose top springeth loftiest. . . . Sir knights, if in besieging the sun, ye understood what you have undertaken, ye would not destroy a common blessing for a private benefit. Will you subdue the sun? Who shall rest in the shadow where the weary take breath, the disquiet rest, and all comfort? Will your bereave all men of those glistening and glad some beams? What shall then prosper in the shining but you will then climb it by the rays? O rare exhalations! Brothers you may be to Desire, but sons ye are to ill-hap, which think you cannot sink deep enough into the sea unless you take your fall from the sun. Desist, you knights, desist, sith it is impossible to resist: content yourself with the sun's indifferent succor, suffer the juniper shrub to grow by the lofty oak, and claim no prerogative where the sun grants no privilege." Henry Goldwell, *A Brief Declaration of the Shows, Devices* [etc.], London, 1581, reprinted in Nichols' *Progresses of Q. Elizabeth*, 1788, vol. ii. pp. 133-4. The date of the composition of the "Shows and Devices" was later than the appearance of the first part of *Euphues*; but that their style was in an established tradition is shown by the quotations in the following note.

<sup>1</sup> "Well, worthy Queen, and my most gracious Sovereign, it hath been written in authority and observed by experience, that thunder oftentimes bruise the bones, without blemishing of the flesh; or (as some have held opinion) that hath been seen to break the sword, without hurt to the scabbard. The which as yet is a rare and strange adventure: so in my judgment that deserveth to be deeply considered; and being once well weighed it requireth also to be well remembered. . . . And this allegorical exposition of thunder have I prettily picked out of mine own youthful pranks. . . . He hath bruised my bones with the scourge of repentance, though my body bear the show of a wanton and wavering worldling. And he hath broken the blade of my heady will, though the scabbard of my wishing remain whole and at liberty. But . . . I am compelled to take comfort in one other observation which we find in worldly occurrents: for we see that one self-same sunshine doth both harden the clay and dissolve the wax, whereby I am encouraged to gather that as God (by his wrath justly conceived) hath stricken me, so (by his mercy pitifully inclined) he may, when it pleaseth him, graciously recomfort me, and the same sun which shineth in his justice to correct stubborn offenders, may also glisten in his grace to forgive the penitent sinner." The account of the entertainments at Woodstock, pp.

But, it may be asked, what have these two classes of works to do with each other? How does it happen that a style which appears in the sermon, the great type of medieval discourse, also appears in connection with the ceremonies and observances of a great and cultivated court of the Renaissance? And the answer must be that the one is not more medieval than the other. If Ascham in addressing King Henry in praise of the bow, or Elizabeth's knights in challenging their foreign foes, or Gascoigne in praising his sovereign lady in an allegory, if all of these use a style that is medieval in form, there is nothing surprising in the fact, for the occasions that inspire them all are essentially medieval. If Bishop Antonio de Guevara writes a similar style (calling it *oratio aulica*), why should we wonder, when we know that his subject-matter, his thought, and his sources of information are as medieval as his style? <sup>1</sup> In fact courtly and medieval are not contrasted terms, as applied to the culture of Spain and England in the sixteenth century; and *per contra* the culture of the new humanism and the culture of "high" society are not identical, but often contrasted and sometimes hostile. It is true that humanism often found its home at the courts of the Renaissance princes; yet the older stream of civilization also ran along there in much its old way, scarcely mingling its waters with those of the new tributary. <sup>2</sup>

19-21, in vol. ii. of Nichols' *Progresses of Q. Eliz.* The date is 1575. The style here seems to me more like Eupheus than that of any other work that preceded Lyly's, more so even than Pettie's. See also the *Tale of Hametes*, told also by Gascoigne, immediately following; *The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle*, 1575, in same volume, especially a speech of Sylvanus, p. 81; and, in vol. ii. of the same work, an old shepherd's speech in *The Speeches at Bissam*.

<sup>1</sup> The introduction of the *Libro Aureo* is borrowed from Dares and Dictys, as Norden tells us in note 2 on page 792; and all the humanists quoted in this same note by Norden complain that Guevara did not draw his learning from classical authors. In spite of this showing, Norden tries to prove, unsuccessfully, it seems to me, that Guevara was a humanistic scholar.

<sup>2</sup> A careful investigation of the meaning of the phrase *oratio aulica* in the Renaissance and the Middle Ages would probably illustrate the point raised in the above paragraph. For it could be shown, I think, that it is associated with the chanceries, or official secretarial bureaux, of the Popes and Emperors, and therefore indicates the same form of style from which Petrarch celebrated his narrow escape in a letter quoted above, and which so many humanists rejoice to have unlearned, after being taught to use it in their youth. This is evidently what it means when applied to Guevara himself, who is its chief exponent in the vernacular; for on the title-pages of his works it is con-

A second question, different from this, but related to it, is this: If the rhetorical forms of Euphuism and Guevarism are those long familiar in Latin prose, what was it that gave them their new life? What new charm did they take on in the sixteenth century that made them seem the appropriate forms of *estilo culto*? (We might answer that the love for all forms of ornateness, characteristic of the Renaissance, would alone have served to revive the *schemata*.) But the true explanation of the phenomenon is certainly that now for the first time these figures appeared in an artistic and elaborate use in the vernacular. The novelty consists, not in the figures themselves, but in the fact that they are sounded on a new instrument, and that an art which had been the possession of clerks alone becomes the property of men and women of the world. In the history of fashions there are episodes much stranger than this.

It has been pointed out by Child and others that the Euphuistic figures do not disappear from English literature immediately after the passing of the courtly fashion; that they continue in fact to adorn a considerable body of early seventeenth-century prose; and it is customary to treat these later occurrences as examples of the persistent influence of Lyly. But if the opinion here advanced is correct they are rather to be regarded as independent survivals of the long monkish tradition of style, owing little or nothing to the courtly use of the preceding age, but testifying remarkably to the power of a convention which had endured for so many ages. The examples heretofore suggested tend to support this view, for they have been brought from sermons and works of religious edification, in which the medieval tone survives; and the two illustrations which we have to add to these are of the same character. The first

connected with his employment as historiographer and court-preacher to the Emperor Charles. In a passage from Miræus quoted by Norden (p. 793), concerning Guevara, *aulici* are contrasted as a matter of course with *eruditi*, the latter term being used of course in the humanist sense. The famous *Libro Aureo* is essentially a medieval book, as regards plan, content, and purport, as will appear from Child's comparison of it with the French original of Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit* by Frère Lorens: "Old and new, the books of both are books royal, books for the king, mirrors of the world. From one into the other the set homily and tractate pass—not the form only in the set discourses, but the Simon-pure theological homily itself." (P. 122.) Child does not, I think, mean that the one directly influenced the other, but only that they drew from similar medieval stores.

is Thomas Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*,<sup>1</sup> the second the Sermons of Thomas Adams.<sup>2</sup>

## VII

## THE USES OF THE SCHEMATA IN MIDDLE-ENGLISH PROSE

A third kind of evidence tending to prove the close connection between Euphuism and the medieval rhetoric is found in the fact that the Euphuistic figures appeared in the vernacular tongues before humanism had begun to affect the culture of Europe. The fact is not new, for a few medieval uses have already been pointed out in previous studies of Euphuism. What remains, therefore, is to prove that these medieval occurrences are much more common than has been supposed, and to show their real significance.

<sup>1</sup> "As fire cannot be long smothered, but it will find vent; nor the sun be so eclipsed and clouded, but it will soon work itself into its own native glory and splendor: so the omnipotency of the great Creator cannot be so darkened, either by the stupidity of the ignorant, or the malicious obstinacy of the seeming-wise, but even out of their voluntary blindness it will extract its own brightness." Th. Heywood, *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*, London, 1635, book iv. (prose), p. 218. The work is dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria.

<sup>2</sup> Adams's sermons represent in a remarkable way the transition from sixteenth-century schematic prose to the "new style" of the Jacobean age. Beginning with the gay ornaments of Latimer and the medieval preachers, as in the *City of Peace* and *Politick Hunting*, he gradually emerges into a new world of thought and style under the influence of Bacon and Donne, until in *England's Sickness*, for example, he echoes the solemn tones of Thomas Browne. (In his friend Bishop Hall a similar melting of old into new may be seen by the student of style.) As examples of the earlier style: "But if they that fly from God by contempt shall thus speed, what shall become of them that fly upon God by contumacy?" *Politick Hunting* (Works, 1861, vol. i. p. 4). "But as a man may be Crassus in his purse, yet no Cassius in his pots; so, on the contrary, another may be, as it is said of Job, poor to a proverb, yet be withal as voluptuous as Esau. Men have *talem dentem, Qualem mentem*—such an appetite as they have affection. . . . The poor man that loves delicate cheer shall not be wealthy; and the rich man that loves it shall not be healthy." *Ib., ib.*, p. 5. "Sometimes the sun's heat working upon a muddy and baneful object breeds horrid serpents." "Thus when the sun is hottest the springs are coldest." "It is written of the Thracian flint that it burns with water and is quenched with oil." In the last three (from *The Forest of Thorns*, Works, 1861, ii. p. 476 ff.) he is perhaps imitating Lyly, but in the others merely the tradition of preaching gives him his figures.

The *schemata* occur constantly in Anglo-Saxon and early English literature, but only in their simplest forms, never used conspicuously or artfully. The vernacular was felt to be too crude to bear the ornaments associated with the ancient tongue; and they are first employed with regular and conscious art at the time when modern poetry was born,—in the fourteenth century. A marked similarity to Euphuism has been noted in the use of the figures in the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*,<sup>1</sup> and a treatise has been devoted to the "Euphuistic tendency" in Richard Rolle.<sup>2</sup> To these may be added some occurrences which have been cited from Caxton's *Charles the Grete*.<sup>3</sup> Beyond this nothing has been done, to my knowledge, with the history of the *schemata* in Middle-English; yet these are but a few examples of a practice which, as future investigations will certainly show, was extremely common in the prose of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The *schemata* are as freely and as artfully used, for instance, by Rolle's followers<sup>4</sup> and by the contemporary mystic Walter Hilton<sup>5</sup> as by Rolle himself; they appear in a more highly developed and graceful form in the *Mirror of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, a work translated before 1410 by an English monk from the Latin of Bonaventura;<sup>6</sup> and a

<sup>1</sup> Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, pp. 120-2.

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Schneider, *The Prose-style of Richard Rolle of Hampole with Special Reference to its Euphuistic Tendencies*, Baltimore, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Wendelstein, *Vorgeschichte des Euphuismus*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> 1. "Many forsoth that with me have spoken, like wer to scorpions, for with there hede flaterand thai have fagyð, and with thare tayl bakbyttand thai have smyttyn." Richard Misyn, *The Fire of Love*, 1435 (E.E.T.S., 106, p. 22),—a translation of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*. 2. "And ilke a day when thou mysdose than he reprofes the, and whene thou repentis the than he forgyffes the, and when thou erris than he amendis the, and when thou dredis the than he leris the" (etc.). *Mirror of St. Edmund* (translation of a Latin original), in Horstman, *Richard Rolle . . . and his Followers*, London, 1895, p. 221. 3. See, in the same volume, *The Privy of the Passion* (a translation from Bonaventura), p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> In Hilton's works the figures are more simply used, usually without as much elaboration as in the examples in the preceding note; but see a quotation from him just below.

<sup>6</sup> "Arise up therefore now al my ioye, and comforte me with thyn ageyn comynge, whom thou so discomfortest through thyn awaie passynge." Ed. L. F. Powell, Oxford, 1908, p. 263. "Sothely, I trowe that with soverayne mervaille here hertes melted into likynge sorwe and sorowful likynge." (P. 259.) In this work there is the characteristic combination of alliteration and similar endings that is found in *Euphuies*. On page 284 there is a good example of successive clauses ending in similar sounds, as in the rimed Latin prose.



remarkable example, very enlightening for the history of Euphuism, will be found in Atkynson's translation of the *Imitatio Christi*, made at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Only a little search would be needed to add to the number of such works, and it is safe to say that the *schemata* are characteristic of the style of the ecclesiastical English literature of the fifteenth century. And indeed there is no reason why we should not add to these pre-Renaissance works many sixteenth-century writings produced under medieval inspiration. Who, for instance, will imagine that the style of Fisher's sermons, or Latimer's or Lever's, or of Grafton's *Chronicles*, has been affected in a considerable degree by humanistic influence? For the sake of clearness, however, we will limit our attention to the medieval examples.

The similarity to Euphuism in the style of several of these older writings has, as we have just seen, already been observed by various critics. It is the more remarkable that its significance has never been properly understood. Feuillerat, for instance, waives the discussion of Rolle's style, which, as he admits, "has all the characteristics of Lyly's style," with the remark: "Cela est inutile pour ma démonstration. Ce serait, en outre, rattacher l'euphuisme à un mouvement de style avec lequel il n'a historiquement aucune relation."<sup>2</sup> If Feuillerat means only that Rolle's use of the figures in English is not directly a cause of their use in the English of the sixteenth century, he is perhaps right. But when it is remembered that all the cases of schematic prose in Middle-English are only the occasional overflows of a stream of Latin prose-style which runs on with almost unabated volume into the sixteenth century itself, it is not so clear that they are phenomena of a different order from Euphuism. It is a curious fact that the scholars who have observed them have treated them as if they were phenomena peculiar to the vernacular and originating there. None of them, not even Professor Child, who has laid most emphasis on the medieval occurrences, has seen that they are due to the attempt to render the current

<sup>1</sup> *English Translations of 'Imitatio Christi,'* ed. J. K. Ingram, E.E.T.S., Extra Series, No. 63. There are many attempts in this work to produce complicated figures something like those of the original, but they usually result only in awkwardness: "O thou servyce, worthy alwey to be desyred and halsed wherby almighty God is gotten, and everlasting ioy and gladnes gotten." iii. 11 (10 in the Latin), ed. Ingram, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *John Lyly*, p. 451, n.

Latin style. This fact scarcely needs to be proved, but if evidence were needed it could easily be found by comparing some of the passages mentioned with their known Latin originals, and observing how closely they correspond in form. A sentence from Walter Hilton will show both how close the imitation could be and how much it could resemble Euphuës in style: "*Altiora te ne quesieris, et fortiora te ne scrutatus fueris*, that is to saye, hgyh thynges that are above thy witte and thy reason seke not, and greate thynges that are above thy myght ransake not." <sup>1</sup> From Atkynson: "These desyre rather by pompe and pryde to be great in the world than by mekenesse and charyte to be in favoure with God, and therefore they vanysshe in theyr thoughtis and desyres as the smoke that ever the more it ascendeth the more it fadeth and fayleth." <sup>2</sup> We have here, under no influence but monkish Latin, a style that is more like the Euphuistic model than that of many passages quoted from sixteenth-century predecessors of Euphuism. <sup>3</sup>

The kinds of evidence which we have suggested so far could be supplemented by one of a different sort, namely, that which could be derived from a careful consideration of the **Sixteenth-century study of Isocrates.** actual knowledge and use of the writings of Isocrates — which the critics place easily first among the models of Euphuistic rhetoric. It could be shown that in the first half of the century, when the Euphuistic tendency was establishing itself firmly, the study of this author was limited to a very small circle of humanists, and that it was not until Euphuism was at its very height that he was taught to any such extent as to affect the main currents of English style. Indeed, as regards his place in the school curricula, the evidence on this point has already been produced by the chief authority in the subject. <sup>4</sup> How is it possible, we may well ask, that the

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. on Mixed Life*, conclusion (Horstman, as above, p. 292).

<sup>2</sup> Book i. chap. 3, Ingram ed., p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> I have little doubt that medieval French would offer examples as interesting as the English. The French original of the *Ayenbite* has the figures in greater profusion than the translation, and the preacher Gerson provides the following phrase, in which there are both transverse alliteration and transverse assonance: "les faiz d'ung bon prince qui fut gracieulx a regarder, vigoureux a guerroyer." (Aubertin, Ch., *Hist. de la . . . Litt. Française au Moyen Âge*, ii. 367.)

<sup>4</sup> "Indeed, from a consideration of all the facts, it seems clear that the study of Greek in any way bearing directly on school practice had no stronghold . . . before the return of the English refugees . . . after the Marian

humanistic study of a single Greek author, in days when humanism was still struggling for a firm foothold, could have been the chief cause of a tendency almost universal in English style? But this subject must be left to future investigation.<sup>1</sup> Nothing remains for us to do here but to state the general conclusions which are to be drawn from the evidence presented.

## VIII

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the first place it must be said again that no single influence caused the prevalence of the Euphuistic figures in the sixteenth century. This is recognized by all. Feuillerat is very emphatic in saying that Euphuism "is due to the imitation of the ancient literatures," and in particular that Isocrates "seems to be the author who caused the adoption of these figures by English stylists." But he also observes that the influence of Isocrates was reinforced by that of all the "authors, Greek or Latin, who had cultivated artistic style" (he is apparently thinking here only of the authors of classical antiquity); he recognizes the part played by the study of rhetoric in manuals (though here again he expressly limits his view to the contemporary and the classical); and he assigns a certain rôle, herein following Child, to the national English poetry.<sup>2</sup>

Now the history of Euphuism is certainly quite as complex as Feuillerat represents it. It is true that I would analyse and define the elements that enter into it in a different way, and I think that he has left out of account, as Norden and all other critics have done, the most important part of the history of the aureate style. But whatever changes in the analysis we may make, we must still recognize that Euphuism was due to an interplay of forces of the same kind that Feuillerat describes; and the difference between his explanation and that which we propose consists largely in the order in which these various forces are taken and the relations between them. The difference, however, is of such a kind that it would place Euphuism in a new historical perspective.

persecution." Foster-Watson, *English Grammar-Schools*, 1909, p. 490. See the earliest records of the prescription of Isocrates, in the same work, p. 491.

<sup>1</sup> It has now (April 1916) been carefully studied by Mr. T. K. Whipple in a paper in the *Modern Language Review*. ✓

<sup>2</sup> *John Lyly*, pp. 469-70.

And first as regards the cause of the taste for ornate prose. Feuilleat is clear on this point. He says that it was due to "the fascination which the classical languages exercised on the men of the Renaissance."<sup>1</sup> But this explanation will not serve. The phenomenon was caused by the concurrence of the same elements in the taste of the Renaissance that give the character of ornateness to nearly all of its art, the same mixture of the classical, the mediæval, and the courtly in the culture of the age that makes the *Orlando Furioso*, for instance, and the *Faerie Queene* so fantastic and so unclassical. And of the causes that apply particularly to prose-style, the first place must be given, not to the imitation of the classics, but to the novelty of literary prose in the vernacular, and the need of adapting the familiar speech to unaccustomed uses of art and beauty. Indeed, the humanistic imitation of the classics, if we could isolate it from the other forces of the time, and as it were extract its essence, would appear the one strong influence working for purity and simplicity. To attribute the love of a fanciful ornateness to this cause is to fall into the common error of identifying the Renaissance with the revival of antiquity.

Secondly, as regards the *process* by which Euphuism was evolved, there is a similar objection to Feuilleat's theory. The humanistic method of learning to write by imitation of authors had a part in it, but only the minor part. Here and there we can find independent-minded writers, like Ascham and perhaps his exalted pupil, who could extract clauses from Isocrates, Cicero, or Saint Cyprian and imitate them in English. But such experiment had little effect upon the general movement. The laboratory in which the simples of Euphuism were extracted from their sources and compounded in a conventional form for general conveyance was the universal study of the art of rhetoric. In estimating the importance of this study we must not think only of the new manuals in the vernacular, which have been made familiar by modern reprints. Much the greater number of text-books were in Latin and are unknown to the present day; and even the multiplicity of manuals gives but a poor idea of the actual prevalence of rhetorical training in schools and universities, and under the private tuition of all kinds of teachers, from the most enlightened humanist to the most benighted scholiast. The old art, in short, lost none of the dignity

<sup>1</sup> *John Lyly*, p. 460.

1. Cause  
of the  
love of  
ornate  
rhetoric.

2. Pro-  
cess of  
fabrica-  
tion of Eu-  
phuism.

it had long enjoyed in the *trivium*, but, on the other hand, greatly increased its popularity. Some of the remarkable favour in which rhetoric was held during the Renaissance was of course due to the revival of classical learning: the later humanistic theory of education through the study of form greatly stimulated the interest in style. But it does not follow that even when the impulse came from this side the method was that of the humanists; and in fact we can see by the manuals which remain that it was usually the traditional method of figures and formulas, definitions aided by examples handed down from old books, or invented by the teacher.<sup>1</sup>

Thirdly, if the theory here advanced is accepted, the *sources* from which rhetoric drew its favourite figures must be placed in a different order from that which is now customary. In

**3. Whence did it derive the schemata?** individual cases the imitation of the classical orators produced such figures as appear in Euphuism, but even in these cases they merely confirmed a tendency already well established. And in general the effect

of classical imitation, in the Renaissance as in the Middle Ages, was to discourage or limit the use of the *schemata* rather than to promote it. The Greek and Latin romances and their English translations perhaps had an effect when *estilo culto* came to be used in fiction,<sup>2</sup> and there was certainly a constant effect upon ecclesiastical usage from the study of the church-fathers, though its extent is very hard to determine because the forms it produces are often like those of medieval rhetoric. But the real and effective cause of Euphuism is not, let us repeat, imitation of any kind. (It is tradition—the force of the long and uninterrupted custom of the immediate past.)

The medieval tradition was somewhat broken, it is true, by the Reformation on one hand and humanism on the other. But

**The channels of medieval influence.** the interruption was not nearly so sudden or complete as is commonly supposed; and there is no difficulty in tracing the channels through which the forms of medieval style could descend to the sixteenth century.

**1. Medieval books.** It is constantly being forgotten that the reading of the first generation of humanists, Colet, More, and so on, was necessarily in medieval books, except for a few

<sup>1</sup> After the necessary training in the elements, through grammars and 'colloquies,' the introduction to rhetoric was achieved by means of manuals of the 'figures,' such as Sysenbrotus. Sherry's work is entitled: *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes*. See *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. iii. p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xxvi, note.

works that they could get from abroad ; that education in England was still monastic in the youth of Ascham, Wilson, and North ; and that up to the year 1538 the only libraries in England were those maintained by the religious orders at their various institutions,—of which Oxford colleges were the most important.<sup>1</sup> Even the later Protestant humanists must have been trained in churchly literature in their youth ; and when we consider that the earlier leaders in the new culture were all Catholics, some of them peculiarly devout Catholics, and a few of them martyrs to their faith, we may be certain that they were constant readers of devotional Catholic works, and especially of the works of piety, Saints' Lives and contemplative treatises, which were produced in increasing number during the latter part of the fifteenth century. And in such works as these they would see the medieval rhetoric of schemes in its full flower ; for the churchly literature preserves its old forms in spite of the Renaissance.

The first channel, then, through which the medieval world kept up its communication with the sixteenth century was the reading of medieval books. But even though all the books had been lost, the force of custom would have sufficed to carry over the old forms of style into the new age. The public disputation and oration in Latin were, throughout the century, the chief forms of rhetorical exercise, just as they had always been ; and it is simply inconceivable that any important change in the style of these performances occurred during the quarter-century that followed the suppression of the monasteries. Where shall one look for the machinery by which such a change could have been brought about ? All education was in a disorganized, almost desperate, condition during this period ; and it is a notorious fact that Protestantism did not succeed in finding an effective substitute for the old monastic discipline until Elizabeth's reign was well advanced. Indeed we are not left to conjecture as regards the style of Latin oratory at this time. There is a sermon preached, during the reign of Edward VI., by the young academic orator who was to become Bishop Jewel, in which the form is the usual rime-prose of the Middle Ages, with all the ornamental figures that accompany that style.<sup>2</sup>

To the survival of old books and the force of custom we must add a third influence working even more effectively for the trans-

<sup>1</sup> See R. H. Benson, *The Dissolution of the Religious Houses*, in *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, iii. chap. 3 ; and W. H. Woodward, same work, vol. iii. chap. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, Parker Soc. ed., pp. 950 ff.

mission of the old figures of speech : namely, the continuance in common use of the old rhetorical manuals and the writing of new ones in imitation of them. Wilson's rhetoric must not be taken as characteristic of the books regularly used, for he is a humanist and shares the humanist dislike for the figures we are now interested in. And besides his book was too advanced for use in schools or even in colleges. Sherry's *Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (1555) in English represents much more nearly the scope of the ordinary instruction ; and the usual Latin rhetorics, the *Figuræ* of Mosellanus and the *Epitome Troporum* of Sysenbrotus, show by their titles just what they included. These were all comparatively recent books, but if we could learn of the manuals and text-books that were actually used by all the schools, as well as those that were talked about and officially recognized, we should probably find that they were often the same that had been recognized as orthodox for centuries ; for there is a curious tendency in education to adhere to old forms of practice long after they have become antiquated by the progress of thought in the world outside of school.<sup>1</sup> The books in which Latin grammar was taught show this tendency even more clearly than the rhetorics do. We know by almost countless references that the text-books in general use in Shakespeare's boyhood were "Donet," Priscian, and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander, the medieval favourites ; and we have already seen that all these books gave instruction in the *schemata*.

And in this connection there is still another point to be noted. It must be remembered that in England and in Spain the Renaissance trod more closely upon the heels of the Middle Ages than in France and Italy. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had made deep inroads into medievalism in the latter countries, and had gradually assimilated the new classicism. In the countries farther from the centre, on the other hand, the ground had not been cleared before the new seed was sown. The new learning made a late and abrupt appearance, and found many old forms of learning, many popular, traditional, and national feelings and tastes, not only still intact, but flourishing with new vigour under the enlivening influence of the general stir and excitement of the age. It is probably for this reason that *estilo*

<sup>1</sup> This tendency is illustrated in our own, or the last-preceding, age by the fact that the accepted rhetorical teacher, at least in America, until thirty or forty years ago was Hugh Blair, the exponent of the style of Addison.

Closeness  
of the  
Renaissance to  
the  
Middle  
Ages in  
England.

*culto* assumed particular forms in Spain and England, which it did not take in France and Italy.

The sum of our argument, then, is that Euphuism is not the product of humanistic imitation of the ancients, that it is, on the other hand, a survival of the "rhetoric of the schools."

**Con-**  
**clusion.** The *schemata* of medieval Latin, revived by being translated into the popular speech, enjoyed a brief new career of glory, to fall into their final disgrace and desuetude before the conquering advance of naturalism and modern thought at the end of the sixteenth century. The humanists often tried to check their course, or confine their use within the limits of good taste ; but they failed of their purpose, first, because the study of rhetoric, which they advocated as the best approach to the classical mind, often proved to be in effect merely a school for the practice of the *schemata*, and, secondly, because the authors whom they imitated might be used to sanction the same figures. It was left for a new school of Anti-Ciceronian style, of which Montaigne, Lipsius, Bacon, and the Spanish prose-concettists were the chief exemplars, to put an end at the same time, both to the superstitious imitation of Cicero and to the rhetoric of schemes and vocal devices which had run a triumphant course, in spite of all opposition, through two thousand years of literary history.

MORRIS W. CROLL.



# EUPHUES: THE ANATOMY OF WIT

*Very pleasant for all Gentlemen to read, and most  
necessary to remember: wherein are contained  
the delights that Wit followeth in his  
youth by the pleasantness of love, and  
the happiness he reapeth in age,  
by the perfectness of wisdom*

BY

JOHN LYLY, Master of Art, Oxon.

Imprinted at London for Gabriel Cawood  
dwelling in Paul's Churchyard

## NOTE TO TITLE-PAGE

*Euphues*. Gr. εὐφροδῆς means in Plato 'well-endowed with natural gifts, both physical and intellectual.' But Lyly may have gone no further than Ascham's *Scholemaster* for the name and character of his hero. In a well-known passage, Ascham quotes from the Seventh Book of the *Republic* the "seven plain notes to choose a good wit in a child for learning," and concerning the first says that *Euphues* "is he that is apt by goodness of wit, and appliable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body that must another day serve learning . . . ; as a tongue not stammering, or over-hardly drawing forth words, but plain and ready to deliver the meaning of the mind; a voice not soft, weak-piping, womanish, but audible, strong, and manlike; a countenance not weerish and crabbed, but fair and comely; a personage not wretched and deformed, but tall and goodly; for . . . even as a fair stone requireth to be set in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it leeseeth much of the grace and price; even so excellence in learning . . . joined with a comely personage is a marvellous jewel in the world" (ed. Camb., 1904, pp. 194-5). Concerning this passage and Lyly's interpretation of it, see Introduction, pp. xxii-xxiii.

*Anatomy*. The word had already been used in the titles of English books (see two examples in M'Kerrow's edition of *Nashe*, iv. 3). But Lyly's use of it may account for the fact that it became very common in titles during the following decade, and indeed for fifty years after. Examples are: Stubbs' *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583; Greene's *Arbusto*, *The Anatomie of Fortune*, 1584; Nashe's *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1588; Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621. Feuillerat (*John Lyly*, p. 478, n.) quotes a passage from *Greene's Mourning Garment* (*Greene's Works*, ed. Grosart, xi. 123): "The vanity of youth, so perfectly anatomized that you may see every vein, muscle, and artery of her unbridled follies."

*Wit*. The word as used by Ascham in the passage which suggested Lyly's title, means simply talent for studies, intellectual capacity. This is the usual meaning in the 16th century. Lyly often places it, however, in antithesis with *wisdom*, much as he contrasts *lust* and *love*. A new turn is thus given to the word (which it also displays in other writers); it becomes almost equivalent to worldly curiosity and an unholy desire of knowledge—the lust of the mind—and stands for the dangerous and insidious tendencies of the Renaissance in their conflict with the severer religious ideas of the Reformation.

## THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD  
AND MASTER, SIR WILLIAM WEST, KNIGHT, LORD  
DELAWARE, JOHN LYLY WISHETH LONG LIFE  
WITH INCREASE OF HONOUR<sup>1</sup>

PARRHASIUS<sup>2</sup> drawing the counterfeit of Helen, Right Honourable, made the attire of her head loose ; who being demanded why he did so he answered she was loose. Vulcan was painted curiously,<sup>3</sup> yet with a polt-foot<sup>4</sup> ; Venus cunningly,<sup>(a)</sup> yet with her mole. Alexander<sup>5</sup> having a scar in his cheek held his finger

*Note.*—Figures (1) refer to Literary Notes ; letters (a) to Textual Notes.

<sup>1</sup> No facts have yet been discovered to explain the nature of the connection between Lyly and Sir William West, tenth baron de la Warre, though Bond (to whose edition of Lyly's works many obligations will have to be acknowledged in the following pages) conjectures that Lyly may at one time have been tutor to one of his sons. The nobleman's early career had been clouded by his conviction in Parliament of the crime of poisoning his uncle in order to hasten his inheritance. The taint upon his blood was officially removed by a later order (1563), and the hereditary title was revived for him in 1570. Henceforth he was trusted with important public functions, and sat in Parliament in all the sessions of twenty years. His son Thomas, ten or twelve years younger than Lyly, became the father of four sons who were active in Virginia affairs ; and for one of these sons, the twelfth baron, the state and bay of Delaware were named.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny does not mention, in his account of Parrhasius, a picture of Helen by him ; but immediately before he speaks of Zeuxis' famous representation of her (xxxv. 36).

<sup>3</sup> *Curiously* : with careful art.

<sup>4</sup> *Polt-foot* : club-foot. *Polt* meant a pestle or club. Compare Greene's *Menaphon*, ed. Arber, p. 39 : " Though he [Vulcan] was a polt-foot, yet he was a God ; " and *Euphues*, infra, p. 82. There is probably here, as Bond points out, a reminiscence of Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, i. 29 and 30, in which Alcamenes is said to have represented Vulcan with his lameness, and the physical blemishes of the gods, such as warts, are discussed.

<sup>(a)</sup> *Venus cunningly, yet with her mole*. So 1578. 1579A altered to *Laeda cunningly, yet with hir blacke haire*, and was followed by later editions.

<sup>5</sup> This story of Alexander and Apelles may be an invention of Lyly's.

upon it that Apelles might not paint it. Apelles painted him with his finger cleaving to his face. "Why," quoth Alexander, "I laid my finger on my scar because I would not have thee see it." "Yea," said Apelles, "and I drew it there because none else should perceive it; for if thy finger had been away either thy scar would have been seen or my art misliked." Whereby I gather that in all perfect works as well the fault as the face is to be shown. The fairest leopard is set down with his spots, the sweetest rose with his prickles,<sup>(a)</sup> the finest velvet with his brack.<sup>1</sup> Seeing then that in every counterfeit as well the blemish as the beauty is coloured I hope I shall not incur the displeasure of the wise in that in the discourse of Euphues I have as well touched the vanities of his love as the virtues of his life. The Persians, who above all their kings most honoured Cyrus,<sup>2</sup> caused him to be engraven as well with his hooked nose as his high forehead. He that loved Homer<sup>3</sup> best concealed not his flattering; and he that praised Alexander most bewrayed his quaffing. Demonides<sup>4</sup> must have a crooked shoe for his wry foot, Damocles<sup>5</sup> a smooth glove for his straight hand. For as every painter that shadoweth a man in all parts giveth every piece his just proportion, so he that deciphereth the qualities of the mind ought as well to show every humour in his kind as the other doth every part in his colour. The surgeon that maketh the anatomy<sup>6</sup>

(a) *the sweetest rose with his prickles, the finest velvet with his brack.* So 1578. 1579A altered to *the finest cloth with his lyst, the smoothest shooe with his last*, and was followed by later editions, 1581 concluding *hath his last*.

<sup>1</sup> *Brack* (variant form of *break*): a flaw in cloth. A passage on p. 10 is so much like the one that begins here that it seems probable that Lyly meant to cancel one of them and neglected to do so.

<sup>2</sup> *Cyrus . . . with his hooked nose.* Plutarch says (*Praec. Ger. Resp.*, § 28): "The Persians, because Cyrus had a hooked nose, like such noses." He repeats the remark in *Reg. et Imper. Apoph.*, *Cyri I.*, and Erasmus has it in his *Apophth.* (*Works*, iv. 229 c), whence perhaps Lyly derived it.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, as Bond says, Plutarch is both the admirer of Homer and the eulogist of Alexander here alluded to: see *De Audiendis Poetis*, § 2 (on Homer), and *Convivialium Disput.*, i. 6 (on Alexander's drunkenness).

<sup>4</sup> *Demonides.* Demonides, a cripple, with badly twisted feet, exulted over the disappointment in store for the thief who stole his shoes (Plutarch, *De Aud. Poetis*, § 3).

<sup>5</sup> *Damocles.* Bond says "there was a beautiful Athenian boy of that name," referring to Plutarch's *Demetrius*. But of course the "straight hand" is spoken of as a deformity, not a beauty; and on p. 233 Damocles is again mentioned as an example of physical ugliness. Lyly's source is not known. Another Damocles is mentioned on p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Anatomy*: not the process or act of anatomizing, but the body anatomized.

showeth as well the muscles in the heel as the veins of the heart.

If then the first sight of Euphues shall seem too light to be read of the wise or too foolish to be regarded of the learned, they ought not to impute it to the iniquity of the author but to the necessity of the history. Euphues beginneth with love as allured by wit, but endeth not with lust as bereft of wisdom. He wooeth women provoked by youth, but weddeth not himself to wantonness as pricked by pleasure. I have set down the follies of his wit without breach of modesty and the sparks of his wisdom without suspicion of dishonesty. And, certes, I think there be more speeches which for gravity will mislike the foolish than unseemly terms which for vanity may offend the wise.

Which discourse, Right Honourable, I hope you will the rather pardon for the rudeness in that it is the first, and protect it the more willingly if it offend in that it shall be the last. It may be that fine wits will descant<sup>1</sup> upon him that, having no wit, goeth about to make the Anatomy of Wit; and certainly their jesting in my mind is tolerable. For if the butcher should take upon him to cut the anatomy of a man because he hath skill in opening an ox, he would prove himself a calf; or if the horse-leech would adventure to minister a potion to a sick patient in that he hath knowledge to give a drench to a diseased horse, he would make himself an ass. The shoemaker must not go above his latchet,<sup>2</sup> nor the hedger meddle with anything but his bill. It is unseemly for the painter to feather a shaft, or the fletcher to handle the pencil. All which things make most against me in that a fool hath intruded himself to discourse of wit. But as I was willing to commit the fault, so am I content to make amends. Howsoever the case standeth I look for no praise for my labour, but pardon for my good will; it is the greatest reward that I dare ask, and the least that they can offer. I desire no more, I deserve no less. Though the style nothing delight the dainty ear of the curious sifter, yet will the matter recreate the mind of the courteous reader. The variety of the one will abate the harshness of the other. Things of greatest profit are set forth with least price. When the wine is neat

<sup>1</sup> *Descant*: ring the changes of wit, comment jestingly or with ridicule.

<sup>2</sup> *The shoemaker must not go above his latchet*. The proverb originates in the story of Apelles and the shoemaker who ventured to criticize one of his paintings, told by Pliny, xxxv. 36. Apelles warned him, says Pliny, *ne supra crepidam sutor judicaret, quod et ipsum in proverbium abiit*. For later history of the proverb see Otto, p. 97, Düringsfeld, ii., no. 388.

there needeth no ivy-bush.<sup>1</sup> The right coral needeth no colouring. Where the matter itself bringeth credit, the man with his gloss winneth small commendation. It is therefore, (a) methinketh, a  
 ✓ greater show of a pregnant wit than perfect wisdom in a thing of sufficient excellency to use superfluous eloquence. We commonly see that a black ground doth best beseeem a white counterfeit.<sup>2</sup> And Venus, according to the judgment of Mars, was then most amiable when she sat close by Vulcanus. If these things be true which experience trieth—that a naked tale doth most truly set forth the naked truth, that where the countenance is fair there need no colours,<sup>3</sup> that painting is meeter for ragged walls than fine marble,<sup>4</sup> that verity then shineth most bright when she is in least bravery—I shall satisfy mine own mind, though I cannot feed their humours which greatly seek after those that sift the finest meal and bear the whitest mouths.<sup>5</sup> It is a world to see  
 ✓ how Englishmen desire to hear finer speech than the language will allow, to eat finer bread than is made of wheat,<sup>6</sup> to wear finer cloth than is wrought of wool. But I let pass their fineness, which can no way excuse my folly.<sup>7</sup> If your Lordship shall

<sup>1</sup> *There needeth no ivy-bush.* A bush or branch of ivy (Bacchus' plant) was a usual tavern-sign. The saying was already proverbial in Lyly's time. M'Kerrow (see note in his *Nashe*, iv. 257-8) produces passages that tend to show that the ivy-bush specifically indicated the sale of *wine*, while a mere ale-house would not carry one.

(a) *It is therefore* 1578 *It is therefore*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Counterfeit*: usually a portrait, here any painting or image.

<sup>3</sup> *Where the countenance is fair there need no colours.* The proverb appears in varied forms. Ray (ed. Bohn, p. 69) has: "A good face needs no band." Hazlitt, p. 135, gives: "Fair faces need no paint."

<sup>4</sup> *Painting . . . marble.* Bond points out that this comparison is taken almost verbatim from Pettie's *Pallace of Pleasure*, ed. 1576, fol. 91. The ultimate source is perhaps Pliny, xxxvi. 1-7, where he contrasts the use of marble-slabs as a wall-covering of private houses with the older simplicity of painted earthen or stone walls.

<sup>5</sup> *Bear the whitest mouths*: used again by Lyly, pp. 215, 287, 458. The metaphor has not been found in any other author, but it is plain that Lyly uses it of those who are extremely fastidious and hard to satisfy or control. The figure is that of a restive horse chafing the bit. See note on p. 458.

<sup>6</sup> *Finer bread than is made of wheat.* Heywood has the proverb (p. 81).

<sup>7</sup> *Their fineness . . . my folly.* Lyly need not be suspected of insincerity in apologizing for the plainness of his style. In the first place, his aim in this first part of his work is moral edification: he is as serious as Elyot or Ascham. And in the second place, he was accustomed to a rhetoric more fantastic than his own in very grave and reverend authors, for example in Augustine and Cyprian.

accept my good will, which I always desired, I will patiently bear the ill will of the malicious, which I never deserved.

Thus committing this simple pamphlet to your Lordship's patronage and your honour to the Almighty's protection, for the preservation of the which, as most bounden, I will pray continually, I end.

Your Lordship's servant to command,

J. LYLY.

## TO THE GENTLEMEN READERS

I WAS driven into a quandary, Gentlemen, whether I might send this my pamphlet to the printer or to the pedlar. I thought it too bad for the press and too good for the pack.<sup>1</sup> But seeing my folly in writing to be as great as others', I was willing my fortune should be as ill as any man's. We commonly see the book that at Christmas<sup>2</sup> lieth bound on the stationer's stall at Easter to be broken in the haberdasher's shop; which sith it is the order of proceeding, I am content this winter to have my doings read for a toy that in summer they may be ready for trash.<sup>3</sup> It is not strange whenas the greatest wonder lasteth but nine days,<sup>4</sup> that a new work should not endure but three months. Gentlemen use books as gentlewomen handle their flowers, who in the morning stick them in their heads and at night strew them at their heels. Cherries be fulsome<sup>5</sup> when they be through ripe because they be plenty, and books be stale when they be printed in that they be common. In my mind printers and tailors are bound chiefly to pray for gentlemen: the one hath so many fantasies to print, the other such divers fashions to make, that the pressing-iron of the one is never out of the fire nor the printing-press of the other any time lieth still. But a fashion is but a day's wearing and a book but an hour's read-

<sup>1</sup> *Pedlar . . . pack.* Bond supposes that Lyly is thinking of having his work sold, like ballads, by pedlars, and cites Autolycus' wallet. But the whole context shows that he is contemplating the sale of his unprinted manuscript as wrapping for parcels, or as old paper, which probably had a much greater value then than now.

<sup>2</sup> *Book . . . at Christmas.* The first edition of the *Anat. of Wit* was entered on the Stationers' Register in Dec. 2, 1578.

<sup>3</sup> *Trash.* The word originally means broken bits, as of wood for fuel, scraps, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *The greatest wonder lasteth but nine days.* Heywood has the proverb, pp. 53 and 196, and his editor quotes Ascham's *Scholemaster*. Compare Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, iv. 588: "Ek wonder last but nine nyght nevere in towne."

<sup>5</sup> *Fulsome*: satiating, offensive, repugnant.



ing ; which seeing it is so, I am of a shoemaker's mind, who careth not so the shoe hold the plucking on, nor I(a) so my labours last the running over. He that cometh in print because he would be known is like the fool that cometh into the market because he would be seen. I am not he that seeketh praise for his labour, but pardon for his offence ; neither do I set this forth for any devotion in print,<sup>1</sup> but for duty which I owe to my patron. If one write never so well he cannot please all, and write he never so ill he shall please some. Fine heads will pick a quarrel with me if all be not curious, and flatterers a thank <sup>2</sup> if anything be current. But this is my mind, let him that findeth fault amend it and him that liketh it use it. Envy braggeth but draweth no blood, the malicious have more mind to grip than might to cut. I submit myself to the judgement of the wise and I little esteem the censure of fools. The one will be satisfied with reason, the other are to be answered with silence. I know gentlemen will find no fault without cause, and bear with those that deserve blame ; as for others I care not for their jests, for I never meant to make them my judges.

*Farewell.*

(a) *nor I* 1579A, etc. 1578 and I.

<sup>1</sup> *In print.* The new art of printing produced a proverbial phrase 'in print,' meaning 'in a neat and perfect manner' (see note on p. 391), and this was sometimes used adjectively with a noun, in the sense 'perfect, thorough.' Lyly uses this here with a punning allusion to the literal sense of the phrase, as Shakespeare does in *Two Gent. of V.*, II. 1, 175.

<sup>2</sup> *Pick . . . a thank* : see note on p. 38.

# EUPHUES

THERE dwelt in Athens <sup>1</sup> a young gentleman of great patrimony and of so comely a personage that it was doubted whether he were more bound to Nature for the lineaments of his person or to Fortune for the increase of his possessions. But Nature, impatient of comparisons, and as it were disdaining a companion or copartner in her working, added to this comeliness of his body such a sharp capacity of mind that not only she proved Fortune counterfeit but was half of that opinion that she herself was only current. This young gallant, of more wit than wrath, and yet of more wrath than wisdom, seeing himself inferior to none in pleasant conceits thought himself superior to all in honest conditions, insomuch that he deemed himself so apt to all things that he gave himself almost to nothing but practising of those things commonly which are incident to these sharp wits—fine phrases, smooth quipping, merry taunting, using jesting without mean, and abusing mirth without measure. As therefore the sweetest rose hath his prickles, the finest velvet his brack,<sup>2</sup> the fairest flour his bran, so the sharpest wit hath his wanton will and the holiest head his wicked way. And true it is that some men write, and most men believe, that in all perfect shapes a blemish bringeth rather a liking every way to the eyes than a loathing any way to the mind. Venus had her mole in her cheek which made her more amiable; Helen her scar on her chin which Paris called *cos amoris*,<sup>3</sup> the whetstone of love; Aristippus<sup>4</sup> his wart, Lycurgus his wen. So likewise in the disposition of the mind, either virtue is overshadowed with some vice or vice overcast with some virtue: Alexander valiant in war, yet given to

<sup>1</sup> Athens: Oxford University. See note on p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Brack: see note on p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Cos amoris*: I do not find the source of this phrase.

<sup>4</sup> Aristippus . . . Lycurgus. I have found no allusion to Aristippus' wart or Lycurgus' wen. For Aristippus see note on p. 12.

wine ; Tully eloquent in his glozes,<sup>1</sup> yet vainglorious ; Solomon wise, yet too too wanton ; David holy, but yet an homicide ; none more witty than Euphues, yet at the first none more wicked.

The freshest colours soonest fade, the <sup>k</sup>teenest <sup>2</sup>(a) razor soonest turneth his edge, the finest cloth is soonest eaten with moths, and the cambric sooner stained than the coarse canvas. Which appeareth well in this Euphues, whose wit being like wax apt to receive any impression, and having the bridle in his own hands either to use the rein or the spur, disdaining counsel, leaving his country, loathing his old acquaintance, thought either by wit to obtain some conquest or by shame to abide some conflict and, leaving the rule of reason, rashly ran into destruction ; who, (b) preferring fancy before friends and his present humour before honour to come, laid reason in water, being too salt for his taste, and followed unbridled affection most pleasant for his tooth.

When parents have more care how to leave their children wealthy than wise and are more desirous to have them maintain the name than the nature of a gentleman, when they put gold into the hands of youth where they should put a rod under their girdle,<sup>3</sup> when instead of awe they make them past grace and leave them rich executors of goods and poor executors of godliness, then it is no marvel that the son, being left rich by his father's will, become reckless by his own will.

But it hath been an old said saw and not of less truth (than antiquity that wit is the better if it be the dearer bought<sup>4</sup> ; as in the sequel of this history shall most manifestly appear. It happened this young imp<sup>5</sup> to arrive at Naples (a place of more pleasure than profit and yet of more profit than piety) ; the very

<sup>1</sup> *Glozes* : flattering or fine speeches. It is a favourite word with Lyly.

<sup>2</sup> *Teenest* : the word has not been found (see *NED.*) except here and p. 230, and is possibly a corruption of *keen*.

(a) *teenest* So 1578. 1595 altered to *keenest*.

(b) *who preferring fancy before friends . . . But* (12 lines below) Added in editions after 1578.

<sup>3</sup> *A rod under their girdle.* Compare *Endymion*, II. 2, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Wit is the better if it be the dearer bought.* Heywood, 18 and 169, has : "Wit is never good till it be bought." Other forms are 'Wit bought is better than wit taught' (Bohn, 570), 'Bought wit is best' (*ib.* 143), etc. A Latin form is '*nocumenta documenta.*' Düringsfeld, II., no. 286, gives many equivalents in foreign languages.

<sup>5</sup> *Imp* : orig., a shoot of a tree or plant, a slip, a scion ; hence, as here, an offshoot of a house or family, a child, a youngster.

walls and windows <sup>1</sup> whereof showed it rather to be the Tabernacle of Venus than the Temple of Vesta. There was all things necessary and in readiness that might either allure the mind to lust or entice the heart to folly: a court more meet for an atheist than for one of Athens, for Ovid than for Aristotle, for a graceless lover than for a goodly liver; more fitter for Paris than Hector, and meeter for Flora than Diana. Here my youth (whether for weariness he could not or for wantonness would not go any further) determined to make his abode; whereby it is evidently seen that the fleetest fish <sup>2</sup> swalloweth the delicatest bait, that the highest soaring hawk traineth to the lure, and that the wittiest sponce is inveigled with the sudden view of alluring vanities.

Here he wanted no companions, which courted him continually with sundry kinds of devices whereby they might either soak <sup>3</sup> his purse to reap commodity or soothe his person to win credit; for he had guests and companions of all sorts. There frequented to his lodging and mansion house as well the spider to suck poison of his fine wit as the bee to gather honey, as well the drone as the dove, the fox as the lamb, as well Damocles <sup>4</sup> to betray him as Damon to be true to him. Yet he behaved himself so warily that he singled (a) his game wisely. He could easily discern Apollo's music from Pan his pipe, and Venus's beauty from Juno's bravery, and the faith of Laelius <sup>5</sup> from the flattery of Aristippus. He welcomed all but trusted none; he was merry, but yet so wary that neither the flatterer could

<sup>1</sup> *Walls and windows whereof*: with allusion to the various signs used by prostitutes to indicate the places of their abode, as, for instance, a red-latticed window.

<sup>2</sup> *The fleetest fish*. Compare p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Soak*: drain dry, exhaust (see *NED.*, s.v., iii. 8, c).

<sup>4</sup> *Damocles*: not the Damocles of p. 4, but, probably, the flatterer of Dionysius the tyrant spoken of by Cicero (*Tusc.* v. 21).

(a) *singled his game wisely* . . . *using these speeches and other like*. Inserted from editions after 1578. 1578 has only *coulede single out his game wiselye, insomuche that*.

<sup>5</sup> *Laelius*: the friend of Scipio Africanus, for whom Cicero's treatise on friendship is named. *Aristippus*: the founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy, and a courtier of Dionysius the Tyrant. Lyly may have his information from Diogenes Laertius, who says that he was a man "quick to adapt himself to every place, time, and person," and that on this account Diogenes used to call him 'the King's dog' (*Diog. Laer.*, 8, 3). He is mentioned several times as a courtier by Lyly (see pp. 10, 18, etc.), and by Nashe (*M'Kerrow* ed., 1. 7, 22, etc.). Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*, Book i. (*Works*, iv.) is perhaps a more likely source than *Diog. Laertius*.

take advantage to entrap him in his talk nor the wisest any assurance of his friendship. Who being demanded of one what countryman he was, he answered, "What countryman am I not? If I be in Crete I can lie,<sup>1</sup> if in Greece I can shift, if in Italy I can court it. If thou ask whose son I am also, I ask thee whose son I am not. I can carouse with Alexander, abstain with Romulus,<sup>2</sup> eat with the Epicure, fast with the Stoic, sleep with Endymion, watch with Chrysippus<sup>3</sup>"—using these speeches and other like.

An old gentleman in Naples seeing his pregnant wit, his eloquent tongue somewhat taunting yet with delight, his mirth without measure yet not without wit, his sayings vainglorious yet pithy, began to bewail his nurture and to muse at his nature, being incensed against the one as most pernicious and inflamed with the other as most precious. For he well knew that so rare a wit would in time either breed an intolerable trouble or bring an incomparable treasure to the common weal; at the one he greatly pitied, at the other he rejoiced. Having therefore gotten opportunity to communicate with him his mind, with watery eyes, as one lamenting his wantonness, and smiling face, as one loving his wittiness, encountered him on this manner:—

"Young gentleman, although my acquaintance be small to entreat you and my authority less to command you, yet my good will in giving you good counsel should induce you to believe me and my hoary hairs (ambassadors of experience) enforce you to follow me; for by how much the more I am a stranger to you, by so much the more you are beholding<sup>4</sup> to me. Having therefore opportunity to utter my mind, I mean to be importunate

<sup>1</sup> *In Crete I can lie.* Compare p. 128 and p. 218. In the Ep. to Titus i. 12-13, we read: "One of themselves . . . said, the Cretians are always liars. . . . This witness is true;" and in Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 298, *mendax Creta*. But Lyly's source is probably Erasmus' *Adagia*, i. 2, 29 (*Works*, ii. 81E): *Cretiza cum Cretensi*. The reputation here ascribed to the Greeks is chiefly due to the trick of Sinon at the Trojan siege.

<sup>2</sup> *Abstain with Romulus.* Compare p. 97. De Vocht quotes Erasmus, *Convivium Fabulosum* (*Works*, i. 760B): *Caeterum Romulum abstemium fuisse, declarat apothegma*, etc. Erasmus' source is Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xi. 14, rather than Pliny, xiv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Chrysippus.* Compare p. 130. Lyly may have read of Chrysippus' marvellous industry in Diogenes Laertius, vii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Beholding*: a common equivalent for *beholden* from the 15th to the 18th century.

with you to follow my meaning. As thy birth doth shew the express and lively image of gentle blood, so thy bringing up seemeth to me to be a great blot to the lineage of so noble a brute<sup>1</sup>; so that I am enforced to think that either thou didst want one to give thee good instructions or that thy parents made thee a wanton with too much cockering,<sup>2</sup> either they were too foolish in using no discipline or thou too froward in rejecting their doctrine, either they willing to have thee idle or thou wilful to be ill employed. Did they not remember that which no man ought to forget, that the tender youth of a child is like the tempering of new wax apt to receive any form? He that will carry a bull with Milo must use to carry him a calf also,<sup>3</sup> he that coveteth<sup>4</sup> to have a straight tree<sup>5</sup> must not bow him being a twig. The potter fashioneth his clay when it is soft, and the sparrow is taught to come when he is young. As therefore the iron being hot<sup>6</sup> receiveth any form with the stroke of the hammer and keepeth it, being cold, for ever, so the tender wit of a child, if with diligence it be instructed in youth, will with industry use those qualities in his age.

"They might also have taken example of the wise husbandmen who in their fattest and most fertile ground sow hemp before wheat, a grain that drieth up the superfluous moisture

<sup>1</sup> *Brute*: hero, or noble examplar; from *Brutus*, the name of the mythical Trojan, hero and founder of London.

<sup>2</sup> *Cockering*: indulgence, pampering.

<sup>3</sup> *A bull with Milo . . . a calf also*. Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* i. 9, 5) gives as an example of a certain kind of *sententia*, or *chria*: *Milo quem vitulum assueverat ferre taurum ferebat*. Erasmus (*Adagia*, Works, ii. 90E) quotes the proverb from the fragments of Petronius (25). See also Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, p. 341, and Düringsfeld, ii., no. 387.

<sup>4</sup> *He that coveteth* [etc.]. Proverbs are likely to occur in *Euphues* in clusters or nests. And indeed this way of using them was a convention in 16th-century style. See, for instance, Ascham's *Scholemaster*, ed. Giles, p. 136; Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, ed. Oxford, 1909, p. 119; and the rôle of Nich. Proverbs in Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*. The part played by proverbs in 16th and 17th century literature is a subject which needs treatment. It can only be said here that the present editor disagrees with M. Feuillerat, who remarks that the part played by them in Lyly is less important than has been supposed. On the contrary, it is considerably more important.

<sup>5</sup> *A straight tree*: see note on p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *The iron being hot*: see Heywood, 8 and 221. Heywood's editor quotes Rabelais, ii. 31; and Skeat (*Early Eng. Proverbs*, Oxford, 1910, p. 71) cites Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, ii. 1275-6, and Shakespeare, *Hen. VI.*, Third Part, v. 1, 49. Lyly uses the proverb again, p. 352.

and maketh the soil more apt for corn; or of good gardeners who in their curious knots<sup>1</sup> mix hyssop with thyme<sup>2</sup> as aiders the one to the growth of the other, the one being dry, the other moist; or of cunning painters who for the whitest work cast the blackest ground, to make the picture more amiable. If therefore thy father had been as wise an husbandman as he was a fortunate husband or thy mother as good a housewife as she was a happy wife, if they had been both as good gardeners to keep their knot as they were grafters to bring forth such fruit, or as cunning painters as they were happy parents, no doubt they had sowed hemp before wheat, that is discipline before affection, they had set hyssop with thyme, that is manners with wit, the one to aid the other; and to make thy dexterity more, they had cast a black ground for their white work, that is they had mixed threats with fair looks.

"But things past are past calling again,<sup>3</sup> it is too late to shut the stable door when the steed is stolen.<sup>4</sup> The Trojans repented too late when their town was spoiled. Yet the remembrance of thy former follies might breed in thee a remorse of conscience and be a remedy against further concupiscence. But now to thy present time. The Lacedaemonians<sup>5</sup> were wont to show their children drunken men and other wicked men, that by seeing their filth they might shun the like fault and avoid such vices when they were at the like state. The Persians to make their youth abhor gluttony would paint an Epicure sleeping with meat in his mouth and most horribly overladen with wine, that by the view of such monstrous sights they might eschew the means of the like excess. The Parthians, to cause their youth to loathe

<sup>1</sup> *Curious knots*: "Flower beds made up into intricate patterns. Compare *L.L.L.*, i. 1, 249, 'The west corner of thy curious-knotted garden.'"—Landmann (ed. *Euphues, The Anat. of Wit*, Heilbronn, 1887, p. 139).

<sup>2</sup> *Mix hyssop with thyme*. "Compare *Othello*, i. 3, 325: 'Set hyssop and weed up thyme.'"—Landmann.

<sup>3</sup> *Things past are past calling again*. Compare: "Past cure is still past care," *Love's Labor's Lost*, v. 2, 28; "Things past redress are now with me past care," *Rich. II.*, ii. 3, 171. The proverb occurs in a great variety of forms: "What's done is done," "What can't be cured must be endured," etc.; and Lyly has (*infra*, p. 278): "Things which cannot be altered are to be borne, not blamed."

<sup>4</sup> *To shut the stable door when the steed is stolen*: a proverb in French, German, Dutch, English, etc. See Heywood, p. 26, with Farmer's note, p. 442; also Düringsfeld, ii., no. 627.

<sup>5</sup> *The Lacedaemonians* [etc.]. Bond quotes, as the source, Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, 28, but finds no source for the incidents related of the Persians and Parthians.

the alluring trains of women's wiles and deceitful enticements, had most curiously carved in their houses a young man blind ; besides whom was adjoined a woman, so exquisite that in some men's judgement Pygmalion's image <sup>1</sup> was not half so excellent, having one hand in his pocket as noting their theft, and holding a knife in the other hand to cut his throat.

" If the sight of such ugly shapes caused a loathing of the like sins, then, my good Euphues, consider their plight and beware of thine own peril. Thou art here in Naples a young sojourner, I an old senior, thou a stranger, I a citizen, thou secure doubting no mishap, I sorrowful dreading thy misfortune. Here mayest thou see that which I sigh to see, drunken sots wallowing in every house, in every chamber, yea, in every channel <sup>2</sup>; here mayest thou behold that which I cannot without blushing behold nor without blubbering utter, those whose bellies be their gods, who offer their goods as sacrifice to their guts, who sleep with meat in their mouths, with sin in their hearts, and with shame in their houses. Here, yea here, Euphues, mayest thou see, not the carved visard of a lewd woman, but the incarnate visage of a lascivious wanton, not the shadow of love but the substance of lust. My heart melteth in drops of blood to see a harlot with the one hand rob so many coffers and with the other to rip so many corses. Thou art here amidst the pikes <sup>3</sup> between Scylla and Charybdis, ready if thou shun Syrtis to sink into Symplegades.<sup>4</sup> Let the Lacedaemonian, the Persian, the Parthian, yea, the Neapolitan cause thee rather to detest such villany at the sight and view of their vanity.

" Is it not far better to abhor sins by the remembrance of others' faults than by repentance of thine own follies ? Is not he accounted most wise whom other men's harms do make most wary <sup>5</sup> ?

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare seems to have imitated this passage in *Meas. for Meas.*, III. 2, 49 (cited by Landmann, *Euphues*, p. 139), unless both he and Lyly have a common source: "What, is there none of Pygmalion's images . . . for putting the hand in the pocket and extracting it clutched ?"

<sup>2</sup> *Channel*: gutter.

<sup>3</sup> *Pikes*: pointed rocks.

<sup>4</sup> *Syrtis . . . Symplegades*. The sand-bar known as Syrtis was off the north coast of Africa, whereas the islands called the Symplegades were supposed to float about, clashing against each other in the Euxine Sea ; but of course Lyly is thinking of the figurative application more than of the geographical position of these perils.

<sup>5</sup> *Most wise . . . most wary*: *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*, quoted by Erasmus, *Adagia*, II. 3, 39 (*Works*, II. 496E, in his discussion of the classical proverb *optimum aliena insania frui*), as a popular proverb.



But thou wilt haply say that although there be many things in Naples to be justly condemned, yet there are some things of necessity to be commended, and as thy will doth lean unto the one so thy wit would also embrace the other.

"Alas, Euphues, by how much the more I love the high climbing of thy capacity, by so much the more I fear thy fall. The fine crystal is sooner crazed<sup>1</sup> than the hard marble; the greenest beech burneth faster than the driest oak; the fairest silk is soonest soiled; and the sweetest wine turneth to the sharpest vinegar. The pestilence doth most rifest<sup>2</sup> infect the clearest complexion, and the caterpillar cleaveth unto the ripest fruit; the most delicate wit is allured with small enticement unto vice and most subject to yield unto vanity. If therefore thou do but hearken unto the Sirens thou wilt be enamoured,<sup>3</sup> if thou haunt their houses and places thou shalt be enchanted. One drop of poison infecteth the whole tun of wine, one leaf of Coloquintida<sup>4</sup> marreth and spoileth the whole pot of porridge, one iron-mole<sup>5</sup> defaceth the whole piece of lawn. Descend into thine own conscience and consider with thyself the great difference between staring and stark-blind,<sup>6</sup> wit and wisdom, love and lust. Be merry but with modesty, be sober but not too sullen, be valiant but not too venturous. Let thy attire be comely,<sup>7</sup> but not costly, thy diet wholesome but not excessive, use pastime as the word importeth—to pass the time in honest recreation. Mistrust no man without cause, neither be thou credulous without proof, be not light to follow every man's opinion, nor obstinate to stand in thine own conceit. Serve God, love God, fear God, and God will so bless thee as either thy heart (a) can wish or thy friends desire. And so I end my counsel, beseeching thee to begin to follow it."

<sup>1</sup> *Crazed*: cracked. Compare note on p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Rifest*: here an adverb, in the sense 'most readily or quickly,' as in the sentence quoted by Bond from Pettie (*Pallace*, fol. 29 v.): "Ripest fruite are rifest rotten." See *NED*.

<sup>3</sup> *Coloquintida*. The colocynth, or bitter-apple, was grown in gardens, because of the common use of its fruit as a purgative medicine.

<sup>4</sup> *Iron-mole*: a stain in cloth caused by iron. The earlier form of the word *mold*, *mould*, is *mole*, OE. *māl*.

<sup>5</sup> *Staring and stark-blind*. The following passages illustrate the proverb: "The difference between staring and stark blind The wise man at all times to follow can find" (Heywood, p. 82); "*M. Am I stark mad? T. No, no, you are but a little staring: there's difference between staring and stark mad*" (Ford, *Melancholy Lovers*, ii. 2). See also Lean's *Collectanea*, Bristol, 1902, vol. ii. pp. 688-9.

(a) *thy heart thy* added by 1581.

This old gentleman having finished his discourse, Euphues began to shape him an answer in this sort: "Father and friend (your age showeth the one, your honesty the other), I am neither so suspicious to mistrust your good will nor so sottish to dislike your good counsel; as I am therefore to thank you for the first, so it stands me upon<sup>1</sup> to think better on the latter. I mean not to cavil with you as one loving sophistry, neither to control<sup>2</sup> you as one having superiority; the one would bring my talk into the suspicion of fraud, the other convince me of folly.

"Whereas you argue, I know not upon what probabilities but sure I am upon no proof, that my bringing-up should be a blemish to my birth. I answer, and swear too, that you were not therein a little overshot; either you gave too much credit to the report of others or too much liberty to your own judgment. You convince my parents of peevishness<sup>3</sup> in making me a wanton, and me of lewdness in rejecting correction. But so many men so many minds<sup>4</sup>; that may seem in your eye odious, which in an other's eye may be gracious. Aristippus<sup>5</sup> a philosopher, yet who more courtly? Diogenes a philosopher, yet who more carterly<sup>6</sup>? Who more popular than Plato, retaining always good company? Who more envious than Timon, denouncing all human society? Who so severe as the Stoics, which like stocks<sup>7</sup> were moved with no melody? Who so secure as the Epicures, which wallowed in all kind of licentiousness? Though all men be made of one metal yet they be not cast all in one mould. There is framed of the self-same clay as well the tile to keep out water as the pot to contain liquor, the sun doth harden the dirt and melt the wax,<sup>8</sup> fire maketh the gold to shine and the straw to

<sup>1</sup> *It stands me upon*: it behoves me, is incumbent upon me.

<sup>2</sup> *Control*: call to account, rebuke.

<sup>3</sup> *Peevishness*: folly, silliness.

<sup>4</sup> *So many men so many minds*. Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health*, 1589, quotes the proverb as "an old saying." See Lean, *Collectanea*, iv. 4. It is of classical origin. Bond refers to Terence, *Phormio*, II. 4, 14, and Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, p. 166, quotes several forms, the commonest being: *quot homines, tot sententiae*. See also Düringsfeld, ii, no. 544.

<sup>5</sup> *Aristippus*: see note on p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Courtly . . . carterly*. The same antithesis is made by Wilson in his *Arte of Rhetorique* to illustrate the figure called "like endings: He is a meeter man to drive the cart than to serve the court" (Oxford ed., 1909, p. 203).

<sup>7</sup> *Stoics . . . stocks*. The same pun occurs again, p. 46.

<sup>8</sup> *The sun . . . the wax*: from Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 621E): *Ut sol lutum indurat, ceram liquefacit: Ita eadem oratio, ab eodem dicta, hunc emolliet at poenitudinem errorum, hunc irritabit ad contumaciam*. See also 608A in same work.

smother, perfumes doth refresh the dove and kill the beetle,<sup>1</sup> and the nature of the man disposeth that consent of the manners.

"Now whereas you seem to love my nature and loathe my nurture, you bewray your own weakness in thinking that nature may anyways be altered by education; and as you have ensamples to confirm your pretence, so I have most evident and infallible arguments to serve for my purpose. It is natural for the vine<sup>2</sup> to spread; the more you seek by art to alter it, the more in the end you shall augment it. It is proper for the palm-tree to mount<sup>3</sup>; the heavier you load it the higher it sprouteth. Though iron be made soft with fire<sup>4</sup> it returneth to his hardness; though the falcon be reclaimed to the fist she retireth to her haggardness<sup>5</sup>; the whelp of a mastiff will never be taught to retrieve the partridge; (education can have no show where the excellency of nature<sup>6</sup> doth bear sway.) The silly mouse will by no manner of means be tamed; the subtle fox may well be beaten, but never broken from stealing his prey; if you pound spices they smell the sweeter<sup>7</sup>; season the wood never so well, the wine will taste

<sup>1</sup> *Perfumes . . . the beetle.* De Vocht quotes Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 572c): *Ut scarabei ac vultures offenduntur unguentis, . . . ita non omnibus placent optima*, and gives Erasmus' sources in Aristotle and Aelian. Lyly seems, however, to cross this with another of the *Similia*, col. 624: *Siquidem oleo peruncta moriuntur illa* [namely, flies, ants, and almost all insects], etc.

<sup>2</sup> *The vine* [etc.]: probably from Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 617E), since Lyly is drawing a number of similes here from this work; but here he changes the meaning of his original (*Ut vites nisi amputes late sese spargit*) and produces questionable natural history. He is nearer the truth in p. 44 and p. 399.

<sup>3</sup> *The palm-tree to mount.* Compare *The Entertainment Given to her Majesty in Progress at Cowdray*, Bond's *Lyly*, i. p. 426: "Or as the Palm that higher rears his head When men great burthens on the branches throw." See also *infra*, p. 281. The source is either Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivialium*, viii. 4, at end, or Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 617c). Lyly's application, however, is quite the opposite of Plutarch's. The fact is pictured also in Alciati's *Emblems* (ed. Paris, 1542, p. 58), a book used by Lyly as the source of some similes.

<sup>4</sup> *Iron . . . made soft with fire.* The source is apparently Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 566F), and Erasmus probably draws on Plutarch's *Moralia*, *De Primo Frigido*, § 2. The latter passage is as follows: "There are some substances, which cold causes to contract and shrink if it strikes them while they are very hot, as for instance iron steeped in water."

<sup>5</sup> *Haggardness.* A haggard is defined by *NED.* as a wild hawk which is caught after its adult plumage has grown, and hence cannot be trained well or at all. Compare p. 59 and p. 358.

<sup>6</sup> *Excellency of nature*: the quality or peculiar gift with which one is endowed by nature.

<sup>7</sup> *Spices . . . smell the sweeter.* Bond quotes Pettie's *Pallace of Pleasure*,

of the cask; plant and translate the crab-tree where and whensoever it please you and it will never bear sweet apple—unless you graft by art, which nothing toucheth nature. (a) Infinite and innumerable were the examples I could allege and declare to confirm the force of nature and confute these your vain and false forgeries, were not the repetition of them needless, having showed sufficient, or bootless, seeing those alleged will not persuade you. And can you be so unnatural, whom Dame Nature hath nourished and brought up so many years, to repine as it were against Nature?

“The similitude you rehearse of the wax argueth your waxing and melting brain, and your example of the hot and hard iron showeth in you but cold and weak disposition. Do you not know that which all men do affirm and know, that black will take no other colour? That the stone Asbestos<sup>1</sup> (b) being once made hot will never be made cold? That fire cannot be forced downward<sup>2</sup>? That Nature will have course after kind<sup>3</sup>? Can the Aethiop change or alter his skin? Or the leopard<sup>4</sup> his hue? Is it possible to gather grapes of thorns,<sup>5</sup> or figs of thistles? Or to cause anything to strive against Nature?

“But why go I about to praise Nature, the which as yet was never any imp<sup>6</sup> so wicked and barbarous, any Turk so vile and brutish, any beast so dull and senseless, that could, or would, or durst dispraise or contemn? Doth not Cicero<sup>7</sup> conclude and f. 11 v: “As spices, the more they are beaten, the sweeter scent they send forth.” The proverb is not classical, but *tus irritum* is an Ovidian phrase (see *Met.* vii. 589).

(a) unless you graft by art, which nothing toucheth nature. Added in editions after 1578.

<sup>1</sup> The stone Asbestos. *Asbestos Arcadiae lapis, ferrei coloris, ab igni nomen sortitus, eo quod accensus semel nunquam exstinguitur.* Isidore of Seville, xvi. 4, 4. The spelling in the early editions of both Isidore and Lyly is *Abeston*. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Propr. Rerum* (xvi. 12), and Corn. Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia* (i. 9), describe the stone in the same words used by Isidore.

(b) *Asbestos*. All early edd. have *abeston*.

<sup>2</sup> Fire cannot be forced downward. Bond appositely quotes Aristotle, *Eth.* II. 1, 2: οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν θύσει ὄντων ἄλλως ἐθίζεται . . . ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ πῦρ κατὰ.

<sup>3</sup> Kind: nature. Course of (after) kind was a common phrase (see *NED.*, *kind*, sb. 4). Compare the proverb “cat will after kind” in Heywood, 33, Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, III. 2, 109, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The Aethiop . . . the leopard: Jeremiah xiii. 23. The verse ends: “Then may ye also do good that are accustomed to do evil.”

<sup>5</sup> Grapes of thorns [etc.]: Matthew vii. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Imp: here ‘fellow, rogue.’ Compare pp. 11 and 94.

<sup>7</sup> Cicero . . . Aristotle. Bond gives citations from Cicero, *De Finibus*, v. 9, and Aristotle, *De Caelo*, ii. 11.

allow that if we follow and obey Nature we shall never err? Doth not Aristotle allege<sup>d</sup> and confirm that Nature frameth or maketh nothing in any point rude, vain, and imperfect? Nature was had in such estimation and admiration among the heathen people that she was reputed for the only goddess in heaven. If Nature, then, have largely and bountifully endued me with her gifts, why deem you me so untoward and graceless? If she have dealt hardly with me, why extol you so much my birth? If Nature bear no sway, why use you this adulation? If Nature work the effect, what booteth any education? If Nature be of strength or force, what availeth discipline or nurture? If of none, what helpeth Nature? But let these sayings pass as known evidently and granted to be true, which none can or may deny unless he be false or that he be an enemy to humanity.

“As touching my residence and abiding here in Naples, my youthly and lusty affections, my sports and pleasures, my pastimes, my common dalliance, my delights, my resort and company, and companions which daily use to visit me—although to you they breed more sorrow and care than solace and comfort because of your crabbed age, yet to me they bring more comfort and joy than care and grief, more bliss than bale, more happiness than heaviness, because of my youthful gentleness. Either you would have all men old as you are or else you have quite forgotten that you yourself were young or even knew young days; either in your youth you were a very vicious and ungodly man, or now being aged very superstitious and devout above measure.

“Put you no difference between the young flourishing bay-tree<sup>1</sup> and the old withered beech? No kind of distinction between the waxing and the waning of the moon? And between the rising and the setting of the sun? Do you measure the hot assaults of youth by the cold skirmishes of age, whose years are subject to more infirmities than our youth? We merry, you melancholy; we zealous in affection, you jealous in all your doings; you testy without cause, we hasty for no quarrel; you careful, we careless; we bold, you fearful; we in all points contrary unto you, and ye in all points unlike unto us.

“Seeing therefore we be repugnant each to the other in nature, would you have us alike in qualities? Would you have one potion ministered to the burning fever and to the cold palsy;

<sup>1</sup> *Flourishing bay-tree*: compare Psalms xxxvii. 35: “Spreading himself [in Coverdale, 1535: *flourishing*] like a green bay-tree.”

one plaster <sup>1</sup> to an old issue and a fresh wound; one salve for all sores; one sauce for all meats? No, no, Eubulus <sup>2</sup>! But I will yield to more than either <sup>3</sup> I am bound to grant, either thou able to prove: suppose that, which I never will believe, that Naples is a cankered store-house of all strife, a common stew for all strumpets, the sink of shame, and the very nurse of all sin. Shall it therefore follow of necessity that all that are wooed of love should be wedded to lust; will you conclude, as it were *ex consequenti*, that whosoever arriveth here shall be enticed to folly and, being enticed, of force shall be entangled? No, no, it is the disposition of the thought that altereth the nature of the thing. The sun shineth upon the dunghill <sup>4</sup> and is not corrupted, the diamond lieth in the fire and is not consumed,<sup>5</sup> the crystal toucheth the toad <sup>6</sup> and is not poisoned, the bird Trochilus<sup>7</sup> (a) liveth by the mouth of the crocodile and is not

<sup>1</sup> *Plaster*: here and elsewhere used by Lyly as any "healing or soothing means or measure" (NED.).

<sup>2</sup> *Eubulus*. Lyly's use of this name and of the name *Philautus* has been thought to indicate that a source of his novel is to be found in the famous Terentian school-drama *Acolastus*, by Willem de Volder (usually known as Gnapheus or Fullonius), published at Antwerp in 1529. The drama, which tells the story of the prodigal son, had an immense success, and was imitated in all countries. The argument in favour of this source is given by Mr. J. D. Wilson, *The Library*, Oct. 1909 (N.S., vol. x. pp. 337 ff.). Gnapheus probably took the name *Eubulus* (which means 'good or prudent in counsel') from Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, vi. 8, as Mr. Wilson points out (p. 355).

<sup>3</sup> *Either . . . either*: this co-ordination seems to be peculiar to the 16th century (see NED.), and may be due to the imitation of Latin *aut . . . aut*; but *either* in the sense of *or* is common in Middle English, and occurs as late as the 1611 version of the Bible. Compare Luke vi. 42: "Either how canst thou say to thy brother . . . ?"

<sup>4</sup> *The sun . . . the dunghill*. Bond quotes the same simile from *The Treasure of Heavenly Philosophie*, 1538, by T[homas]. P[alfreyman]. But the saying was proverbial. See its history in note on p. 235.

<sup>5</sup> *The diamond . . . is not consumed*. From Erasmus' *Similia*, 598A: *Ut indomita vis adamanti . . . ut nec calescat igni, nec ferro cedat . . . Sic sapientis animus* [etc.]; or from Pliny, xxxvii. 15, whence Erasmus had his facts. See note on p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> *The crystal toucheth the toad*. Probably Lyly here puts crystal in place of the usual name for the stone found, according to popular belief, in the toad's head. This stone is mentioned as having the power to repel poison in Edw. Fenton's *Secrete Wonders of Nature*, 1569 (qu. by Bond, i. 335). See note on p. 35, and compare p. 311.

(a) *Trochilus*. So 1580. 1578 *Fiochilus*; 1579a *Throchilus*.

<sup>7</sup> *The bird Trochilus*. The same simile occurs on p. 365. Lyly's immediate source is Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 611E): *Crocodilus patitur Trochilum viculam carpere escam e faucibus suis, non illius amore, sed sua ipsius causa*.

spoiled,<sup>1</sup> a perfect wit is never bewitched with lewdness neither enticed with lasciviousness.

"Is it not common that the holm-tree springeth amidst the beech? That the ivy spreadeth upon the hard stones? That the soft feather-bed breaketh the hard blade? If experience have not taught you this you have lived long and learned little, or if your moist brain<sup>2</sup> have forgot it you have learned much and profited nothing. But it may be that you measure my affections by your own fancies, and knowing yourself either too simple to raise the siege by policy (a) or too weak to resist the assault by prowess, you deem me of as little wit as yourself or of less force; either of small capacity or of no courage. In my judgement, Eubulus, you shall as soon catch a hare with a tabor<sup>3</sup> as you shall persuade youth with your aged and overworn eloquence to such severity of life, which as yet there was never (b) Stoic so strict nor Jesuit so superstitious neither Votary so devout but would rather allow it in words than follow it in works, rather talk of it than try it. Neither were you such a saint in your youth that, abandoning all pleasures, all pastimes, and delights, you would choose rather to sacrifice the first fruits of your life to vain holiness than to youthful affections. But as to the stomach quatted<sup>4</sup> with dainties all delicacies seem queasy,<sup>5</sup> and as he that surfeiteth with wine useth afterward to allay with water, so these old huddles<sup>6</sup> having overcharged their gorges *Repurgat enim rostro os illius*. The final source is Pliny, viii. 90. Albertus Magnus embroiders a little: *Avis autem quae sibi* [i.e., the crocodile] *dentes purgat, et quam aliquando glutit, crochilos* [? trochilos] *Graece, Latine regulus dicitur* (*De Animal.*, xxiv. 37, *Works*, ed. 1891, vol. xii.). Lauchert (*Einfluss des Physiologus auf den Euph.*, Eng. Studien, xiv. 188 ff.) gives (p. 201, n.) examples from Greene and Gosson of the same simile.

<sup>1</sup> Spoiled: killed. See note 2, p. 367.

<sup>2</sup> Moist brain: compare Sir Giles Goosecappe, i. 1, in Bullen's *Old Plays*, iii. 9: "A dull moist-brained ass."

(a) by policy So 1579A, etc. 1578 of policy.

<sup>3</sup> Catch a hare with a tabor. The proverb is in *Richard the Redeles* (i. 58) in the same form as here. It occurs also in Heywood, p. 21. See Farmer's *Note-book and Word-list*, in his edition of Heywood, s.v. *hare*, and Skeat, *Early Eng. Proverbs*, p. 50, for interesting illustrations. Lyly uses it again, p. 311.

(b) never Stoic so strict nor Jesuit so superstitious neither Votary so devout So 1578. In the 1579B and later editions this is toned down to *never Stoic in precepts so strict, neither any in life so precise*.

<sup>4</sup> Quatted: pressed down, hence, of the stomach, overloaded. From O.F. *quatir*, L. *coact(us)*, pp. of *cogo*.

<sup>5</sup> Queasy: the active sense, 'causing nausea,' as here, is earlier than the passive sense, which is now perhaps more familiar.

<sup>6</sup> Huddles: crabbed old people. Compare p. 122.

with fancy account all honest recreation mere folly, and having taken a surfeit of delight seem now to savour it with despitte.

"Seeing therefore it is labour lost for me to persuade you and wind vainly wasted for you to exhort me, here I found you and here I leave you, having neither bought nor sold with you but changed ware for ware. If you have taken little pleasure in my reply, sure I am that by your counsel I have reaped less profit. They that use to steal honey burn hemlock to smoke the bees<sup>1</sup> from their hives; and it may be that to get some advantage of me you have used these smoky arguments, thinking thereby to smother me with the conceit of strong imagination. But as the chameleon<sup>2</sup> though he have most guts draweth least breath or as the elder tree though he be fullest of pith is farthest from strength, so though your reasons seem inwardly to yourself somewhat substantial and your persuasions pithy in your own conceit, yet being well weighed without they be shadows without substance and weak without force. The bird Taurus<sup>3(a)</sup> hath a great voice but a small body; the thunder a great clap yet but a little stone<sup>4</sup>; the empty vessel giveth a greater sound than the full barrel.<sup>5</sup> I mean not to apply it, but look into your-

<sup>1</sup> *Burn hemlock to smoke the bees.* There are many references to the poisonous properties of hemlock in 16th-century writings, and probably it was actually used for the purpose here spoken of. There may be an *allusion* to it in some lines of a song dated by NED. a 1500: Whan brome wyll appelles bere and humlock hony in feere, than sek rest in lond.

<sup>2</sup> *The chameleon.* There are three particularities of the chameleon in fabulous story: 1, it has in its body large lungs, and but little else (Pliny, xi. 72; Barth. Ang., xviii. 21; Erasmus, *Similia*, 617A); 2, it lives on air (Pliny, xxviii. 29; Barth. Ang. xviii. 21; Erasmus, *Similia*, ed. 1703, col. 607D); and it changes its colour (Pliny, vii. 51; Erasmus, *Adagia*, iii. 4, *Similia*, 604C, 605F). Why Lyly here alters the first of these to something like its opposite does not appear, unless he has merely misread Pliny, or (his more likely source) Erasmus.

<sup>3</sup> *The bird Taurus.* Erasmus, *Similia*, 614F: *Taurus avis cum sit pusilla, tamen boum vocem imitatur: Ita nonnulli cum re sint exigui, tamen loquuntur Reges ac Satrapas.* It is clear that this is Lyly's immediate source, instead of the passage in Pliny (x. 57) from which Erasmus drew.

(a) *Taurus* So editions after 1578. 1578 *Fauras*.

<sup>4</sup> *The thunder . . . a little stone.* Isidore of Seville has a statement concerning thunder which may be the ultimate source of this simile, though he has no mention of the stone or bolt which was popularly supposed to fall: "*Quod mirari quis non debeat, cum vesicula quamvis parva magnum autem sonitum displosa emittat*" (*Originum libri xx.*, xii. 8. 2).

<sup>5</sup> *The empty vessel* [etc.]. Compare Shakespeare, *Hen. V.*, iv. 4, 73. Düringsfeld, ii. pp. 11-12, quotes the proverb from German, Old French, Dutch, and other sources.



self and you shall certainly find it ; and thus I leave you seeking it—but were it not that my company stay my coming I would surely help you to look<sup>1</sup> it, but I am called hence by my acquaintance."

Euphues having thus ended his talk departed, leaving this old gentleman in a great quandary ; who, perceiving that he was more inclined to wantonness than to wisdom, with a deep sigh, the tears trickling down his cheeks, said : " Seeing thou wilt not buy counsel at the first hand good cheap,<sup>2</sup> thou shalt buy repentance at the second hand at such an unreasonable rate, that thou wilt curse thy hard pennyworth and ban thy hard heart.(a) Ah Euphues,(b) little dost thou know that if thy wealth waste thy wit will give but small warmth, and if thy wit incline to wilfulness that thy wealth will do thee no great good. If the one had been employed to thrift, the other to learning, it had been hard to conjecture whether thou shouldest have been more fortunate by riches or happy by wisdom, whether more esteemed in the common weal for wealth to maintain war or for counsel to conclude peace. But alas, why do I pity that in thee which thou seemest to praise in thyself ? " And so saying he (c) immediately went to his own house, heavily bewailing the young man's unhappiness.

Here ye may behold, gentlemen, how lewdly wit standeth in his own light, how he deemeth no penny good silver<sup>3</sup> but his own, preferring the blossom before the fruit, the bud before the flower, the green blade before the ripe ear of corn, his own wit before all men's wisdoms. Neither is that geason,<sup>4</sup> seeing for

<sup>1</sup> Look : look or search for.

<sup>2</sup> Good cheap : the word *cheap* was originally, as it is here, a noun, with the meaning 'bargain' or 'market.' From a shortening of the phrase *good cheap* the adjective use, which does not appear before the 16th century, arises.

(a) *ban thy hard heart* So 1578–1595. 1597 and later editions have *hard hap*.

(b) *Ah Euphues, little dost thou know . . . to praise in thyself ?* Added in editions after 1578.

(c) *And so saying he immediately went* Reading of editions after 1578, in place of 1578 *And immediately he wente*.

<sup>3</sup> Bond cites authorities for the use of silver in the coining of pennies in the 16th century. The expression was proverbial. Heywood, pp. 26 and 217, has : "She thinketh her farthing good silver"; and his editor quotes the same form, as Lyly's from Gascoigne's *Glass of Government*. See p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> *Geason* : rare, scarce (OE. *gæsne*, barren, unfruitful). The word was obsolescent in Lyly's time.

the most part it is proper to all those of sharp capacity to esteem of themselves as most proper.<sup>1</sup> If one be hard in conceiving they pronounce him a dolt, if given to study they proclaim him a dunce,<sup>2</sup> if merry a jester, if sad a saint, if full of words a sot, if without speech a cipher, if one argue with them boldly then is he impudent, if coldly an innocent, if there be reasoning of divinity they cry *Quae supra nos nihil ad nos*,<sup>3</sup> if of humanity *Sententias loquitur carnifex*.<sup>4</sup> Hereof cometh such great familiarity between the ripest wits when they shall see the disposition the one of the other, the *sympathia* ° of affections, and as it were but a pair of shears to go between their natures<sup>6</sup>; one flattereth an other in his own folly and layeth cushions under the elbow<sup>7</sup> of his fellow when he seeth him take a nap with fancy; and as their wit wresteth them to vice, so it forgeth them some feat<sup>8</sup> excuse to cloak their vanity.

Too much study doth intoxicate their brains. "For," say they, "although iron the more it is used the brighter it is, yet silver with much wearing doth waste to nothing; though the cammock<sup>9</sup> the more it is bowed the better it serveth, yet the

<sup>1</sup> The play on the two meanings of *proper* (*belonging as by a natural right, appropriate, and admirable, excellent*) is characteristic of Lyly's style.

<sup>2</sup> *Dunce*: originally, the name of a medieval philosopher (Duns Scotus, d. 1308) whose mode of thought fell into disrepute at the Renaissance, hence, as here, a dull pedant. The present use is a development from this sense.

<sup>3</sup> *Quae supra nos nihil ad nos*: quoted by Erasmus (*Adagia*, i. 6, 69) from Lactantius, iii. 20, as a "Socratic saying." In Alciati's *Emblemata*, ed. Paris, 1542, this legend accompanies the 28th emblem, which is a picture of Prometheus and the vulture, as a symbol of the presumptuous, *Qui coeli affectant scire Deorumque vices*. Compare p. 239 and p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> *Sententias loquitur carnifex*: the executioner pronounces sentence (i.e., assumes the function of a judge). The expression does not seem to appear in the classics, but in Castiglione's *Courtier* (Latin ed., Frankfurt, 1606, p. 28) says: *Ego judicem me et magistratum esse optarem*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sympathia*: used as Latin (or Greek), the word not having yet been naturalized. So also in Fenton's *Bandello*, vol. i. (Tudor Transl. ed.) p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> *A pair of shears to go between their natures*. That is, they were cut out of the same cloth. Compare *Meas. for Meas.*, i. 2, 28 ff.: "*First Gent.* Well, there want but a pair of shears between us. *Lucio.* I grant: As there may between the lists and the velvet. Thou art the list."

<sup>7</sup> *Cushions under the elbow*. Bond quotes Martin Marprelate, *Epistle*, ed. Arber, p. 32: "You sow pillows under Harvey's elbows." Lyly uses it again, p. 137.

<sup>8</sup> *Feat*: fit, meet; hence, apt, neat, adroit, etc.; from Fr. *fait*, pp. of *faire*, do or make.

<sup>9</sup> The cammock is a crooked stick, a crook. It had long been proverbial. Compare Skelton, *Why come ye not to Courte*, 114: "As right [straight] as a

how the more it is bent and occupied<sup>1</sup> the weaker it waxeth ; though the camomile the more it is trodden and pressed down the more it spreadeth,<sup>2</sup> yet the violet the oftener it is handled(a) and touched the sooner it withereth and decayeth. Besides this, a fine wit, a sharp sense, a quick understanding, is able to attain to more in a moment or a very little space than a dull and blockish head in a month. The scythe cutteth far better and smoother than the saw, the wax yieldeth better and sooner to the seal than the steel to the stamp or hammer, the smooth and plain beech is easier to be carved and occupied than the knotty box. For neither is there anything but that hath his contraries.”<sup>3</sup>

Such is the nature of these novices that think to have learning without labour and treasure without travail, either not understanding, or else not remembering, that the finest edge is made with the blunt whetstone and the fairest jewel fashioned with the hard hammer. I go not about, gentlemen, to inveigh against wit, for then I were witless, but frankly to confess mine own little wit. I have ever thought so superstitiously of wit that I fear I have committed idolatry against wisdom ; and if Nature had dealt so beneficially with me to have given me any wit, I should have been readier in the defence of it to have made an apology, than any way to turn to apostasy. But this I note,

cammock” (ironical) ; Barclay, *Mirr. of Good Manners*, 1510 (quoted by NED.) : “Soon crooketh the same tree that good camoke will be. As a common proverb in youth I heard this said.” See also Heywood, p. 94. Lyly used it above (p. 14), and uses it again (pp. 217, 409, etc.). Pope, *Moral Essays*, i. 149, has given the saying its modern form : “Just as the twig is bent, the tree’s inclined.”

<sup>1</sup> *Occupied* : made use of, used. This meaning did not survive the 16th century in general use.

<sup>2</sup> The simile of the camomile is probably taken by Lyly from a passage in Pettie’s *Pallace of Pleasure*, f. 11 v., quoted by Bond. Pettie’s source may have been the mere statement by Isidore of Seville (xvii. 9, 46) and other naturalists that the camomile grows close to the ground. In Shakespeare’s parody of Euphuism (1 *Hen. IV.*, II. 4, 440 ff.), this simile is reproduced.

(a) *it is handled* 1578 *it his handled* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Contraries*. The doctrine here enunciated plays a great part (as does also the doctrine of mysterious natural “sympathies” between things and creatures) in medieval medicine, physiology, magic, and other sciences. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Prop. Rerum*, says (Trevisa’s transl., vii., 7, 224) : “We hele contraries with contraries,” and Shakespeare, *Lear*, II. 2, 93 : “No contraries hold more antipathy than I and such a knave.” A discussion of many sympathies and antipathies in nature will be found in Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, Book i. chs. xvi.—xviii.

that for the most part they stand so on their pantofles<sup>1</sup> that they be secure<sup>2</sup> of perils, obstinate in their own opinions, impatient of labour, apt to conceive wrong, credulous to believe the worst, ready to shake off their old acquaintance without cause, and to condemn them without colour. All which humours are by so much the more easier to be purged, by how much the less they have festered the sinews. But return we again to Euphues.

Euphues having sojourned by the space of two months in Naples, whether he were moved by the courtesy of a young gentleman named Philautus<sup>3</sup> or enforced by destiny, whether his pregnant wit or his pleasant conceits wrought the greater liking in the mind of Euphues, I know not for certainty ; but Euphues shewed such entire love towards him that he seemed to make small account of any others, determining to enter into such an inviolable league of friendship with him as neither time by piecemeal should impair, neither fancy utterly dissolve, nor any suspicion infringe. "I have read," saith he, "and well I believe it, that a friend is in prosperity a pleasure, a solace in adversity, in grief a comfort, in joy a merry companion, at all times an other I,<sup>4</sup> in all places the express image of mine own person ; insomuch that I cannot tell whether the immortal gods have bestowed any gift upon mortal men either more noble or more necessary than friendship. Is there anything in the world to be reputed (I will not say compared) to friendship ? Can any treasure in this transitory pilgrimage be of more value than a friend—in whose bosom thou mayest sleep secure without fear,

<sup>1</sup> *Stand . . . on their pantofles* : that is, hold their heads high, stand on their dignity. The phrase was proverbial from the 16th to the 18th century. Its origin is well indicated by the foll. quot. from Puttenham, *Eng. Poesie*, ed. Arber, p. 49 : "The actor . . . did walk upon those high-corked shoes or pantofles which now they call in Spain and Italy *Shoppini*." See the examples cited in *NED.*, s.v. *pantofle*. Bond also refers to Lyly's *Endymion*, II. 2, 32-36 : "Because your pantables be higher with cork, therefore your feet must needs be higher in the insteps : you will be mine elder [etc.]."

<sup>2</sup> *Secure* : free from fear (not from danger).

<sup>3</sup> *Philautus*. The name, as Lyly explains (p. 164), means 'the selfish man.' Feuillerat, on the authority of a contemporary diary, believes that Philautus represents a real person, a college-mate of Lyly's. See note on p. 32. The quality *philautia* is constantly discussed by Erasmus in his *Colloquia* and by Castiglione in *The Courtier*.

<sup>4</sup> *An other I*. Bond quotes a clause, *Est enim is quidem tamquam alter idem*, from Cicero's *De Amicitia*, ch. 21, § 80.

whom thou mayest make partner of all thy secrets without suspicion of fraud and partaker of all thy misfortune without mistrust of fleeting, who will account thy bale his bane, thy mishap his misery, the pricking of thy finger the piercing of his heart? But whither am I carried? Have I not also learned that one should eat a bushel of salt<sup>1</sup> with him whom he meaneth to make his friend? That trial maketh trust<sup>2</sup>? That there is falsehood in fellowship? And what then? Doth not the sympathy of manners make the conjunction of minds? Is it not a byword, like will to like<sup>3</sup>? Not so common as commendable it is to see young gentlemen choose them such friends with whom they may seem, being absent, to be present, being asunder, to be conversant, being dead, to be alive. I will therefore have Philautus for my fere,<sup>4</sup> and by so much the more I make myself sure to have Philautus, by how much the more I view in him the lively image of Euphues."

Although there be none so ignorant that doth not know, neither any so impudent that will not confess friendship to be the jewel<sup>5</sup> of human joy; yet whosoever shall see this amity grounded upon a little affection will soon conjecture that it shall be dissolved upon a light occasion; as in the sequel of Euphues and Philautus you shall see, whose hot love waxed soon cold.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A bushel of salt.* Cicero says (*De Amic.*, 19): *verumque illud est quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus expletum sit.* Pettie is perhaps the immediate source of Lyly's words (see the passage from the *Pallace of Pleasure*, f. 67 r, quoted by Bond), but it is more likely that both Pettie and Lyly used one of the *Adagia* of Erasmus (II. 1, 14), which Taverner in his English version (1539) translates (no. 30): "Trust no man unless thou hast first eaten a bushel of salt with him." Erasmus (*loc. cit.*) traces Cicero's saying back to Theophrastus and other Greek sources. Repeated on p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Trial maketh trust:* see note on p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Like will to like:* a proverb of wide currency in all languages. See Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter*, i. 601; Heywood's *Proverbs*, ed. Farmer; Ulpian Fulwell's play, *Like Will to Like*, 1568. Hazlitt (*Eng. Prov.*, London, 1882, p. 274) quotes from Polydore Vergil (*Proverbiarum Libellus*, 1498, ed. 1503, sign. E iii) the Latin form *Pares cum paribus*, but Erasmus in his *Adagia* (I. 2, 21) has *simile gaudet simili*, which is translated by Taverner (f. viii, v.). "The like delighteth in the like: or as the Englishman saith, Like will to like."

<sup>4</sup> *Fere:* companion. In Lyly's time, as now, the word was a poetic archaism.

<sup>5</sup> *Jewel:* the most precious possession. Compare *Othello*, III. 3, 136: "Good name . . . is the immediate jewel of their souls."

<sup>6</sup> *Hot love waxed soon cold:* a common proverb, quoted, for instance, by Heywood, p. 6. Compare *Ralph Roister Doister* (ed. 1847, p. 77): "Gay love—God save it!—so soon hot, so soon cold." Used again by Lyly, p. 57, etc.

For as the best wine<sup>1</sup> doth make the sharpest vinegar, so the deepest love turneth to the deadliest hate. Who deserved the most blame in mine opinion it is doubtful, and so difficult that I dare not presume to give verdict. For love being the cause for which so many mischiefs have been attempted, I am not yet persuaded whether of them was most to be blamed, but certainly neither of them was blameless. I appeal to your judgement, gentlemen, not that I think any of you of the like disposition able to decide the question, but being of deeper discretion than I am are more fit to debate the quarrel. Though the discourse of their friendship and falling out be somewhat long, yet, being somewhat strange, I hope the delightfulness of the one will attenuate the tediousness of the other.

Euphues had continual access to the place of Philautus and no little familiarity with him, and finding him at convenient leisure, in these short terms unfolded his mind unto him.

"Gentleman and friend, the trial I have had of thy manners cutteth off divers terms which to another I would have used in the like manner. And sithence a long discourse argueth folly, and delicate words incur the suspicion of flattery, I am determined to use neither of them, knowing either of them to breed offence. Weighing with myself the force of friendship by the effects, I studied ever since my first coming to Naples to enter league with such a one as might direct my steps, being a stranger, and resemble my manners, being a scholar; the which two qualities as I find in you able to satisfy my desire, so I hope I shall find a heart in you willing to accomplish my request. Which if I may obtain, assure yourself that Damon to his Pythias, Pylades to his Orestes, Titus to his Gysippus,<sup>2</sup> Theseus to his Pirithous, Scipio to his Laelius, was never found more faithful than Euphues will be to his Philautus."

<sup>1</sup> *The best wine* [etc.]: Hazlitt, *Eng. Prov.*, p. 363, gives: "Take heed of the vinegar of sweet wine," quoting Herbert, *Outlandish Proverbs*, 1640.

<sup>2</sup> *Titus to his Gysippus*: compare p. 315. These examples (whose story is told in the *Decameron*, 10th day, novel 8) "are never omitted in the 16th century," says Koepfel, "when friendship is the subject of discourse." (*Qu. und Forschungen*, Strassburg, 1892, vol. lxx. p. 23.) S. L. Wolff has argued (*Mod. Philology*, Apr. 1910), not very convincingly, that the novel of Boccaccio here alluded to is the source of the first part of *Euphues*. In Elyot's *Governour*, II. ch. xiii. (ed. Crofts, vol. II. p. 172), the first three pairs of friends mentioned by Lyly are cited; and the story of Titus and Gysippus, transl. from Boccaccio, forms ch. xii. of the same book. The others are mentioned by Plutarch, *Of the Plurality of Friends*, § 3.

Philautus by how much the less he looked for this discourse, by so much the more he liked it, for he saw all qualities both of body and mind in Euphues; unto whom he replied as followeth:—

“Friend Euphues (for so your talk warranteth me to term you), I dare neither use a long process, neither<sup>1</sup> loving speech, lest unwittingly I should cause you to convince me of those things which you have already condemned. And verily I am bold to presume upon your courtesy since you yourself have used so little curiosity, persuading myself that my short answer will work as great an effect in you as your few words did in me. And seeing we resemble (as you say) each other in qualities, it cannot be that the one should differ from the other in courtesy; seeing the sincere affection of the mind cannot be expressed by the mouth and that no art can unfold the entire love of the heart, I am earnestly to beseech you not to measure the firmness of my faith by the fewness of my words, but rather think that the overflowing waves of goodwill leave no passage for many words. Trial shall prove trust.<sup>2</sup> Here is my hand, my heart, my lands, and my life at thy commandment. Thou mayest well perceive that I did believe thee that<sup>3</sup> so soon I did love thee, and I hope that thou wilt the rather love me in that I did believe thee.” Either (a) Euphues and Philautus stood in need of friendship or were ordained to be friends; upon so short warning to make so soon a conclusion might seem in mine opinion, if it continued, miraculous, if shaken off, ridiculous. But after many embracings and protestations one to another, they walked to dinner, where they wanted neither meat, neither music, neither any other pastime; and having banqueted, to digest their sweet confections, they danced all that afternoon. They used not only one board, but one bed, one book (if so be it they thought not one too many). Their friendship augmented every day, insomuch that the one could not refrain the company of the other one minute. All things went in common between them; which all men accounted commendable.

Philautus being a town-born child, both for his own con-

<sup>1</sup> *Neither . . . neither*: see note on *either . . . either*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Trial shall prove trust*. In the Maxwell Younger MSS. (1586), printed in Henderson's *Scot. Prov.*, 1832, occurs: “Trial maketh trust” (quoted by Lean, *Collectanea*), and Lyly used the proverb in just this form above, p. 29. Compare also p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> *That*: equivalent here to *in that*.

(a) *either Euphues and Philautus stood . . . But* (four lines below) Added in editions after 1578.

tinuance and the great countenance which his father had while he lived, crept into credit with Don Ferardo,<sup>1</sup> one of the chief governors of the city. Who, although he had a courtly crew of gentlewomen sojourning in his palace, yet his daughter, heir to his whole revenues, stained the beauty of them all; whose modest bashfulness caused the other to look wan for envy, whose lily cheeks dyed with a vermilion red made the rest to blush at her beauty. (a) For as the finest ruby staineth the colour of the rest that be in place, or as the sun (b) dimmeth the moon<sup>2</sup> that she cannot be discerned, so this gallant girl, more fair than fortunate, and yet more fortunate than faithful, eclipsed the beauty of them all and changed their colours. Unto her had Philautus access, who won her by right of love and should have worn her by right of law, had not Euphues by strange destiny broken the bonds of marriage and forbidden the banns of matrimony.

It happened that Don Ferardo had occasion to go to Venice about certain his own affairs, leaving his daughter the only steward of his household; who spared not to feast Philautus her friend with all kinds of delights and delicates, reserving only her honesty as the chief stay of her honour. Her father being gone, she sent for her friend to supper; who came not, as he was accustomed, solitarily alone but accompanied with his friend, Euphues. The gentlewoman, whether it were for niceness or for niggardness of courtesy, gave him such a cold welcome that he repented that he was come.

<sup>1</sup> *Don Ferardo . . . his daughter.* In the *Autobiography of Simon Forman* (in the Ashmolean MSS.; ed. Halliwell, 1849) the escapades of a certain John Thornborough, afterward Bishop of Limerick, while an undergraduate and fellow-student of Lyly's at Magdalen College, are picturesquely described; among other things he deceived the daughter of a certain "Doctor Laurence of Cowly," "as the mayor's daughter of Bracly [Brackley], of which Euphues writes, deceived him." If this is a trustworthy report, and I see no reason for doubting it, the characters in *The Anat. of Wit* represent real persons, and the events real events. Don Ferardo is the Mayor of Brackley, Lucilla his daughter, Philautus John Thornborough, and Euphues of course Lyly. Feuillerat, who called attention to the passage in Forman, presents the facts that bear on the case (pp. 274-277). The fact that no satisfactory source for the incidents in *Euphues* has heretofore been discovered adds slightly to the probability of Forman's statement.

(a) *to blush at her beauty* So 1578. In 1579A and later editions *to blush for shame*, 1580, etc. also omitting *to*.

(b) *the sun* So 1578. 1595 *the brightnessse of the Sunne*.

<sup>2</sup> *As the sun dimmeth the moon.* So Erasmus, *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 574B), *Luna cum soli conjungitur, tum obscuratus*.



Euphues though he knew himself worthy every way to have a good countenance,<sup>1</sup> yet could he not perceive her willing any way to lend him a friendly look. Yet, (a) lest he should seem to want gestures<sup>2</sup> or to be dashed out of conceit with her coy countenance, he addressed him to a gentlewoman called Livia, unto whom he uttered this speech :—

“Fair lady, if it be the guise of Italy to welcome strangers with strangeness, I must needs say the custom is strange and the country barbarous ; if the manner of ladies to salute gentlemen with coyness, then I am enforced to think the women without courtesy to use such welcome, and the men past shame that will come. But hereafter I will either bring a stool on mine arm for an unbidden guest, or a visard on my face for a shameless gossip.”<sup>3</sup>

Livia replied : “Sir, our country is civil and our gentlewomen are courteous ; but in Naples it is counted a jest at every word to say, ‘In faith you are welcome.’”

As she was yet talking, supper was set on the board. Then Philautus spake thus unto Lucilla : “Yet, gentlewoman, I was the bolder to bring my shadow<sup>4</sup> with me (meaning Euphues), knowing that he should be the better welcome for my sake.”

Unto whom the gentlewoman replied : “Sir, as I never when I saw you thought that you came without your shadow, so now

<sup>1</sup> *Countenance* : the manner in which one is received or entertained, as indicating the esteem in which one is held.

(a) Yet, lest he should seem to want gestures . . . Then Philautus spake thus unto Lucilla. “Yet Added by editions after 1578 (and serving to introduce Livia, who is not mentioned in the first edition until page 70). 1578 has *At the last supper beeing readye to come in, Philautus sayde unto hir :*

<sup>2</sup> *Gestures* : bearing, carriage, hence (as here), “good manners.”

<sup>3</sup> *Gossip* : here, a light and loose-talking person. The sense of the whole is that Euphues will either bring a stool with him as a sign that he is an uninvited guest, or will wear a mask that he may be privileged to act and talk as lewdly and maliciously as he will of the hostess and guests.

<sup>4</sup> *My shadow* . . . lie in it. The play on the word *shadow* is evidently taken from the following passage in Erasmus’ *Colloq. Famil.* (*Works*, i. 657E) : CH. *Veniam, sed non inomitatus.* PE. *Tanto venies gratior. Sed quo comite venies ?* CH. *Umbra.* PE. *Nec secus possis, si modo luce venias.* CH. *Sed umbram adducturus sum dentatam unam et alteram, ne tu me vocaris impune.* PE. *Age ut libet, modo ne larvas adducas.* *Sed explana, si libet, quid sibi velit umbrae vocabulum.* CH. *Apud eruditos umbrae vocantur, qui ipsi non vocati comitantur eum qui vocatus est ad convivium.* A possible source of Erasmus’ statement is a passage in Plutarch’s *Quaest. Conviv.* (vii. 6), referred to by Bond.

I cannot a little marvel to see you so overshot in bringing a new shadow with you."

Euphues, though he perceived her coy nip, seemed not to care for it, but taking her by the hand said :—" Fair lady, seeing the shade doth often shield your beauty from the parching sun, I hope you will the better esteem of the shadow ; and by so much the less it ought to be offensive by how much the less it is able to offend you, and by so much the more you ought to like it by how much the more you use to lie in it."

" Well, gentleman," answered Lucilla, " in arguing of the shadow we forgo the substance. Pleaseth it you, therefore, to sit down to supper ? " And so they all sat down ; but Euphues fed of one dish which ever stood before him, the beauty of Lucilla. Here Euphues at the first sight was so kindled with desire that almost he was like to burn to coals.

Supper being ended, the order was in Naples that the gentlewomen would desire to hear some discourse, either concerning love or learning. And although Philautus was requested, yet he posted it over to Euphues, whom he knew most fit for that purpose. Euphues, being thus tied to the stake<sup>1</sup> by their importunate entreaty, began as followeth :—

" He that worst may is alway enforced to hold the candle,<sup>2</sup> the weakest must still to the wall,<sup>3</sup> where none will the devil himself must bear the cross.<sup>4</sup> But were it not, gentlewomen, that your list (a) stands for law, I would borrow so much leave as to resign mine office to one of you, whose experience in love hath made you learned and whose learning hath made you so lovely ; for me to entreat of the one, being a novice, or to discourse of the other, being a truant, I may well make you weary but never the wiser, and give you occasion rather to laugh at

<sup>1</sup> *Tied to the stake.* The figure is probably from bear-baiting. Guevara is fond of figures from this source. See *Diall of Princes*, Book ii. ch. xvi. for a good instance.

<sup>2</sup> *He that worst may . . . candle.* Compare Heywood, p. 56. Cotgrave, *Fr.-Eng. Dict.* (1611), has : " Au plus debile la chandelle en la main." See also Lean, *Collectanea*, iii. 350.

<sup>3</sup> *The weakest . . . wall.* See Scoggin's *Jests*, 1540 (" Ever the weakest is thrust to the wall"), quoted by Hazlitt, *Eng. Prov.*, p. 402 ; *Romeo and Juliet*, i. 1, 17 ; Heywood, *Prov.* (" The weaker goeth to the pot," i.e., perhaps, to the pit).

<sup>4</sup> *The devil himself . . . the cross.* Drayton, *Agincourt*, 82, says : " Ill's the procession (and foreruns much loss), Wherein, men say, the devil bears the cross." Lyly's and Drayton's uses both indicate a common saying, but I have found no other citations of it.

(a) *list* So 1578. 1579A-1581 *lust* ; 1595, etc. *lusts*.

my rashness than to like my reasons. Yet I care the less to excuse my boldness to you who were the cause of my blindness. And since I am at mine own choice either to talk of love or of learning, I had rather for this time be deemed an unthrift in rejecting profit than a Stoic in renouncing pleasure.

"It hath been a question often disputed, but never determined, whether the qualities of the mind or the composition of the man cause women most to like, or whether beauty or wit move men most to love. Certes by how much the more the mind is to be preferred before the body, by so much the more the graces of the one are to be preferred before the gifts of the other; which if it be so that the contemplation of the inward quality ought to be respected more than the view of the outward beauty, then doubtless women either do or should love those best whose virtue is best, not measuring the deformed man with the reformed mind. The foul toad hath a fair stone in his head,<sup>1</sup> the fine gold<sup>2</sup> is found in the filthy earth, the sweet kernel lieth in the hard shell. Virtue is harboured in the heart of him that most men esteem misshapen. Contrariwise if we respect more the outward shape than the inward habit—good God, into how many mischiefs do we fall! Into what blindness are we led! Do we not commonly see that in painted pots is hidden the deadliest poison,<sup>3</sup> that in the greenest grass is the greatest serpent,<sup>4</sup> in the clearest water the ugliest toad? Doth not experience teach us that in the most curious sepulchre<sup>5</sup> are enclosed rotten bones? That the cypress tree beareth a fair leaf but no fruit?<sup>6</sup> That the

<sup>1</sup> *A fair stone in his head*: compare *As You Like It*, II. I. 14. Albertus Magnus, *Libri ii. Mineralium*, ii. 2 (*Works*, vol. v.), says: *Borax . . . lapis est qui ita dicitur a buffone, quod in capite ipsum portat. . . . Quod si vivo palpitanti buffone extrahitur, in medio habet oculum quasi caeruleum, de quo dicunt quod glutinosus sordes purgat intestinorum et superfluitates, et temporibus nostris extractus est de buffone parvus viridis*. The knowledge of this passage or of an equivalent one from some other author seems to be implied in another use of the simile by Lyly (p. 311). Compare note on p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Fine gold* [etc.]: The source is probably Erasmus' *Similia*, 601F, *Sicuti terra quae auri aut argenti venas habet, in caeteris fere sterilis esse consuevit*, which Lyly imitates more closely in p. 406, and in the Prologue to *Midas*, l. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Bond traces the similes of the poison and the pot, the grass and the serpent, the sepulchre and the bones, and the bait and the hook (just below) to passages in Pettie's *Pallace* (fol. 71 v. and fol. 52 v.).

<sup>4</sup> *The greenest grass* [etc.]. The ultimate source is Vergil, *Ecl.* iii. 93, *Latet anguis in herba*.

<sup>5</sup> *The most curious sepulchre* [etc.]: compare Matt. xxiii. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Cypress . . . no fruit*: Bond quotes Pliny, xvi. 60, *fructu super-*

estridge carrieth fair feathers but rank flesh ? How frantic are those lovers which are carried away with the gay glistening of the fine face ? The beauty whereof is parched with the summer's blaze and chipped<sup>1</sup> with the winter's blast, which is of so short continuance that it fadeth before one perceive it flourish, of so small profit that it poisoneth those that possess it, of so little value with the wise that they account it a delicate bait with a deadly hook, a sweet panther with a devouring paunch,<sup>2</sup> a sour poison in a silver pot.

"Here I could enter into discourse of such fine dames as being in love with their own looks make such coarse<sup>3</sup> account of their passionate lovers ; for commonly if they be adorned with beauty they be so strait-laced and made so high in the instep<sup>4</sup> that they disdain them most that most desire them. It is a world to see the doting of their lovers and their dealing with them, the revealing of whose subtle trains would cause me to shed tears and you, gentlewomen, to shut your modest ears. Pardon me, gentlewomen, if I unfold every wile and show every wrinkle of women's disposition. Two things do they cause their servants to vow unto them, secrecy and sovereignty : the one to conceal their enticing sleights, by the other to assure themselves of their only service. Again—but ho there ! If I should have

*vacua*. Compare Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 618F) : *Ut arbores quaedam belle florent, verum nullum adferent fructum*. (The next simile but one in Erasmus is about the cypress.) But Alciati's *Emblems*, as enlarged in the Venice ed. of 1546, seems to be the source. It pictures the cypress (p. 19) and says : *Pulchra coma est . . . sed fructus nullos haec pulchra coma gerit*.

<sup>1</sup> *Chipped* : chapped.

<sup>2</sup> *A sweet panther* [etc.] : used again, p. 138. Lauchert (*Eng. Studien*, xiv. 197) gives the *Physiologus* as the source ; Bond traces it to Pliny (viii. 23) by way of Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 34 r. Perhaps both Pettie's and Lyly's immediate authority is no more recondite than Erasmus' *Similia*. The simile of the panther is twice used by Erasmus in this work, once in a passage quoted by M<sup>r</sup>Kerrow (*Nashe's Works*, iv. 21), and again (607B) as follows : *Pardus odoris gratia allectas feras invadit, atque occidit : Ita quidem blandiloquentia irretitos fallunt, ac perdunt*. That this is the source of both Lyly and Pettie is rendered probable by the fact that the application is the same, namely, to flattery. In the *Physiologus* the Panther is a type of Christ. Greene was much enamoured of this simile, as Lauchert shows (*loc. cit.*) by many citations. Swinburne has used it in his *Laus Veneris*, stanzas 67 and 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Coarse* : the old editions all have *course*, but this was a frequent spelling of *coarse*, and there seems to be no justification in the history of the word *course* for Bond's contention that it is the word meant here.

<sup>4</sup> *Strait-laced and . . . high in the instep*. Heywood's *Proverbs*, p. 37, says : "He is so high in th' instep, and so straight-laced, That pride and covetise withdrawest all repast." "A high instep" occurs again, p. 403.

waded any further and sounded the depth of their deceit, I should either have procured your displeasure or incurred the suspicion of fraud, either armed you to practice the like subtlety or accused myself of perjury. But I mean not to offend your chaste minds with the rehearsal of their unchaste manners, whose ears I perceive to glow and hearts to be grieved at that which I have already uttered; not that amongst you there be any such, but that in your sêx there should be any such.

"Let not gentlewomen, therefore, make too much of their painted<sup>1</sup> sheath, let them not be so curious in their own conceit or so currish to their loyal lovers. When the black crow's foot<sup>2</sup> shall appear in their eye or the black ox<sup>3</sup> tread on their foot, when their beauty shall be like the blasted rose, their wealth wasted, their bodies worn, their faces wrinkled, their fingers crooked, who will like of them in their age who loved none in their youth? If you will be cherished when you be old, be courteous while you be young; if you look for comfort in your hoary hairs, be not coy when you have your golden locks; if you would be embraced in the waning of your bravery, be not squeamish in the waxing of your beauty; if you desire to be kept like the roses when they have lost their colour, smell sweet as the rose doth in the bud; if you would be tasted for old wine, be in the mouth a pleasant grape—so shall you be cherished for your courtesy, comforted for your honesty, embraced for your amity, so shall you be preserved with the sweet rose, and drunk with the pleasant wine.

"Thus far I am bold, gentlewomen, to counsel those that be coy, that they weave not the web of their own woe nor spin the thread of their own thralldom by their own overthwartness. And seeing we are even in the bowels<sup>4</sup> of love, it shall not be amiss to examine whether man or woman be soonest allured, whether be most constant the male or the female. And in this point I mean not to be mine own carver,<sup>5</sup> lest I should seem either to

<sup>1</sup> *Painted*: here, as often, 'ornamented, bright, gaudy.'

<sup>2</sup> *Black crow's foot*: a proverbial expression in constant use from Chaucer (*Troilus and Criseyde*, ii. 354) downward.

<sup>3</sup> *The black ox* [etc.]: this expression is used in Heywood's *Proverbs*, p. 17, in the same sense as here, namely, of the coming of old age. Elsewhere it is used of the visitation of calamity or care ('*atra cura*'). Its origin is yet to be discovered. It occurs in a striking passage in Greville's *Letter to an Honourable Lady* (? c. 1611).

<sup>4</sup> *Bowels*. Compare: "Thou wilt enter into the bowels of the cause in hand," *Hay any Work* (1589), A iij (quoted by *NED.*).

<sup>5</sup> *To be mine own carver*: see note on p. 451.

pick a thank<sup>1</sup> with men or a quarrel with women. If therefore it might stand with your pleasure, Mistress Lucilla, to give your censure, I would take the contrary ; for sure I am though your judgement be sound, yet affection<sup>2</sup> will shadow it."

Lucilla, seeing his pretence, thought to take advantage of his large proffer, unto whom she said : " Gentleman, in mine opinion women are to be won with every wind, in whose sex there is neither force to withstand the assaults of love, neither constancy to remain faithful. And because your discourse hath hitherto bred delight, I am loath to hinder you in the sequel of your devices."

Euphues, perceiving himself to be taken napping, answered as followeth : " Mistress Lucilla, if you speak as you think, these gentlewomen present have little cause to thank you : if you cause me to commend women, my tale will be accounted a mere trifle and your words the plain truth. Yet knowing promise to be debt,<sup>3</sup> I will pay it with performance. And I would the gentlemen here present were as ready to credit my proof as the gentlewomen are willing to hear their own praises ; or I as able to overcome as Mistress Lucilla would be content to be overthrown. Howsoever the matter shall fall out, I am of the surer side : for if my reasons be weak, then is our sex strong ; if forcible, then your judgement feeble ; if I find truth on my side, I hope I shall, for my wages, win the good will of women ; if I want proof, then, gentlewomen, of necessity you must yield to men. But to the matter.

" Touching the yielding to love, albeit their hearts seem tender, yet they harden them like the stone of Sicilia,<sup>4</sup> the which

<sup>1</sup> To pick a thank with : " To curry favour with, as by sycophancy or tale-bearing " (NED.).

<sup>2</sup> Affection : preference, partiality.

<sup>3</sup> Promise to be debt. ' Promise is debt ' was a proverb common in the 16th century. See Gascoigne, *Certain Notes of Instruction* (1572), Arber reprint, p. 31. Hazlitt, *Eng. Prov.*, p. 334, gives other references.

<sup>4</sup> The stone of Sicilia : Bond is probably right in saying that this simile is borrowed from Pettie (Lyly changing *Scilitia* into *Sicilia* through inadvertence) ; but Pettie's ultimate source is probably not Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 47 (" The stones of Cilicia are of excellent quality " as whetstones). It is more likely to be what is said in Albertus Magnus (*Libri ii. Miner.*, i. ii. 4, *Works*, v., pp. 18-19) and Isidore of Seville (*Originum*, xix. 10, 12 ; xvi. 3, 1) of the stone or rock Silex, especially of the white Silices, which are celebrated for their hardness and " are cut into monuments, and remain without decay " (Isidore). Indeed Lyly's words in *Sapho and Phao*, ii. 4, 13, do not apply to a whetstone : " Our Sycilyan stone, which groweth hardest by hammeringe." Of course the *silex*, or flint, was a symbol of hard-heartedness in Latin literature : see Ovid, *Mel.* ix. 614 ; *Trist.* iii. 11, 4 ; Cicero, *Tusc.*, iii. 6, etc. This is one of

the more it is beaten the harder it is ; for being framed as it were of the perfection of men, they be free from all such cogitations as may any way provoke them to uncleanness, insomuch as they abhor the light love of youth which is grounded upon lust and dissolved upon every light occasion. When they see the folly of men turn to fury, their delight to doting, their affection to frenzy ; when they see them as it were pine in pleasure and to wax pale through their own peevishness ; their suits, their service, their letters, their labours, their loves, their lives seem to them so odious that they harden their hearts against such concupiscence to the end they might convert them from rashness to reason, from such lewd disposition to honest discretion. Hereof it cometh that men accuse women of cruelty because they themselves want civility, they account them full of wiles in not yielding to their wickedness, faithless for resisting their filthiness. But I had almost forgot myself—you shall pardon me, Mistress Lucilla, for this time, if thus abruptly (a) I finish my discourse. It is neither for want of good will or lack of proof, but that I feel in myself such alteration that I can scarcely utter one word. Ah Euphues, Euphues ! ”

The gentlewomen were struck into such a quandary with this sudden change that they all changed colour. But Euphues, taking Philautus by the hand and giving the gentlewomen thanks for their patience and his repast, bade them all farewell and went immediately to his chamber.

But Lucilla, who now began to fry in the flames of love, all the company being departed to their lodgings, entered into these terms and contrarieties <sup>1</sup> :—

“ Ah, wretched wench Lucilla, how art thou perplexed ! What a doubtful fight dost thou feel betwixt faith and fancy, hope and fear, conscience and concupiscence ! O my Euphues, little dost thou know the sudden sorrow that I sustain for thy sweet sake, whose wit hath bewitched me, whose rare qualities have deprived me of mine old quality, whose courteous behaviour without curiosity, whose comely feature without fault, whose filed <sup>2</sup> speech without fraud hath wrapped me in this misfortune.

a number of passages in which Lyly's lack of learning has been signaled (see Feuillerat, p. 425, n. 2).

(a) *if thus abruptly* So 1581 ; 1578–1580 have *if this abruptly*.

<sup>1</sup> *Contrarieties* : this use of the word seems to be derived from “ contrary terms ” in logic. It apparently means ‘ balancing of opposites.’

<sup>2</sup> *Filed* : polished.

And canst thou, Lucilla, be so light of love in forsaking Philautus to fly to Euphues ? Canst thou prefer a stranger before thy countryman ; a starter<sup>1</sup> before thy companion ? Why Euphues doth perhaps desire my love, but Philautus hath deserved it. Why Euphues' feature is worthy as good as I, but Philautus his faith is worthy a better. Aye, but the latter love is most fervent ; aye, but the first ought to be most faithful. Aye, but Euphues hath greater perfection ; aye, but Philautus hath deeper affection.

" Ah fond wench, dost thou think Euphues will deem thee constant to him, when thou hast been unconstant to his friend ? Weenest thou that he will have no mistrust of thy faithfulness, when he hath had trial of thy fickleness ? Will he have no doubt of thine honour, when thou thyself callest thine honesty in question ? Yes, yes, Lucilla, well doth he know that the glass once crazed<sup>2</sup> will with the least clap be cracked, that the cloth which staineth with milk will soon lose his colour with vinegar, that the eagle's wing<sup>3</sup> will waste the feather as well of the phoenix as of the pheasant, that she that hath been faithless to one will never be faithful to any.

" But can Euphues convince me of fleeting, seeing for his sake I break my fidelity ? Can he condemn me of disloyalty, when he is the only cause of my disliking ? May he justly condemn me of treachery, who hath this testimony as trial of my good will ? Doth he not remember that the broken bone once set together is stronger than ever it was ? That the greatest blot is taken off with the pumice<sup>4</sup> ? That though the spider poison the fly, she cannot infect the bee ? That although I have been light to Philautus, yet I may be lovely to Euphues ? It is not my desire but his deserts that moveth my mind to this choice, neither the want of the like good will in Philautus but

<sup>1</sup> Starter : upstart or newcomer. See p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Crazed : cracked. Cracked : broken. See the two words in *NED*. Compare p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *The eagle's wing* [etc.] : compare *Gallathea*, III. 4, '45. The source of these passages is probably either Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 15 (*Aquilarum pinnae mixtas reliquarum alitum pinnas devorant*), or Erasmus, *Similia*, 613F. Perhaps the passage most like Lyly's is in Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philos.* i. ch. 21 : "*Inde est quod sicut aquila in vita sua omnes aves superat et vincit : sic etiam, ea defuncta, pennae ejus omnes aliarum avium pennas et plumas destruunt et corrodunt*" (ed. 1530(?), Lyons, vol. i. p. 33). Two passages in *Euphues and his England* (pp. 192 and 446) seem to imply, however, that Lyly had additional information from another source.

<sup>4</sup> *The pumice* : see note on p. 360.



the lack of the like good qualities that removeth my fancy from the one to the other.

"For as the bee that gathereth honey out of the weed<sup>1</sup> when she espieth the fair flower flieth to the sweetest; or as the kind<sup>2</sup> spaniel though he hunt after birds yet forsakes them to retrieve the partridge; or as we commonly feed on beef hungerly at the first, yet seeing the quail more dainty change our diet; so I although I loved Philautus for his good properties, yet seeing Euphues to excel him I ought by nature to like him better. By so much the more, therefore, my change is to be excused, by how much the more my choice is excellent; and by so much the less I am to be condemned, by how much the more Euphues is to be commended. Is not the diamond<sup>3</sup> of more value than the ruby because he is of more virtue? Is not the emerald preferred before the sapphire for his wonderful property? Is not Euphues more praiseworthy than Philautus being more witty?

"But fie, Lucilla, why dost thou flatter thyself in thine own folly! Canst thou feign Euphues thy friend, whom by thine own words thou hast made thy foe? Didst not thou accuse women of inconstancy? Didst not thou account them easy to be won? Didst not thou condemn them of weakness? What sounder argument can he have against thee than thine own answer; what better proof than thine own speech; what greater trial than thine own talk? If thou hast belied women, he will judge thee unkind; if thou have revealed the troth, he must needs think thee unconstant; if he perceive thee to be won with a nut, he will imagine that thou wilt be lost with an apple<sup>4</sup>; if he find thee wanton before thou be wooed, he will guess thou wilt be wavering when thou art wedded.

"But suppose that Euphues love thee, that Philautus leave

<sup>1</sup> *Gathereth honey out of the weed*: see note on p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Kind*: that acts according to the nature of his kind.

<sup>3</sup> The 'virtue' of the diamond is probably its magnetic quality, diamond being identified with *adamas*. The wonderful properties of emerald are fully described in Albertus Magnus, *Mineralium*, ii. 17 (*Works*, vol. v. pp. 45-6). It inclines the bearer of it to chastity; it is good for weak eyes or a weak memory; averts storms; etc. On the ranking of the stones, see Isidore of Seville, *Orig.*, liber xvi. ch. vii.: "*Omnium gemmarum virentium Smaragdus principatum habet.*" Bond also quotes Pliny, xxxvii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Won with a nut . . . lost with an apple*. Farmer, editor of Heywood's *Proverbs* (where this proverb appears, p. 24), quotes Gascoigne, *Ferdinando*: "Won with an egg, and lost again with shell." Compare Sanderson, *Works*, 1681, i. 95 (quoted by *NED.*): "Of a wavering and fickle mind; as we say of children; Won with an apple, and lost with a nut."

thee, will thy father, thinkest thou, give thee liberty to live after  
 \*thine own lust? Will he esteem him worthy to inherit his  
 possessions whom he accounteth unworthy to enjoy thy person?  
 Is it like that he will match thee in marriage with a stranger,  
 with a Grecian, with a mean man? Aye, but what knoweth  
 my father whether he be wealthy, whether his revenues be able  
 to countervail my father's lands, whether his birth be noble,  
 yea or no? Can any one make doubt of his gentle blood that  
 seeth his gentle conditions? Can his honour be called into  
 question whose honesty is so great? Is he to be thought thrift-  
 less who in all qualities of the mind is peerless? No, no, the tree  
 is known by his fruit,<sup>1</sup> the gold by his touch,<sup>2</sup> the son by the sire.  
 And as the soft wax receiveth whatsoever print be in the seal and  
 showeth no other impression, so the tender babe, being sealed  
 with his father's gifts, representeth his image most lively.

"But were I once certain of Euphues' good will I would not  
 so superstitiously account of my father's ill will. Time (a) hath  
 weaned me from my mother's teat, and age rid me from my father's  
 correction. When children are in their swathing-clouts, then  
 are they subject to the whip and ought to be careful of the rigour  
 of their parents. As for me, seeing I am not fed with their pap,  
 I am not to be led by their persuasions. Let my father use what  
 speeches he list, I will follow mine own lust. Lust,<sup>3</sup> Lucilla?  
 What sayeth thou? No, no, mine own love I should have said;  
 for I am as far from lust as I am from reason, and as near to  
 love as I am to folly. Then stick to thy determination and  
 show thyself what love can do, what love dares do, what love  
 hath done. Albeit I can no way quench the coals of desire with  
 forgetfulness, yet will I rake them up in the ashes of modesty;  
 seeing I dare not discover my love for maidenly shamefastness,  
 I will dissemble it till time<sup>4</sup> I have opportunity. And I hope  
 so to behave myself, as Euphues shall think me his own and  
 Philautus persuade himself I am none but his. But I would

<sup>1</sup> *The tree is known by his fruit*: see Düringsfeld, *Sprichwörter*, ii., no. 649. This is one of the proverbs used by Shakespeare in his parody of Euphuism, *Henry IV.*, II. 4, 409-11. *Bible*.

<sup>2</sup> *Touch*: the touchstone, a kind of flint used as a test for gold. Compare p. 58. Erasmus, *Adagia*, IV. 1, 58 has citations illustrating *aurum indice exploratum*.

(a) *Time hath weaned me . . . what love hath done*. Added by editions after 1578.

<sup>3</sup> *Lust*. There is a pun on the two meanings of the word.

<sup>4</sup> *Till time*: till the time when. The phrase was apparently archaic in Lyly's time (see *NED.*, *time*, sb. 45). Compare p. 58.

to God Euphues would repair hither, that the sight of him might mitigate some part of my martyrdom."

She, having thus discoursed with herself her own miseries, cast herself on the bed. And there let her lie. And return we to Euphues, who was so caught in the gin<sup>1</sup> of folly that he neither could comfort himself nor durst ask counsel of his friend, suspecting that which indeed was true, that Philautus was corrival<sup>2</sup> with him and cockmate<sup>3</sup> with Lucilla. Amidst, therefore, these his extremities between hope and fear, he uttered these or the like speeches:—

"What is he, Euphues, that, knowing thy wit and seeing thy folly, but will rather punish thy lewdness than pity thy heaviness? Was there ever any so fickle so soon to be allured? Any ever so faithless to deceive his friend? Ever any so foolish to bathe himself in his own misfortune? Too true it is that as the sea-crab<sup>4</sup> swimmeth always against the stream, so wit always striveth against wisdom; and as the bee<sup>5</sup> is oftentimes hurt with her own honey, so is wit not seldom plagued with his own conceit.

"O ye gods,<sup>6</sup> have ye ordained for every malady a medicine,

<sup>1</sup> *Gin*: device, contrivance, trick, trap.

<sup>2</sup> *Corrival*: the earliest use of the word quoted by *NED*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cockmate*: quoted by *NED*. from Lyly alone (here, p. 133, and p. 135).

<sup>4</sup> *The sea-crab* [etc.]: Bond cites *Campaspe*, III. 5, 35 (the same words as here) and explains by a passage in Pliny which does not, however, seem apposite. Probably 'against the stream' means here only 'in a direction contrary to the customary and natural,' and possibly the source is Erasmus, *Adagia*, III. 7, 98 (*Works*, II. 908A): *Cancrum recte ingredi docet: De eo, qui docet indocilem*. At least Erasmus' application is similar to Lyly's. Albertus Magnus, *De Anim.* xxiv. 23 (*Works*, XII. 513), says: *retrorsum natando incedentia, sed ambulando anterius nitentia*.

<sup>5</sup> *The bee* [etc.]. The following passage in Richard Rolle (Horstmann ed., I. 193) illustrates the simile: "Swylke kane noghte fyghte for their hony, for-thy the develle turnes it to wormed [wormwood] and makes theire saules ofte-sythes full bitter in angwys and tene."

<sup>6</sup> Lyly has apparently used two or more authorities in this passage. Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, I. 611F-612B) is one of them. Four of Lyly's instances (the sow, tortoise, bear, and hart) are there given, and in conclusion Erasmus says: *Nullum est animal quod non intelligat sua remedia. Solus homo nescit unde vel corporis vel animi remedia petere deberet*. Pliny, VIII. 41 is Erasmus' source; but Lyly perhaps knew also the following from Cornelius Agrippa (*De Occulta Philosophia*, I. ch. xvii.), since *Origanum* is called by another name is both Erasmus and Pliny: *Testudo quando venatur a serpente, comedit origanum et confortatur per illud*. Moreover, Plutarch, *De Sollertia Anim.*, § 20, has all of Lyly's cases except that of the sow, including that of the dog, which is not in Pliny or Erasmus.

for every sore a salve, for every pain a plaster, leaving only love remediless? Did ye deem no man so mad to be entangled with desire? Or thought ye them worthy to be tormented that were so misled? Have ye dealt more favourably (a) with brute beasts than with reasonable creatures? The filthy sow when she is sick eateth the sea-crab and is immediately recured; the tortoise having tasted the viper sucketh *Origanum* and is quickly revived; the bear ready to pine licketh up the ants and is recovered; the dog having surfeited<sup>1</sup> to procure his vomit eateth grass and findeth remedy; the hart being pierced with the dart runneth out of hand to the herb *Dictanum*<sup>2</sup> and is healed. And can men by no herb, by no art, by no way procure a remedy for the impatient disease of love? Ah well I perceive that love is not unlike the fig-tree,<sup>3</sup> whose fruit is sweet, whose root is more bitter than the claw of a bitter<sup>4</sup>; or like the apple in Persia,<sup>5</sup> whose blossom savoureth like honey, whose bud is more sour than gall.

"But O impiety! O broad blasphemy against the heavens! Wilt thou be so impudent, Euphues, to accuse the gods of iniquity? No, fond fool, no! Neither is it forbidden us by the gods to love, by whose divine providence we are permitted to live, neither do we want remedies to recure our maladies, but reason to use the means. But why go I about to hinder the course of love with the discourse of law? Hast thou not read, Euphues, that he that loppeth the vine<sup>6</sup> causeth it to spread fairer? That he that stoppeth the stream forceth it to swell higher? That he that casteth water on the fire<sup>7</sup> in the smith's forge maketh it to flame fiercer? Even so he that seeketh by

(a) *favourably* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *fauourable*.

<sup>1</sup> *The dog having surfeited* [etc.]: not in the passages from Erasmus and Pliny. Bond cites Bartholomaeus Anglicus, xviii. 25. See preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictanum*: dittany. Erasmus has *dictamum*, Pliny of course *dictamnium*.

<sup>3</sup> *The fig-tree*. In Plutarch's *Quaest. Conviv.* v. 9, the question discussed is why fig-trees, being bitter, produce sweet fruit. See p. 370 (*the box tree*, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> *Bitter*: this is a commoner form of the word than *bittern* in the 16th century.

<sup>5</sup> *The apple in Persia*. Alciati's *Emblems* (ed. Paris, 1542, no. 30) cites a Persian tree which at home bears noxious fruit, but transplanted abroad bears *poma simillima cordi*. In the Fr. transl. it is called "pesche." Lyly has another source, however.

<sup>6</sup> *He that loppeth the vine*: see note on p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *He that casteth water on the fire*. Bond quotes the source from Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 41 v. In the *Diall of Princes, Certain Letters*, no. 5, similar similes are used with a similar application. One is: "The hot fire doth not forbear the wood, be it wet or dry."

counsel to moderate his overlash<sup>1</sup> affections increaseth his own misfortune.

" Ah my Lucilla, would thou wert either less fair or I more fortunate, either I wiser or thou milder; either (a) I would I were out of this mad mood, either I would we were both of one mind. But how should she be persuaded of my loyalty that yet had never one simple proof of my love? Will she not rather imagine me to be entangled with her beauty than with her virtue; that my fancy being so lewdly chained at the first will be as lightly changed at the last; that there is nothing which is permanent that is violent? <sup>2</sup> (b) Yes, yes, she must needs conjecture so—although it be nothing so—for by how much the more my affection cometh on the sudden, by so much the less will she think it certain. The rattling thunderbolt hath but his clap, the lightning but his flash; and as they both come in a moment, so do they both end in a minute.

" Aye but, Euphues, hath she not heard also that the dry touchwood <sup>3</sup> is kindled with lime; that the greatest mushroom groweth in one night; that the fire quickly burneth the flax; that love easily entereth into the sharp wit without resistance and is harboured there without repentance? If, therefore, the gods have endowed her with as much bounty as beauty, if she have no less wit than she hath comeliness, certes she will neither conceive sinisterly of my sudden suit, neither be coy to receive me into her service, neither suspect me of lightness in yielding so lightly, neither reject me disdainfully for loving so hastily.

" Shall I not then hazard my life to obtain my love? And deceive Philautus to receive Lucilla? Yes, Euphues, where love beareth sway, friendship can have no show. As Philautus brought me for his shadow <sup>4</sup> the last supper, so will I use him for my shadow till I have gained his saint. And canst thou, wretch, be false to him that is faithful to thee? Shall his courtesy be cause of thy cruelty? Wilt thou violate the league of faith to inherit the laud of folly? Shall affection be of more force

<sup>1</sup> *Overlash*: exorbitant, excessive, unruly. Again, p. 90.

(a) *either I would I* The first *I*, omitted by 1578, is added in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Nothing which is permanent* . . . *The rattling thunderbolt*: see note on p. 363.

(b) *that there is nothing which is permanent that is violent?* Editions after 1578 express this less awkwardly: *that nothing violent can be permanent*.

<sup>3</sup> *Touchwood* . . . *lime*. No exact source for these similes need be sought; but they are of the kind constantly used by *The Diall of Princes*. That of the fire and flax often occurs there, e.g., *Certain Letters*, no. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Shadow*: see note on p. 33.

than friendship, love than law, hurt than loyalty ? Knowest thou not that he that loseth his honesty hath nothing else to lose ?

"Tush, the case is light where reason taketh place ; to love and to live well <sup>1</sup> is not granted to Jupiter. Whoso is blinded with the caul <sup>2</sup> of beauty discerneth no colour of honesty. Did not Gyges cut Candaules a coat <sup>3</sup> by his own measure ? Did not Paris, though he were a welcome guest to Menelaus, serve his host a slippery prank ? If Philautus had loved Lucilla he would never have suffered Euphues to have seen her. Is it not the prey that enticeth the thief to rifle ? Is it not the pleasant bait that causeth the fleetest fish <sup>4</sup> to bite ? Is it not a byword amongst us that gold maketh an honest man an ill man ? Did Philautus account Euphues too simple to decipher beauty or superstitious not to desire it ? Did he deem him a saint in rejecting fancy, or a sot in not discerning ? Thought he him a Stoic <sup>5</sup> that he would not be moved, or a stock that he could not ?

"Well, well, seeing the wound that bleedeth inward is most dangerous, that the fire kept close burneth most furious, that the oven dammed up baketh soonest, that sores having no vent fester inwardly, it is high time to unfold my secret love to my secret friend. Let Philautus behave himself never so craftily he shall know that it must be a wily mouse <sup>6</sup> that shall breed in the cat's ear, and because I resemble him in wit I mean a little to dissemble with him in wiles.

"But, O my Lucilla, if thy heart be made of that stone which may be mollified <sup>7</sup> only with blood, would I had sipped

<sup>1</sup> *To love and to live well* : *amare et sapere vix deo conceditur* (*Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus, no. 22, Bickford-Smith ed., 1895). Erasmus quotes the aphorism (*Adagia*, Works, ii. 476E) as falsely attributed to Seneca. Dryden's translation (*Pal. and Arc.* ii. 365) is : "The proverb holds that to be wise and love is hardly granted to the gods above." Compare p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Caul* : originally (and still), a netted cap ; here, "any investing membrane or structure," as the membrane of the brain.

<sup>3</sup> *Gyges cut Candaules a coat*. King Candaules having compelled his courtier Gyges to conceal himself in his room and behold the beauty of his wife, Gyges killed him and became the queen's husband. The story originates with Herodotus (i. 8 ff.), and is told (as Bond points out) by Pettie as the sixth tale in volume one of his *Pallace*.

<sup>4</sup> *The fleetest fish* : compare p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Stoic . . . stock* : compare p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *A wily mouse* : almost verbatim from Heywood's *Proverbs*, p. 71. NED. quotes Lydgate (*Minor Poems*, Percy Soc., 167) : "An hardy mowse, that is bold to breede in cattis eiris." Lyly elaborates the proverb, p. 213.

<sup>7</sup> *Stone which may be mollified* [etc.] : compare pp. 162, 293, 457. Two

of that river in Caria<sup>1</sup> which turneth those that drink of it to stones. If thine ears be anointed with the oil of Syria that bereaveth hearing, would mine eyes had been rubbed with the syrup of the cedar tree<sup>2</sup> which taketh away sight. If Lucilla(a) be so proud to disdain poor Euphues, would Euphues were so happy to deny Lucilla; or if Lucilla be so mortified to live without love, would Euphues were so fortunate to live in hate. Aye, but my cold welcome foretelleth my cold suit; aye, but her privy glances signify some good fortune. Fie, fond fool Euphues, why goest thou about to allege those things to cut off thy hope which she perhaps would never have found, or to comfort thyself(b) with those reasons which she never meaneth to propose?

"Tush, it were no love if it were certain, and a small conquest it is to overthrow those that never resisted. In battles there ought to be a doubtful fight and a desperate end, in pleading a difficult entrance and a diffused determination,<sup>3</sup> in love a life without hope and a death without fear. Fire cometh out of the hardest flint with the steel, oil out of the driest jet<sup>4</sup> by the fire, love out of the stoniest heart by faith, by trust, by time.

passages in Pliny explain this simile concerning the diamond: xx. 1 and xxxvii. 15; but, as usual, Erasmus has all that is used by Lyly, viz., *Similia*, 598A. De Vocht also quotes his *Colloquia Familiaria, Amicitia* (Works, i. 877E): "*Quis ille naturae sensus, ut adamas, quamlibet duris resistens, sanguine hircino mollescat?*" The phenomenon is also mentioned by Isidore of Seville, *Orig.* xii. ch. i. no. 14; by Bartholomaeus Anglicus, xvi. 9; etc.

<sup>1</sup> *That river in Caria.* This might be an intentional addition to the legend concerning the river Pactolus (a stream chiefly in Lydia, it is true; but Lydia and Caria march together), of which Ovid (*Met.* xi. 142-3) says that when Midas bathed in it "the virtue of gold passed from the man to the stream." If so, the fable is still further extended by Lyly in p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Syrup of the cedar tree:* Pliny (xxiv. 11, toward the end) says, on the other hand, that it has been prescribed for spots and films on the eyes. Bond quotes Bartholomaeus Anglicus to the same effect. Erasmus (*Similia*, 620B) says that there is a kind of thorn in India the sap of which takes away sight from men and animals; and five lines below has a simile concerning the cedar. See p. 75.

(a) *If Lucilla be so proud . . . with high looks or froward words.* Added by editions after 1578.

(b) *to comfort thyself* So 1579A, 1595, and later editions. Several other early texts have *myself*.

<sup>3</sup> *A diffused determination:* "fluent and eloquent close" (Bond).

<sup>4</sup> *Oil out of the driest jet:* various medieval writers (e.g., Albertus Magnus, *Miner.* ii. 7) tell of making a decoction of jet by adding water and heating (see also Erasmus' *Similia*, 600B). There is probably a more exact source than this, however.

✓ Had Tarquinius used his love with colours of continuance,<sup>1</sup> Lucretia would either with some pity have answered his desire or with some persuasion have stayed her death. It was the heat of his lust that made her haste to end her life ; wherefore love in neither respect is to be condemned, but he of rashness, to attempt a lady furiously ; and she of rigour, to punish his folly in her own flesh ; a fact (in mine opinion) more worthy the name of cruelty than chastity, and fitter for a monster in the deserts than a matron of Rome. Penelope, no less constant than she yet more wise, would be weary to unweave that in the night she spun in the day, if Ulysses had not come home the sooner. There is no woman, Euphues, but she will yield in time ; be not therefore dismayed either with high looks or froward words."

Euphues having thus talked with himself, Philautus entered the chamber ; and finding him so worn and wasted with continual mourning, neither joying in his meat nor rejoicing in his friend, with watery eyes uttered this speech :—

" Friend and fellow, as I am not ignorant of thy present weakness, so I am not privy of the cause ; and although I suspect many things, yet can I assure myself of no one thing. Therefore, my good Euphues, for these doubts and dumps of mine either remove the cause or reveal it. Thou hast hitherto found me a cheerful companion in thy mirth, and now shalt thou find me as careful with thee in thy moan. If altogether thou mayest not be cured, yet mayest thou be comforted. If there be any thing that either by my friends may be procured or by my life (*a*) attained, that may either heal thee in part or help thee in all, I protest to thee by the name of a friend that it shall rather be gotten with the loss of my body, than lost by getting a kingdom. Thou hast tried me, therefore trust me ; thou hast trusted me in many things, therefore try me in this one thing. I never yet failed, and now I will not faint. Be bold to speak and blush not ; thy sore is not so angry but I can salve it, thy wound is not so deep but I can search it, thy grief is not so great but I can ease it. If it be ripe it shall be lanced, if it be broken it shall be tainted,<sup>2</sup> be it never so desperate it shall be cured. Rise therefore, Euphues, and take heart at grace<sup>3</sup> ;

<sup>1</sup> *Colours of continuance* : a pretence of patience and persistence.

(*a*) *by my life* So 1578. 1595, etc. *by my self*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tainted* : tented, i.e., fitted with a roll of absorbent material which serves to keep the channel of discharge open. The term is now rare.

<sup>3</sup> *Heart at grace* : the early editions read *heart at grasse*. *At for of, grass*,



younger thou shalt (a) never be, pluck up thy stomach, if love itself have stung thee it shall not stifle thee. Though thou be enamoured of some lady thou shalt not be enchanted. They that begin to pine of a consumption without delay preserve themselves with cullises<sup>1</sup>; he that feeleth his stomach enflamed with heat cooleth it eftsoons with conserves; delays breed dangers,<sup>2</sup> nothing so perilous as procrastination."

Euphues, hearing this comfort and friendly counsel, dissembled his sorrowing heart with a smiling face, answering him forthwith as followeth: "True it is, Philautus, that he which toucheth the nettle<sup>3</sup> tenderly is soonest stung, that the fly which playeth with the fire is singed in the flame,<sup>4</sup> that he that dallieth with women is drawn to his woe. And as the adamant draweth the heavy iron,<sup>5</sup> the harp the fleet dolphin,<sup>6</sup> so beauty allureth the chaste mind to love and the wisest wit to lust. The example whereof I would it were no less profitable than the experience to me is like to be perilous. The vine watered with wine is soon withered, the blossom in the fattest ground<sup>7</sup> is quickly blasted, the goat<sup>8</sup> the fatter she is the less fertile she is; yea, man the more witty he is the less happy he is."<sup>9</sup>

*grease*, etc., for *grace* are early variants of the well-known phrase, the origin and original sense of which are involved in obscurity.<sup>1</sup> See *NED.*, s.v. *heart of grace*. Again, p. 254.

(a) *thou shalt* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *yu* shalt. See note (a), p. 229.

<sup>1</sup> *Cullises*: strong meat-broths. Compare p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Delays breed dangers*: see note on p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *He which toucheth the nettle* [etc.]: I have not been able to find this proverb in use before Lyly. Lean quotes it (iii. 476) from Forby's *Vocab. of East Anglia*, 1830.

<sup>4</sup> *The fly which playeth with the flame*: another proverb, now common, of which I can find no earlier quotations. Used again, p. 395. Compare *Mer. of Ven.*, II. 9, 79.

<sup>5</sup> *As the adamant draweth the heavy iron*: Pliny, xx. 2; or Erasmus' *Similia*, 600A. See note on p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> *The harp the fleet dolphin*. Bond quotes Pliny, xi. 50, [*dephini*] *cantu mulcentur, et capiuntur attoniti sono*, but says that Lyly's addition of the harp is due to the fable of Arion. But it is not improbable that Lyly had in his mind the XIth of Alciati's *Emblems*, which pictures a dolphin swimming toward the harp of Arion, which has been thrown overboard, as its owner is about to be.

<sup>7</sup> *The blossom in the fattest ground*. Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 621A) says: *sicuti quasdam arbores foecunditas et luxuries necat* [etc.]; and just after there are two or three other similes to the same effect.

<sup>8</sup> *The goat the fatter she is*. Bond quotes Pliny, viii. 76: "*Caprae pinguitudine steriliscunt*."

<sup>9</sup> *Man the more witty* [etc.]. Proverbs to this effect are quoted from several

So it is, Philautus, (for why should I conceal it from thee of whom I am to take counsel?) that since my last and first being with thee at the house of Ferardo, I have felt such a furious battle in mine own body as, if it be not speedily repressed by policy, it will carry my mind (the grand captain in this fight) into endless captivity. Ah Livia, Livia, thy courtly grace without coyness, thy blazing beauty without blemish, thy courteous demeanour without curiosity, thy sweet speech savoured with wit, thy comely mirth tempered with modesty, thy chaste looks yet lovely, thy sharp taunts yet pleasant have given me such a check that sure I am at the next view of thy virtues I shall take the mate.<sup>(a)</sup> And taking it not of a pawn but of a prince<sup>1</sup> the loss is to be accounted the less. And though they be commonly in a great choler that receive the mate, yet would I willingly take every minute ten mates to enjoy Livia for my loving mate.

"Doubtless if ever she herself have been scorched with the flames of desire she will be ready to quench the coals with courtesy in another, if ever she have been attached of love she will rescue him that is drenched<sup>2</sup> in desire, if ever she have been taken with the fever of fancy she will help his ague who by a quotidian fit<sup>3</sup> is converted into frenzy. Neither can there be under so delicate a hue lodged deceit, neither in so beautiful a mould a malicious mind. True it is that the disposition of the mind<sup>4</sup> followeth the composition of the body; how then can she be in mind any way imperfect who in body is perfect every way?

"I know my success will be good, but I know not how to have access to my goddess; neither do I want courage to discover my love to my friend, but some colour to cloak my coming languages by Düringsfeld (i., no. 212). Heywood (p. 75) has: "They would say: better to be happy than wise. . . . That they say as oft: God sendeth fortune to fools." De Vocht quotes Erasmus, *Encomium Moriae* (*Works*, iv. 436c): "*ii longissime absunt a felicitate, qui sapientiae student.*" A similar proverb is used by Lyly, p. 217.

(a) *take the mate* So 1631. 1578, etc. *take thee mate*.

<sup>1</sup> *Prince*: formerly a name for the bishop in chess. NED. quotes Rowbotham, *Play Cheasts*, A iv.: "Of the Bishop or Archer . . . the Spaniards named him prince . . . for he is nearer unto the King and the Quene then any other of the Cheastmen."

<sup>2</sup> *Drenched*: drowned, immersed, overwhelmed.

<sup>3</sup> *Quotidian fit*: the fever-fit that recurs every day. Bond quotes *As You Like It*, III. 2, 383: "The quotidian of love."

<sup>4</sup> *The disposition of the mind*: see note on p. 389. This is not the only place where Lyly shows acquaintance with the neo-Platonic doctrines of the Renaissance. See, for instance, pp. 378 ff.

to the house of Ferardo. For if they be in Naples as jealous as they be in the other parts of Italy, then it behoveth me to walk circumspectly and to forge some cause for my often coming. If therefore, Philautus, thou canst set but this feather to mine arrow thou shalt see me shoot so near that thou wilt account me for a cunning archer. And verily if I had not loved thee well, I would have swallowed mine own sorrow in silence, knowing that in love nothing is so dangerous as to participate the means thereof to another, and that two may keep counsel<sup>1</sup> if one be away. I am, therefore, enforced perforce to challenge that courtesy at thy hands which erst thou didst promise with thy heart, the performance whereof shall bind me to Philautus and prove thee faithful to Euphues. Now(a) if thy cunning be answerable to thy good will, practise some pleasant conceit upon thy poor patient: one dram of Ovid's art, some of Tibullus's drugs, one of Propertius's pills, which may cause me either to purge my new disease or recover my hoped desire. But I fear me where so strange a sickness is to be recured of so unskilful a physician, that either thou wilt be too bold to practise or my body too weak to purge. But seeing a desperate disease is to be committed to a desperate doctor, I will follow thy counsel and become thy cure,<sup>2</sup> desiring thee to be as wise in ministering the physic as I have been willing to put my life into thy hands."

Philautus, thinking all to be gold that glistered<sup>3</sup> and all to be gospel that Euphues uttered, answered his forged gloze with this friendly close<sup>4</sup>: "In that thou hast made me privy to thy purpose, I will not conceal my practice; in that thou cravest my aid, assure thyself I will be the finger next the thumb<sup>5</sup>; inso-much as thou shalt never repent thee of the one or the other.

<sup>1</sup> *Two may keep counsel.* In the form "*three may keep counsel if two be away*" the proverb occurs in the (?15th-century) poem *The Seven Commandments of Love* (quoted by Farmer in Heywood's *Proverbs*), Heywood's *Proverbs*, p. 65 and p. 222, and Shakespeare's *Titus Andron.*, iv. 2, 144.

(a) *Now if thy cunning . . . to put my life into thy hands.* Added by editions after 1578.

<sup>2</sup> *Cure*: patient.

<sup>3</sup> *All to be gold that glistered*: one of the most widely-diffused of proverbs. Düringsfeld (i. no. 33) gives it in Old High German, Old French, Latin, etc. Probably Lyly (like Shakespeare in *Mer. of Ven.*, ii. 7, 65) got the form in which he uses it directly or indirectly from Heywood's *Proverbs*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Close*: "sympathetic response; properly of music, where discords are resolved at the end" (Bond).

<sup>5</sup> *The finger next the thumb*: that is, the one that always helps the thumb. I have found no parallels to this proverbial-sounding phrase. *NED.* quotes only this passage.

For (a) persuade thyself that thou shalt find Philautus<sup>1</sup> during life ready to comfort thee in thy misfortunes and succour thee in thy necessity. Concerning Livia, though she be fair yet is she not so amiable as my Lucilla, whose servant I have been the term of three years—but lest comparisons should seem odious,<sup>1</sup> chiefly where both the parties be without comparison, I will omit that. And seeing that we had both rather be talking with them than tattling of them, we will immediately go to them. And truly, Euphues, I am not a little glad that I shall have thee not only a comfort in my life, but also a companion in my love. As thou hast been wise in thy choice, so I hope thou shalt be fortunate in thy chance. Livia is a wench of more wit than beauty, Lucilla of more beauty than wit, both of more honesty than honour,<sup>2</sup> and yet both of such honour as in all Naples there is not one in birth to be compared with (b) either of them. How much, therefore, have we to rejoice in our choice ?

“Touching our access, be thou secure. I will flap Ferardo in the mouth with some conceit and fill his old head so full of new fables that thou shalt rather be earnestly entreated to repair to his house, than evil entreated to leave it. As old men are very suspicious to mistrust every thing, so are they very credulous to believe any thing ; the blind man<sup>3</sup> doth eat many a fly.”

“Yea, but,” said Euphues, “take heed, my Philautus, that thou thyself swallow not a gudgeon,”<sup>4</sup> which word Philautus did not mark until he had almost digested it.

“But,” said Philautus, (c) “let us go devoutly to the shrine of our saints, there to offer our devotion ; for (d) my books teach me that such a wound must be healed<sup>5</sup> where it was first hurt, and for this disease we will use a common remedy, but yet comfortable. The eye that blinded thee shall make thee see, the

(a) *For persuade thyself . . . in thy necessity.* Added by editions after 1578.

<sup>1</sup> *Lest comparisons should seem odious.* The aphorism is quoted by NED. as early as 1430 (Lydgate).

<sup>2</sup> *Honour* : social position, rank.

(b) *with either of them.* So 1597, etc. 1578–1579B *with any of them both* ; 1580 *with any of them.*

<sup>3</sup> *The blind man* [etc.] : in Heywood's *Proverbs*, pp. 73, 201, 220. Heywood's editor quotes *School-house for Women* (1541), line 333.

<sup>4</sup> *A gudgeon* : “A small European freshwater fish . . . much used for bait” (NED.). The saying is repeated on p. 83.

(c) *said Philautus* Emendation by Bond. Early editions have *Euphues*.

(d) *for my books teach me . . . let us go.* Added by editions after 1578.

<sup>5</sup> *A wound must be healed* [etc.] : see notes on p. 93, and compare p. 277.

scorpion that stung thee<sup>1</sup> shall heal thee, a sharp sore hath a short cure—let us go.” To the which Euphues consented willingly, smiling to himself to see how he had brought Philautus into a fool’s paradise.

Here you may see, gentlemen, the falsehood in fellowship, the fraud in friendship, the painted sheath with the leaden dagger,<sup>2</sup> the fair words that make fools fain.<sup>3</sup> But I will not trouble you with superfluous addition, unto whom I fear me I have been tedious with the bare discourse of this rude history.

Philautus and Euphues repaired to the house of Ferardo, where they found Mistress Lucilla and Livia, accompanied with other gentlewomen, neither being idle nor well employed,<sup>4</sup> but playing at cards. But when Lucilla beheld Euphues she could scarcely contain herself from embracing him, had not womanly shamefastness, and Philautus his presence, stayed her wisdom. Euphues, on the other side, was fallen into such a trance that he had not the power either to succour himself or salute the gentle-

<sup>1</sup> *The scorpion that stung thee.* The method of curing the scorpion’s sting, according to Pliny (xi. 25; xxix. 21), Bartholomaeus Anglicus (Book xviii. ch. 98), the author of *Piers Plowman* (B, Passus xviii. 152), and others, is to make an oil or ash of some part of the beast himself and apply it to the wound (or sometimes to drink it). But Lyly shows no knowledge of these details either here or elsewhere (see pp. 93, 341, etc.), and his source is probably Erasmus’ *Similia* (Works, i. 586E): *Cantharides et scorpii in se circumferunt sui veneni remedium.*

<sup>2</sup> *The painted sheath with the leaden dagger:* repeated on p. 105. The “leaden sword” as a symbol of ineffectualness or false pretence is quoted by NED. (s.v. *leaden*) with date 1579. Bond suggests that the phrase may come from theatrical custom, and cites as a parallel Shakespeare, 1 *Hen. IV.* II. 4, 418: “Thy golden sceptre for a leaden dagger.” In Erasmus’ *Apophth.* (*Diogenes*, 185, Works, iv. 188), however, we read (in Udall’s transl., ed. 1877, p. 163): “Art thou not ashamed to draw a sword of lead out of an ivory sheath?” And Udall’s editor quotes (p. 441) the same metaphor from Seneca. Udall repeatedly uses “painted sheath” as synonymous with “false pretence” (p. 63, p. 243, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> *Fair words . . . make fools fain:* a proverb of great currency in the 15th and 16th centuries and known to other languages than English (see Düringsfeld, ii., no. 709). It is in Heywood (pp. 29, 207), Camden’s *Remains* (322), Ray, etc., and is illustrated by quotations in Hazlitt, 135. Compare *Jul. Caes.* III. 1, 42: ‘That which melteth fools; I mean sweet words.’

<sup>4</sup> *Neither being idle nor well employed:* with allusion to a proverb cited by Erasmus in the *Formulae* (Works, i. 636): *Praestat ociosum esse quam nihil agere*, and again in a slightly different form in *Conv. Poet.* (Works, i. 724). The original source, as De Vocht shows, is the letters of the younger Pliny, ix. 8. Used again, p. 91.

women. At the last Lucilla began, as one that best might be bold, on this manner :—

“ Gentlemen, although your long absence gave me occasion to think that you disliked your late entertainment, yet your coming at the last hath cut off my former suspicion. And by so much the more you are welcome, by how much the more you were wished for. But you, gentleman ” (taking Euphues by the hand), “ were the rather wished for, for that your discourse being left imperfect caused us all to long (as women are wont for things that like them) to have an end thereof.”

Unto whom Philautus replied as followeth : “ Mistress Lucilla, though your courtesy made us nothing to doubt of our welcome, yet modesty caused us to pinch courtesy<sup>1</sup> who should come first. As for my friend, I think he was never wished for here so earnestly of any as of himself, whether it might be to renew his talk or recant his sayings I cannot tell.”

Euphues(a) taking the tale out of Philautus’s mouth answered : “ Mistress Lucilla, to recant verities were heresy, and renew the praises of women flattery. The only cause I wished myself here was to give thanks for so good entertainment, the which I could no ways deserve, and to breed a greater acquaintance if it might be to make amends.”

Lucilla, inflamed with his presence, said : “ Nay, Euphues, you shall not escape so ; for if my courtesy, as you say, were the cause of your coming, let it also be the occasion of the ending your former discourse. Otherwise I shall think your proof naked and you shall find my reward nothing.”

Euphues, now as willing to obey as she to command, addressed himself to a farther conclusion<sup>2</sup> ; who, seeing all the gentlewomen ready to give him the hearing, proceeded as followeth :—

“ I have not yet forgotten that my last talk with these gentlewomen tended to their praises, and therefore the end must tie up the just proof ; otherwise I should set down Venus’ shadow without the lively substance.

“ As there is no one thing which can be reckoned either concerning love or loyalty wherein women do not excel men, yet in fervency above all others they so far exceed that men are liker to marvel at them than to imitate them, and readier to laugh at their

<sup>1</sup> *Pinch courtesy* : ‘strain courtesy,’ be over-punctilious in observing it.

(a) *Euphues taking the tale out of Philautus’s mouth . . . No, no, Lucilla* (p. 56) Added by editions after 1578.

<sup>2</sup> *Conclusion*. The word seems to mean here ‘a contest of skill,’ or ‘test of wit,’ as in Shakespeare’s ‘to try conclusions’ (*Hamlet*, III. 4, 195).

virtues than emulate them. For as they be hard to be won without trial of great faith, so are they hard to be lost without great cause of fickleness. It is long before the cold water seethe, yet being once hot it is long before it be cooled ; it is long before salt come to his saltness, but being once seasoned it never loseth his savour.

" I, for mine own part, am brought into a Paradise by the only imagination of woman's virtues ; and were I persuaded that all the devils in hell were women, I would never live devoutly to inherit heaven, or that they were all saints in heaven, I would live more strictly for fear of hell. What could Adam have done in his Paradise before his fall without a woman, or how would he have risen (a) again after his fall without a woman ? Artificers are wont in their last works <sup>1</sup> to excel themselves. Yea, God, when He had made all things, at the last made man as most perfect, thinking nothing could be framed more excellent ; yet after him He created a woman, the express image of Eternity, the lively picture of Nature, the only steel glass <sup>2</sup> for man to behold his infirmities by comparing them with women's perfections. Are they not more gentle, more witty, more beautiful than men ? Are not men so bewitched with their qualities that they become mad for love, and women so wise that they detest lust ?

" I am entered into so large a field that I shall sooner want time than proof, and so cloy you with variety of praises that I fear me I am like to infect women with pride, which yet they have not, and men with spite, which yet I would not. For as the horse if he knew his own strength were no ways to be bridled, or the unicorn <sup>3</sup> his own virtue were never to be caught, so women, if

(a) *risen* The more usual form, from 1595, in place of 1579A *ryse*, 1580 *rise*.

<sup>1</sup> *Artificers . . . in their last works.* In the *Colloquia Familiaria* (*Puerpera*, Works, i. 767B), Erasmus makes Fabulla espouse the cause of women. Eutrapelus objects that men were made first, and Fabulla replies : "*Et solent artifices in posterioribus se ipsos vincere.*" Lyly repeats the argument made here in p. 292. Of course it became a commonplace in connection with the feminist tendencies of the Renaissance. De Vocht quotes Cornelius Agrippa, *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus*, ii. 520 (ed. 1535(?), Lyons) : "*Finis complementum omnium operum Dei perfectissimum.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Steel glass* : a mirror of polished steel.

<sup>3</sup> *The unicorn* : the peculiar virtues of the unicorn were that he could not be captured except by a virgin, and that a cure for poison could be made of his horn. Lyly betrays no knowledge of these particularities, here or elsewhere (compare p. 116), and he had his information from some source (such as Albertus Magnus, Works, xii. p. 419, or Isidore of Seville, *Orig.*, xii. ch. ii. no. 12) where merely the fact that he is wonderfully strong and

they knew what excellency were in them, I fear me men should never win them to their wills or wean them from their mind."

Lucilla began to smile, saying, "In faith, Euphues, I would have you stay there. For as the sun when he is at the highest beginneth to go down, so when the praises of women are at the best, if you leave not, they will begin to fail."

But Euphues (being rapt with the sight of his saint <sup>1</sup>) answered, "No, no, Lucilla——"

But whilst he was yet speaking Ferardo entered, whom they all dutifully welcomed home. Who, rounding Philautus in the ear, desired him to accompany him immediately without farther pausing, protesting it should be as well for his preferment as for his own profit.

Philautus consenting, Ferardo said to his daughter : "Lucilla, the urgent affairs I have in hand will scarce suffer me to tarry with you one hour. Yet my return, I hope, will be so short that my absence shall not breed thy sorrow. In the mean season I commit all things into thy custody, wishing thee to use thy accustomable courtesy. And seeing I must take Philautus with me, I will be so bold to crave you, gentleman (his friend), to supply his room, desiring you to take this hasty warning for a hearty welcome and so to spend this time of mine absence in honest mirth. And thus I leave you."

Philautus knew well the cause of this sudden departure, which was to redeem certain lands that were mortgaged in his father's time to the use of Ferardo ; who on that condition had beforetime promised him his daughter in marriage. But return we to Euphues.

Euphues was surprised with such incredible joy at this strange event that he had almost swooned ; for seeing his corrival to be departed and Ferardo to give him so friendly entertainment, doubted not in time to get the good will of Lucilla. Whom finding in place convenient without company, with a bold courage and comely gesture he began to assay her in this sort :—

"Gentlewoman, my acquaintance being so little I am afraid my credit will be less, for that they commonly are soonest believed that are best beloved, and they liked best whom we have known

wise and cannot be captured or tamed is mentioned. On unicorn stories see Lauchert, pp. 22, 186, 213, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Saint* : in Lyly's frequent use of this word as applied to his hero's mistress there is an echo of the medieval love-imagery. *Saint Venus*, *Saint Cupid*, etc., are common features of that code.



longest. Nevertheless the noble mind suspecteth no guile without cause, neither condemneth any wight without proof. Having, therefore, notice of your heroical heart, I am the better persuaded of my good hap.

"So it is, Lucilla, that coming to Naples but to fetch fire,<sup>1</sup> as the byword is, not to make my place of abode, I have found such flames that I can neither quench them<sup>2</sup> with the water of free will, neither cool them with wisdom. For as the hop, the pole being never so high, groweth to the end, or as the dry beech kindled at the root never leaveth until it come to the top, or as one drop of poison disperseth itself into every vein,<sup>3</sup> so affection having caught hold of my heart and the sparkles of love kindled my liver will suddenly, though secretly, flame up into my head and spread itself into every sinew. It is your beauty (pardon my abrupt boldness), lady, that hath taken every part of me prisoner and brought me to this deep distress. But seeing women, when one praiseth them for their deserts, deem that he flattereth them to obtain his desire, I am here present to yield myself to such trial as your courtesy in this behalf shall require.

"Yet will you commonly object this to such as serve you and starve<sup>4</sup> (a) to win your good will: that hot love<sup>5</sup> is soon cold, that the bavin<sup>6</sup> though it burn bright is but a blaze, that scalding water if it stand a while turneth almost to ice, that pepper though it be hot in the mouth is cold in the maw, that the faith of men though it fry in their words it freezeth in their works. Which things, Lucilla, albeit they be sufficient to reprove the lightness of some one, yet can they (b) not convince every one of lewdness; neither ought the constancy of all to be brought in question through

<sup>1</sup> *But to fetch fire*: i.e., as one neighbour would go to another's house to carry coals from his hearth to light his own fire with.

<sup>2</sup> *Quench them* [etc.]. The idea perhaps is, extinguish them by giving them their way, letting them burn out.

<sup>3</sup> *One drop . . . every vein*: as may be seen by comparing with p. 277, the passage is based on a commonplace of medieval science, as reported, for instance, by Isidore of Seville (xii. 4, 41 and 42): "Poison [*venenum*] is so-called because it travels through the veins. For the venom of it runs through the veins, its speed being increased by the warmth of the body itself, and so extinguishes the life. . . . Moreover all poison is cold, and hence life, which is warm, flies the cold poison." Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, v. 1, 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Starve*: die (the original sense).

(a) *starve* 1578 and 1579A *sterue*; 1579B-1613 *starue*; 1617-1636 *striue*.

<sup>5</sup> *Hot love* [etc.]: see note on p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Bavin*: a bundle of twigs. See note on p. 315.

(b) *yet can they* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *yet can it*.

the subtlety of a few. For although the worm <sup>1</sup> entereth almost into every wood, yet he eateth not the cedar tree ; though the stone *Cylindrus* <sup>2</sup> at every thunderclap roll from the hill, yet the pure sleek-stone <sup>3</sup> mounteth at the noise ; though the rust fret the hardest steel, yet doth it not eat into the emerald ; though Polypus <sup>4</sup> change his hue, yet the *Salamander* <sup>5</sup> keepeth his colour ; though Proteus <sup>6</sup> transform himself into every shape, yet Pygmalion <sup>7</sup> retaineth his old form ; though Aeneas were too fickle to Dido, yet Troilus was too faithful to Cressida ; though others seem counterfeit in their deeds, yet, Lucilla, persuade yourself that Euphues will be always current in his dealings.

" But as the true gold is tried by the touch, <sup>8</sup> the pure flint by the stroke of the iron, so the loyal heart of the faithful lover is known by the trial of his lady. Of the which trial, Lucilla, if you shall account Euphues worthy, assure yourself he will be as ready to offer himself a sacrifice for your sweet sake as yourself shall be willing to employ him in your service. Neither doth he desire to be trusted any way until he shall be tried every way, neither doth he crave credit at the first, but a good countenance till time <sup>9</sup> his desire shall be made manifest by his deserts. Thus not blinded by light affection, but dazzled with your rare per-

<sup>1</sup> *The worm . . . the cedar-tree.* Bond quotes Bartholomaeus Anglicus, xvii. 23 : " The smell of it driveth away serpentes and all manner of venomous wormes." De Vocht adds Pliny, xvi. 76 and 81, and Erasmus, *Similia*, 620B (almost literally from Pliny). It is still a belief concerning *hemlocks* among American woodsmen that they keep away serpents. Compare pp. 357 and 359.

<sup>2</sup> *Cylindrus* : Bond says this is entirely fictitious, and in effect he is probably right, but it is clear that Lyly's inventive genius was stimulated by some such passage as the following from Isidore of Seville (*Orig.*, xx., ch. xiv., no. 9) : "*Cylindrus lapis est teres in modum columnae, qui a volubilitate nomen accipit.*"

<sup>3</sup> *Sleek-stone* : still used dialectally of a polishing-stone. To what phenomenon Lyly alludes in this clause there is no way of telling.

<sup>4</sup> *Polypus* : the simile is given in a completer form, p. 302 (see note). The only source needed here is Erasmus, *Similia* (*Works*, i. 585B) : "*Polypus superficiem et colorem duntaxat mutat.*" This is immediately followed, in Erasmus, as in Lyly, by the simile of Proteus.

<sup>5</sup> *Salamander* : in allusion to the fact that it is not burned in fire. See Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Phys.*, p. 27, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Proteus* : compare Erasmus, *Similia*, 585B. De Vocht quotes as the ultimate source Plutarch, *De Amicorum Multitudine*, a passage near the end.

<sup>7</sup> *Pygmalion* : perhaps in allusion to the faithfulness of his love for the statue, or perhaps, by mere confusion, the durability of the marble of his image is transferred to him.

<sup>8</sup> *The true gold . . . the touch* : see note on p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> *Till time* : see note on p. 42.

fection and boldened by your exceeding courtesy, I have unfolded mine entire love ; desiring you, having so good leisure, to give so friendly an answer as I may receive comfort and you commendation."

Lucilla although she were contented ~~to~~ hear this desired discourse, yet did she seem to be somewhat displeased. And truly I know not whether it be peculiar to that sex to dissemble with those whom they most desire, or whether by craft they have learned outwardly to loathe that which inwardly they most love. Yet wisely did she cast this in her head, that if she should yield at the first assault he would think her a light huswife, if she should reject him scornfully a very haggard<sup>1</sup>; minding therefore that he should neither take hold of her promise, neither unkindness of her preciseness, she fed him indifferently with hope and despair, reason and affection, life and death. Yet in the end, arguing wittily upon certain questions, they fell to such agreement as poor Philautus would not have agreed unto if he had been present, yet always keeping the body undefiled. And thus she replied :—

" Gentleman, as you may suspect me of idleness in giving ear to your talk, so may you convince me of lightness in answering such toys. Certes as you have made mine ears glow at the rehearsal of your love, so have you galled my heart with the remembrance of your folly. Though you came to Naples as a stranger yet were you welcome to my father's house as a friend. And can you then so much transgress the bounds of honour (I will not say of honesty) as to solicit a suit more sharp to me than death ? I have hitherto, God be thanked, lived without suspicion of lewdness. And shall I now incur the danger of sensual liberty ? What hope can you have to obtain my love, seeing yet I could never afford you a good look ? Do you, therefore, think me easily enticed to the bent of your bow<sup>2</sup> because I was easily entreated to listen to your late discourse ? Or seeing me (as finely you gloze) to excel all other in beauty, did you deem that I would exceed all other in beastliness ?

" But yet I am not angry, Euphues, but in an agony ; for who is she that will fret(a) or fume with one that loveth her,—if this love to delude me be not dissembled ? It is that which

<sup>1</sup> *Haggard* : see note on p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *The bent of your bow* : the bend or curve of your bow. The phrase is not infrequent in the 16th and 17th centuries in the same figurative use as here.

(a) *will fret* 1578 has *will not frette* ; corrected in later editions.

causeth me most to fear ; not that my beauty is unknown to myself, but that commonly we poor wenches are deluded through light belief, and ye men are naturally inclined craftily to lead your life. When the fox preacheth<sup>1</sup> the geese perish. The crocodile<sup>2</sup> shroudeth greatest treason under most pitiful tears ; in a kissing mouth there lieth a galling mind. You have made so large proffer of your service and so fair promises of fidelity, that were I not over chary of mine honesty you would inveigle me to shake hands with chastity. But certes, I will either lead a virgin's life in earth (though I lead apes in hell<sup>3</sup>), or else follow thee rather than thy gifts ; yet am I neither so precise to refuse thy proffer, neither so peevish to disdain thy good-will. So excellent always are the gifts which are made acceptable by the virtue of the giver.

"I did at the first entrance discern thy love, but yet dissemble it. Thy wanton glances, thy scalding sighs, thy loving signs caused me to blush for shame and to look wan for fear, lest they should be perceived of any. These subtle shifts, these painted practises (if I were to be won) would soon wean me from the teat of Vesta to the toys of Venus. Besides this, thy comely grace, thy rare qualities, thy exquisite perfection were able to move a mind half mortified<sup>4</sup> to transgress the bonds of maidenly modesty. But God shield, Lucilla, that thou shouldst be so careless of thine honour as to commit the state thereof to a stranger. Learn thou by me, Euphues, to despise things that be amiable, to forgo delightful practises ; believe me it is piety to abstain from pleasure.

"Thou art not the first that hath solicited this suit, but the first that goeth about to seduce me ; neither discernest thou

<sup>1</sup> *When the fox preacheth* : the proverb occurs twice in Heywood (pp. 82, 201), and is quoted by NED. from the *Towneley Mysteries* (Surtees), 10 : "Let furth youre geyse, the fox wille preche." See Bond's interesting note. Lyly uses it again, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> *The crocodile* [etc.] : it is useless to try to find Lyly's source for this widespread fable. Albertus Magnus gives it, *Works*, xii. 519 ; NED. quotes Mandeville, ch. xxxi. ; De Vocht cites Erasmus, *Adagia*, 543A (ed. 1536, p. 484) : *Crocodili lachrymae . . . Sunt qui scribant Crocodilum conspecto procul homine, lachrymas emittere, atque eundem mox devorare*.

<sup>3</sup> *Though I lead apes in hell*. The meaning is explained by Lean's citation from *The London Prodigal*, i. 2 : "For 'tis an old proverb, and you know it well, That women dying maids lead apes in hell." Compare *Tam. of the Shrew*, II. 1, 34. Lean quotes Gascoigne, *Adv. of F. Jeron.* i. 463. See below, p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> *Mortified*. Probably the word has the ecclesiastical sense, 'made dead to the world.'

more than other, but darest more than any ; neither hast thou more art to discover thy meaning, but more heart to open thy mind. But thou preferrest me before thy lands, thy livings, thy life, thou offerest thyself a sacrifice for my security, thou profferest me the whole and only sovereignty of thy service ; truly I were very cruel and hard-hearted if I should not love thee. Hard-hearted albeit I am not, but truly love thee I cannot, whom I doubt to be my lover. Moreover I have not been used to the court of Cupid, wherein there be more sleights than there be hares in Athos,<sup>1</sup> than bees in Hybla, than stars in heaven.

" Besides this, the common people here in Naples are not only both very suspicious of other men's matters and manners, but also very jealous over other men's children and maidens. Either, therefore, dissemble thy fancy or desist from thy folly. But why shouldest thou desist from the one, seeing thou canst cunningly dissemble the other ? My father is now gone to Venice, and as I am uncertain of his return so am I not privy to the cause of his travel. But yet is he so from hence that he seeth me in his absence. Knowest thou not, Euphues, that kings have long arms<sup>2</sup> and rulers large reaches ? Neither let this comfort thee, that at his departure he deputed thee in Philautus's place. Although my face cause him to mistrust my loyalty, yet my faith enforceth him to give me this liberty ; though he be suspicious of my fair hue, yet is he secure of my firm honesty.

" But alas, Euphues, what truth can there be found in a traveller, what stay in a stranger ; whose words and bodies both watch but for a wind,<sup>3</sup> whose feet are ever fleeting, whose faith plighted on the shore is turned to perjury when they hoist sail ? Who more traitorous to Phyllis<sup>4</sup> than Demophon ? Yet he a

<sup>1</sup> *Hares in Athos* : used again by Lyly in *Endymion*, III. 4, 145. See Ovid, *Ars Am.* ii. 517 : *Quot lepores in Atho : quot apes pascuntur in Hybla*. Lyly's third figure occurs *Ars Am.* i. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Kings have long arms* : compare 2 *Henry VI.*, iv. 7, 86 : " Great men have reaching hands." Erasmus, *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 79E), quotes Ovid (*Her.* xvii. 166) : "*An nescis longas regibus esse manus*" ; and says of the proverb : *vulgo in ore est*.

<sup>3</sup> *Watch but for a wind*. The usual proverb now is and was (see Heywood, 91) : ' Watch which way the wind blows.' Lyly's phrase, however, comes from a phrase often used by Ovid, e.g., *Rem. Am.* i. 286 : *Irrita cum velis verba tulere Noti*. See also *Heroides*, ii. 25 ; vii. 8 ; etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Phyllis . . . Dido . . . Ariadne . . . Medea*. Bond mentions that these four instances are cited together, with an addition, by Pettie, fol. 20 v. But of course they all occur in Ovid's *Heroides*, and in the order here named

traveller. Who more perjured to Dido than Aeneas ? And he a stranger. Both these queens, both they caitiffs. Who more false to Ariadne than Theseus ? Yet he a sailor. Who more fickle to Medea than Jason ? Yet he a starter.<sup>1</sup> Both these daughters to great princes, both they unfaithful of promises. Is it then likely that Euphues will be faithful to Lucilla being in Naples but a sojourner ?

"I have not yet forgotten the invective (I can no otherwise term it) which thou madest against beauty, saying it was a deceitful bait with a deadly hook and a sweet poison in a painted pot. Canst thou then be so unwise to swallow the bait which will breed thy bane ? To swill the drink that will expire<sup>2</sup> thy date ? To desire the wight that will work thy death ? But it may be that with the scorpion<sup>3</sup> thou canst feed on the earth, or with the quail and roebuck<sup>4</sup> be fat with poison, or with beauty live in all bravery.

"I fear me thou hast the stone *Continens*<sup>5</sup> (a) about thee, which is named of the contrary ; that though thou pretend faith in thy words, thou devisest fraud in thy heart, that though thou seem to prefer love,(b) thou art inflamed with lust. And what for that ? Though thou have eaten the seeds of rocket<sup>6</sup> which breed incontinency, yet have I chewed the leaf cress<sup>7</sup> which maintaineth modesty. Though thou bear in thy bosom the herb (though with others interspersed), and, for that matter, in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*.

<sup>1</sup> *Starter* : see note on p. 40, and compare the meaning of *start*, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> *Expire* : cause to end, bring to an end. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, i. 4, 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Scorpion*. Bond quotes Pliny, x. 93 : "*Scorpiones terra vivunt*," and says that Lyly has mistranslated.

<sup>4</sup> *With the quail and roebuck* : Pliny, x. 92, "*Venenis capreae et coturnices . . . pinguescunt*" (quoted almost verbatim in Erasmus' *Similia* : *Works*, i. 615D). Pliny is probably Lyly's source here, as in the case of the scorpion just above. Compare p. 395.

<sup>5</sup> *The stone Continens* : nothing is reported elsewhere of such a stone, though various minerals and gems, for instance the emerald, are said to have the property of revealing or preventing incontinency, and others to cause it. See note 1 on p. 401.

(a) *Continens* So 1607 ; 1578-1597 *Continueus*.

(b) *to prefer love* So 1578. 1617-1636 *to proffer love*.

<sup>6</sup> *The seeds of rocket*. Bond quotes Pliny, x. 83, "*eruca fit aviditas coitus*," and Plutarch, *Moralia*, Holland's transl., f. 505. See also Isidore of Seville, xvii. 10, 21, and Albertus Magnus, *Opera*, x. 232. Ovid, *Rem. Am.* iii. 399, says : *erucas aptum vitare salaces*.

<sup>7</sup> *Cress* : i.e., water-cress, *nasturtium officinale*, concerning which Pliny (xx. 50) and after him Erasmus (*Similia*, 606D) report the fact here mentioned.

Araxa, most noisome to virginity, yet have I the stone that groweth in the mount Tmolus,<sup>1</sup> the upholder of chastity.

"You may, gentleman, account me for a cold prophet, thus hastily to divine of your disposition. Pardon me, Euphues, if in love I cast beyond the moon,<sup>2</sup> which bringeth us women to endless moan. Although I myself<sup>3</sup> were never burnt, whereby I should dread the fire, yet the scorching of others in the flames of fancy warneth me to beware; though I as yet never tried any faithless, whereby I should be fearful, yet have I read of many that have been perjured, which causeth me to be careful; though I am able to convince none by proof, yet am I enforced to suspect one upon probabilities. Alas, we silly souls, which have neither wit to decipher the wiles of men nor wisdom to dissemble our affections, neither craft to train in<sup>4</sup> young lovers, neither courage to withstand their encounters, neither discretion to discern their doubling, neither hard hearts to reject their complaints—we, I say, are soon enticed, being by nature simple, and easily entangled, being apt to receive the impression of love. But alas, it is both common and lamentable to behold simplicity entrapped by subtlety, and those that have most might to be infected with most malice. The spider weaveth a fine web to hang the fly, the wolf weareth a fair face to devour the lamb, the merlin<sup>5</sup> striketh at the partridge, the eagle<sup>6</sup> often snappeth at the fly, men are always laying baits for women which are the weaker

<sup>1</sup> *The stone that groweth in the mount Tmolus.* The source is the pseudo-Plutarchian treatise *De Fluviis*, vii. (the river Pactolus), a passage in which is thus rendered by Amyot: "Il y [i.e., on Mt. Tmolus] croit une pierre . . . laquelle . . . n'est apperceue que des filles qui n'ont point encore l'aage de prudence et jugement: que si celles que sont d'aage nubile l'apprennent, elles sont garanties et preservées du tort et injure que quelques uns auroient envie de leur faire, comme le rapporte Clitophon" (ed. Paris, 1618, ii. 670 v).

<sup>2</sup> *Cast beyond the moon*: calculate or forecast fancifully concerning something remote. Heywood, p. 11, has: "Fear may cause a man to cast beyond the moon." See other citations in *NED.*, s.v. *cast*, v., def. 41. Compare below, p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> *I myself . . . fire.* On the proverb here implied Skeat, p. 121, quotes the *Prov. of Hendyng*, st. 24: "Brend child fur dredeth," and many other early writers. See Heywood, p. 55, and below, pp. 111 and 301.

<sup>4</sup> *Train in*: compare the modern *break in* (train, discipline).

<sup>5</sup> *Merlin*: a kind of falcon.

<sup>6</sup> *The eagle [etc.]*: Bond quotes Erasmus, *Adagia*, 761F (1536 ed., p. 683), *Aquila non capiat muscas*, and De Vocht adds Erasmus' comment, which is more to the point: *Efferitur et citra negationem adagium: . . . Aquila venatur muscas, quoties magnis minima sunt curae.*

vessels. But as yet I could never hear man by such snares to entrap man. For true it is, that men themselves have by use observed, that it must be a hard winter when one wolf eateth another.<sup>1</sup> I have read that the bull<sup>2</sup>, being tied to the fig-tree loseth his strength, that the whole herd of deer stand at the gaze if they smell a sweet apple, that the dolphin<sup>3</sup> by the sound of music is brought to the shore. And then no marvel it is that if the fierce bull be tamed with the fig-tree that women,<sup>(a)</sup> being as weak as sheep, be overcome with a fig, if the wild deer be caught with an apple that the tame damsel is won with a blossom, if the fleet dolphin be allured with harmony that women be entangled with the melody of men's speech, fair promises, and solemn protestations.

"But folly it were for me to mark their mischiefs. Sith I am neither able, neither they willing, to amend their manners, it becometh me rather to show what our sex should do than to open what yours doth. And seeing I cannot by reason restrain your importunate suit, I will by rigour done on myself cause you to refrain the means. I would to God Ferardo were in this point like to Lysander,<sup>4</sup> which would not suffer his daughters to wear gorgeous apparel, saying it would rather make them common than comely. I would it were in Naples a law, which was a custom in Egypt,<sup>5</sup> that women should always go barefoot, to the intent they might keep themselves always at home ; that they should be ever like to that snail<sup>6</sup> which hath ever his house on his head. I mean so to mortify myself that instead of silks

<sup>1</sup> *When one wolf eateth another.* There is a similar passage in the *Diall of Princes*, *Cert. Letters*, no. 5 : "Extreme hunger caused beasts to devour with their teeth the thing that was bred in their entrails."

<sup>2</sup> *The bull* [etc.]. Isidore of Seville, xvii. 7, 17, has : "*Tauros quoque ferocissimos ad fici arborem Colligatos repente mansuescere dicunt.*" Bond quotes Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* ii. 7, as the ultimate source.

<sup>3</sup> *The dolphin* [etc.] : see note on p. 49.

<sup>(a)</sup> *that women* So 1631. Earliest texts *if that women*.

<sup>4</sup> *Like to Lysander* [etc.]. Bond gives the source as Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*, Lysander, 1, a passage thus translated by Amyot : "Lysander ne voulut pas accepter des robes sumptueuses et riches que Dionysius le tyran envoyoit à ses filles, disant, Je craindrois que ces robes ne les fissent trouver plus laides." Lyly adds a detail concerning the austere life of Lysander's daughters, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> *A custom in Egypt* : the source of this also is Plutarch (*Præcepta Conjugalia*, xxx.).

<sup>6</sup> *Like to that snail* : De Vocht quotes Erasmus, *Similia*, 571E : "*Ut Cochleæ semper domum suam secum circumferunt : Ita quidam horrent peregrinas regiones.*"



I will wear sackcloth, for ouches<sup>1</sup> and bracelets lear and caddis,<sup>2</sup> for the lute use the distaff, for the pen the needle, for lovers' sonnets David's psalms.

"But yet I am not so senseless altogether to reject your service; which if I were certainly assured to proceed of a simple mind it should not receive so simple a reward. And what greater trial can I have of thy simplicity and truth than thine own request which desireth a trial. Aye, but in the coldest flint there is hot fire, the bee that hath honey in her mouth hath a sting in her tail, the tree<sup>3</sup> that beareth the sweetest fruit hath a sour sap, yea the words of men though they seem smooth as oil yet their hearts are as crooked as the stalk of ivy. I would not, Euphues, that thou shouldest condemn me of rigour in that I seek to assuage thy folly by reason; but take this by the way that although as yet I am disposed to like of none, yet whensoever I shall love any I will not forget thee. In the mean season account me thy friend, for thy foe I will never be."

Euphues was brought into a great quandary and as it were a cold shivering to hear this new kind of kindness, such sweet meat, such sour sauce, such fair words, such faint promises, such hot love, such cold desire, such certain hope, such sudden change; and stood like one that had looked on Medusa's head and so had been turned into a stone.

Lucilla, seeing him in this pitiful plight and fearing he would take stand<sup>4</sup> if the lure were not cast out, took him by the hand and, wringing him softly, with a smiling countenance began thus to comfort him: "Methinks, Euphues, changing so your colour upon the sudden, you will soon change your copy.<sup>5</sup> Is your mind on your meat? A penny for your thought."<sup>6</sup>

"Mistress," quoth he, "if you would buy all my thoughts at that price, I should never be weary of thinking; but seeing it is too dear, read it and take it for nothing."

"It seems to me," said she, "that you are in some brown study what colours you might best wear for your lady."

<sup>1</sup> *Ouches*: buckles or brooches, especially those set with precious stones.

<sup>2</sup> *Lear and caddis*. Apparently both of these are names of plain materials used as edging or binding, and sometimes also for garters, girdles, etc. *NED*. says, however, that the meaning of *caddis* in this place is doubtful. See p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *The tree* [etc.]. Erasmus has a somewhat similar comparison, *Similia*, (*Works*, i. 618B): *Cotoneis plurimum odoris, sapor autem asperrimus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Take stand* [etc.]: one of Lyly's many allusions to the art of falconry.

<sup>5</sup> *Change your copy*: the phrase was current in 16th and 17th centuries, in the sense 'take a new line of action.'

<sup>6</sup> *A penny for your thought*: Heywood has this saying, p. 61.

"Indeed, Lucilla, you level shrewdly at my thought by the aim of your own imagination. For you have given unto me a true-love's knot wrought of changeable silk, and you deem me that I am devising how I might have my colours changeable also that they might agree. But let this with such toys and devices pass. If it please you to command me any service, I am here ready to attend your leisure."

"No service, Euphues, but that you keep silence until I have uttered my mind; and secrecy when I have unfolded my meaning."

"If I should offend in the one I were too bold, if in the other too beastly."

"Well then, Euphues," said she, "so it is that for the hope that I conceive of thy loyalty and the happy success that is like to ensue of this our love, I am content to yield thee the place in my heart which thou desirest and deservest above all other; which consent in me, if it may any ways breed thy contentation, sure I am that it will every way work my comfort. But as either thou tenderest mine honour or thine own safety, use such secrecy in this matter that my father have no inkling hereof before I have framed his mind fit for our purpose. And though women have small force to overcome men by reason, yet have they good fortune to undermine them by policy. The soft drops<sup>1</sup> of rain pierce the hard marble, many strokes overthrow the tallest oak, a silly woman in time may make such a breach into a man's heart as her tears may enter without resistance; then doubt not but I will so undermine mine old father as quickly I will enjoy my new friend. Tush, Philautus was liked for fashion sake, but never loved for fancy sake; and this I vow by the faith of a virgin and by the love I bear thee (for greater bands to confirm my vow I have not) that my father shall sooner martyr me in the fire than marry me to Philautus. No, no, Euphues, thou only hast won me<sup>2</sup> by love and shalt only wear me by law; I force<sup>3</sup> not Philautus his fury so I may have Euphues his friendship, neither will I prefer his possessions before thy person, neither esteem better of his lands than of

<sup>1</sup> *Soft drops* [etc.]: this, one of the most widely-current of all proverbs, has both classical and scriptural origins. See Job xiv. 19, and Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 10, 5 (quoted by Skeat, *Early Eng. Prov.*, p. 10). Bond quotes Lucretius, i. 314: "*Stillicidi casus lapidem cavat.*" See Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, 156-7, and below, note on p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Hast won me . . . and shalt wear me*: 'Win me and wear me' was a proverbial saying. See *Much Ado*, v. 1, 82; and compare below, p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> *Force*: attach importance to, care for.

thy love. Ferardo shall sooner disherit me of my patrimony than dishonour me in breaking my promise. It is not his great manors but thy good manners that shall make my marriage. In token of which my sincere affection, I give thee my hand in pawn and my heart for ever to be thy Lucilla."

Unto whom Euphues answered in this manner: "If my tongue were able to utter the joys that my heart hath conceived, I fear me though I be well beloved yet I should hardly be believed. Ah my Lucilla, how much am I bound to thee which preferrest mine unworthiness before thy father's wrath, my happiness before thine own misfortune, my love before thine own life! How might I excel thee in courtesy, whom no mortal creature can exceed in constancy! I find it now for a settled truth, which erst I accounted for a vain talk, that the purple dye will never stain,<sup>1</sup> that the pure civet will never lose his savour, that the green laurel will never change his colour, that beauty can never be blotted with discourtesy. As touching secrecy in this behalf, assure thyself that I will not so much as tell it to myself. Command Euphues to run, to ride, to undertake any exploit be it never so dangerous, to hazard himself in any enterprise be it never so desperate."

As they were thus pleasantly conferring the one with the other, Livia (whom Euphues made his stale<sup>2</sup>) entered into the parlour. Unto whom Lucilla spake in these terms, "Dost thou not laugh, Livia, to see my ghostly father keep me here so long at shrift?"

"Truly," answered Livia, "methinks that you smile at some pleasant shift.<sup>3</sup> Either he is slow in inquiring of your faults or you slack in answering of his questions."

And thus being supper time they all sat down, Lucilla well pleased, no man better content than Euphues. Who after his repast, having no opportunity to confer with his lover, had small lust to continue with the gentlewomen (a) any longer; seeing therefore he could frame no means to work his delight, he coined an excuse to hasten his departure, promising the next morning to trouble them again as a guest more bold than welcome, although indeed he thought himself to be the better welcome in saying that he would come.

<sup>1</sup> *Stain*: take a stain, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. I, 48: "If virtue's gloss will stain with any soil."

<sup>2</sup> *Stale*: a decoy or 'blind.' Euphues had represented to Philautus that he came to Lucilla's house in order to meet Livia. Compare p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Shift*: jest. See *NED.* for other instances.

(a) *gentlewomen* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *gentlewoman*.

But as Ferardo went in post, so he returned in haste, having concluded with Philautus that the marriage should immediately be consummated. Which wrought such a content in Philautus that he was almost in an ecstasy through the extremity of his passions; such is the fulness and force of pleasure that there is nothing so dangerous as the fruition. Yet knowing that delays bring dangers,<sup>1</sup> although he nothing doubted of Lucilla whom he loved, yet feared he the fickleness of old men, which is always to be mistrusted. He urged therefore Ferardo to break with his daughter. Who, being willing to have the match made, was content incontinently to procure the means; finding, therefore, his daughter at leisure, and having knowledge of her former love, spake to her as followeth:—

“Dear Daughter, as thou hast long time lived a maiden, so now thou must learn to be a mother; and as I have been careful to bring thee up a virgin, so am I now desirous to make thee a wife. Neither ought I in this matter to use any persuasions, for that maidens commonly nowadays are no sooner born but they begin to bride it; neither to offer any great portions, for that thou knowest thou shalt inherit all my possessions. Mine only care hath been hitherto to match thee with such an one as should be of good wealth able to maintain thee, of great worship able to compare with thee in birth, of honest conditions<sup>2</sup> to deserve thy love, and an Italian-born to enjoy my lands. At the last I have found one answerable to my desire, a gentleman of great revenues, of a noble progeny, of honest behaviour, of comely personage, born and brought up in Naples—Philautus, thy friend as I guess, thy husband, Lucilla, if thou like it; neither canst thou dislike him who wanteth nothing that should cause thy liking, neither hath anything that should breed thy loathing. And surely I rejoice the more that thou shalt be linked to him in marriage whom thou hast loved as I hear being a maiden, neither can there any jars kindle between them where the minds be so united, neither any jealousy arise where love hath so long been settled.

“Therefore, Lucilla, to the end the desire of either of you may now be accomplished to the delight of you both, I am here come

<sup>1</sup> *Delays bring dangers*: compare “delays breed dangers” above, p. 49. Lyly uses the proverb in a more modern form on p. 373, and in still another on p. 96. ‘Delay breedeth danger’ (Holinshed’s *Chron.*, 1586, index), ‘delay hath oft wrought scathe’ (*Havelok the Dane*, ed. Skeat, l. 1352) are early forms.

<sup>2</sup> *Conditions*: personal qualities, morals, manners, ‘ways.’

to finish the contract by giving hands, which you have already begun between yourselves by joining of hearts ; that as God doth witness the one in your consciences, so the world may testify the other by your conversations. And therefore, Lucilla, make such answer to my request as may like me and satisfy thy friend."

Lucilla, abashed with this sudden speech of her father yet boldened by the love of her friend, with a comely bashfulness answered him in this manner :—

"Reverend sir, the sweetness that I have found in the undefiled estate of virginity causeth me to loathe the sour sauce which is mixed with matrimony, and the quiet life which I have tried being a maiden maketh me to shun the cares that are always incident to a mother ; neither am I so wedded to the world that I should be moved with great possessions, neither so bewitched with wantonness that I should be enticed with any man's proportion, neither, if I were so disposed, would I be so proud to desire one of noble progeny or so precise to choose one only in mine own country, for that commonly these things happen always to the contrary. Do we not see the noble to match with the base, the rich with the poor, the Italian oftentimes with the Portugal ? As love knoweth no laws, so it regardeth no conditions, as the lover maketh no pause where he liketh, so he maketh no conscience of these idle ceremonies.

"In that Philautus is the man that threateneth such kindness at my hands and such courtesy at yours that he should account me his wife before he woo me, certainly he is like, for me, to make his reckoning twice,<sup>1</sup> because he reckoneth without his hostess. And in this Philautus would either show himself of great wisdom to persuade, or me of great lightness to be allowed ; although the loadstone draw iron yet it cannot move gold, though the jet<sup>2</sup> gather up the light straw yet can it not take up the pure steel. Although Philautus think himself of virtue sufficient to win his lover, yet shall he not obtain Lucilla. I cannot but smile to hear that a marriage should be solemnised where never was any mention of assuring,<sup>3</sup> and that the wooing should be a day after the wedding. Certes, if when I looked

<sup>1</sup> *To make his reckoning twice* : Heywood has (p. 19) : " Reckoners without their host must reckon twice." Lean (iii. 495) quotes the same proverb from Hall's *Chronicle* (1548), p. 125. It is perhaps of Italian origin (see Düringsfeld, ii., no. 243). Again, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> *Though the jet* [etc.] : Lyly attributes the same property to amber, p. 357. following Erasmus and Pliny. The substitution of jet here may be due to a mere trick of memory.

<sup>3</sup> *Assuring* : betrothal, ' engagement.' Compare p. 453.

merrily on Philautus he deemed it in the way of marriage ; or if, seeing me disposed (a) to jest, he took me in good earnest, then sure he might gather some presumption of my love, but no promise. But methinks it is good reason that I should be at mine own bridal,<sup>1</sup> and not given in the church before I know the bridegroom.

"Therefore dear father, in mine opinion as there can be no bargain where both be not agreed, neither any indentures sealed where the one will not consent, so can there be no contract where both be not content, no banns asked lawfully where one of the parties forbiddeth them, no marriage made where no match was meant. But I will hereafter frame myself to be coy, seeing I am claimed for a wife because I have been courteous, and give myself to melancholy, seeing I am accounted won in that I have been merry. And if every gentleman be made of the metal that Philautus is, then I fear I shall be challenged of as many as I have used to company with, and be a common wife to all those that have commonly resorted hither.

"My duty therefore ever reserved, I here on my knees forswear Philautus for my husband, although I accept him for my friend. And seeing I shall hardly be induced ever to match with any, I beseech you, if by your fatherly love I shall be compelled, that I may match with such a one as both I may love and you may like."

Ferardo, being a grave and wise gentleman, although he were thoroughly angry, yet he dissembled his fury to the end he might by craft discover her fancy. And whispering Philautus in the ear (who stood as though he had a flea in his ear<sup>2</sup>), desired him to keep silence until he had undermined her by subtlety. Which Philautus having granted, Ferardo began to sift his daughter with this device :—

"Lucilla, thy colour showeth thee to be in a great choler, and thy hot words bewray thy heavy wrath ; but be patient, seeing all my talk was only to try thee. I am neither so unnatural to wrest thee against thine own will, neither so malicious to wed thee to any against thine own liking. For well I know what jars, what jealousy, what strife, what storms ensue, where

(a) *disposed* 1579A, etc. 1578 *dispose*.

<sup>1</sup> *Bridal*: wedding ceremony. The word is originally a substantive, as here.

<sup>2</sup> *A flea in his ear*. This proverbial phrase has several uses. Originally it meant a rebuff or reproof, or (as here) some vexatious news heard ; sometimes it is also used of a warning or suggestion secretly given. It occurs from the 15th century, at first (according to *NED.*) as a rendering of Fr. *puce à l'oreille*. Heywood has it, p. 35.

the match is made rather by the compulsion of the parents than by consent of the parties.<sup>1</sup> Neither do I like thee the less in that thou likest Philautus so little, neither can Philautus love thee the worse in that thou lovest thyself so well, wishing rather to stand to thy chance than to the choice of any other.

"But this grieveth me most, that thou art almost vowed to the vain order of the vestal virgins, despising, or at the least not desiring, the sacred bands of Juno her bed. If thy mother had been of that mind when she was a maiden, thou hadst not now been born to be of this mind to be a virgin.<sup>2</sup> Weigh with thyself what slender profit they bring to the commonwealth, what slight pleasure to themselves, what great grief to their parents, which joy most in their offspring and desire most to enjoy the noble and blessed name of a grandfather. Thou knowest that the tallest ash is cut down for fuel because it beareth no good fruit, that the cow that gives no milk is brought to the slaughter, that the drone that gathereth no honey is contemned, that the woman that maketh<sup>3</sup> herself barren by not marrying is accounted among the Grecian ladies worse than a carrion, as Homer reporteth. Therefore, Lucilla, if thou have any care to be a comfort to my hoary hairs or a commodity to thy commonweal, frame thyself to that honourable estate of matrimony which was sanctified in Paradise, allowed of the Patriarchs, hallowed of the old Prophets, and commended of all persons.

"If thou like any be not ashamed to tell it me, which only am to exhort thee, yea, and, as much as in me lieth, to command thee to love one. If he be base, thy blood will make him noble, if beggarly, thy goods shall make him wealthy, if a stranger, thy freedom may enfranchise him; if he be young he is the more fitter to be thy fere,<sup>4</sup> if he be old the liker to thine aged father.

<sup>1</sup> The idea expressed here is one of the signs of the change taking place during the Renaissance in woman's position in society.

<sup>2</sup> De Vocht quotes from Erasmus (*Proci et Puellae, Works, i. 696A*): "*Nisi matri tuæ defluxisset flos ille, nos istum flosculum non haberemus.*" But of course the idea is common.

<sup>3</sup> *The woman that maketh* [etc.]. Bond quotes the source from North's *Diall of Princes* (Certain Letters, ch. vi.), where Homer is also mentioned as the authority. Bond thinks that Lyly's use of 'carrion' here explains its use by Capulet in *Romeo and Juliet* (III. 5, 157), but the word is common as a vague term of abuse, both in Shakespeare and elsewhere. It often had associations like those of 'flesh' (in the Scriptural sense), and Lyly may mean that among the Greeks virtue that was too strict was more condemned than that which was too easy.

<sup>4</sup> *Fere*: companion. See note on p. 29.

For I had rather thou shouldest lead a life to thine own liking in earth, than to thy great torments lead apes in Hell.<sup>1</sup> Be bold therefore to make me partner of thy desire which will be partaker of thy disease, yea, and a furtherer of thy delights as far as either my friends, or my lands, or my life will stretch."

Lucilla, perceiving the drift of the old fox her father, weighed with herself what was best to be done. At the last, not weighing her father's ill-will but encouraged by love, shaped him an answer which pleased Ferardo but a little and pinched Philautus on the parson's side<sup>2</sup> on this manner :—

"Dear father Ferardo, although I see the bait you lay to catch me, yet I am content to swallow the hook ; neither are you more desirous to take me napping, than I willing to confess my meaning. So it is that love hath as well inveigled me as others which make it as strange<sup>3</sup> as I. Neither do I love him so meanly that I should be ashamed of his name, neither is his personage so mean that I should love him shamefully. It is Euphues that lately arrived here at Naples that hath battered the bulwark of my breast and shall shortly enter as conqueror into my bosom. What his wealth is I neither know it nor weigh it ; what his wit is all Naples doth know it and wonder at it ; neither have I been curious to inquire of his progenitors, for that I know so noble a mind could take no original but from a noble man : for as no bird<sup>4</sup> can look again<sup>5</sup> the sun (a) but those that be bred of the eagle, neither any hawk soar so high as the brood of the hobby,<sup>6</sup> so no wight can have such excellent qualities except he

<sup>1</sup> *Lead apes in Hell* : see note on p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Pinched Philautus on the parson's side*. The ordinary meaning of the proverbial phrase here used is 'to save by reducing or withholding the Church's tithes.' Lean (iv. 14 and 82) quotes it in this use from Ulpian Fulwell, *Ars Adulandi* (1576), iii., from Alex. Cooke, *Country Errors* (1595), etc. Lyly seems here to give it a twist, making it mean that Lucilla is robbing Philautus of the chance to be wed.

<sup>3</sup> *Make it . . . strange*: treat it as unknown, surprising, or unwelcome. So Shakespeare, *Two Gent. of V.*, 1. 2, 98 : "She makes it strange ; but she would be best pleased To be so anger'd with another letter."

<sup>4</sup> *No bird can look [etc.]*. Not in the early bestiaries, this famous faculty of the eagle first appeared in the French versions. See Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Phys.*, 1889, pp. 9-10, n. In *Eng. Studien*, xiv. (p. 194), Lauchert quotes many references to it from Greene and Lodge. Compare p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> *Again* : against. In this sense the word must have already been archaic (see *NED.*).

(a) *look again the sun*. So 1578. 1579A, etc. *look against the sun*.

<sup>6</sup> *The hobby* : a small kind of falcon, flown especially at larks. Compare p. 451.



descend of a noble race, neither be of so high capacity unless he issue of a high progeny. And I hope Philautus will not be my foe, seeing I have chosen his dear friend, neither you, father, be displeased in that Philautus is displaced. You need not muse that I should so suddenly be entangled, love gives no reason of choice, neither will it suffer any repulse. Myrrha<sup>1</sup> was enamoured of her natural father, Biblis of her brother, Phaedra of her son-in-law. If nature can no way resist the fury of affection, how should it be stayed by wisdom ? ”

Ferardo, interrupting her in the middle of her discourse, although he were moved with inward grudge yet he wisely repressed his anger, knowing that sharp words would but sharpen her froward will ; and thus answered her briefly :—

“ Lucilla, as I am not presently to grant my good will, so mean I not to reprehend thy choice. Yet wisdom willeth me to pause until I have called what may happen to my remembrance, and warneth thee to be circumspect lest thy rash conceit bring a sharp repentance. As for you, Philautus, I would not have you despair, seeing a woman doth oftentimes change her desire.”

Unto whom Philautus in few words made answer . “ Certainly Ferardo I take the less grief in that I see her so greedy after Euphues ; and by so much the more I am content to leave my suit, by how much the more she seemeth to disdain my service. But as for hope, because I would not by any means taste one dram thereof, I will abjure all places of her abode and loathe her company, whose countenance I have so much loved. As for Euphues——” And there staying his speech, he flung out of the doors ; and repairing to his lodging, uttered these words(a) :—

“ Ah most dissembling wretch Euphues ! O counterfeit companion ! Couldst thou under the show of a steadfast friend cloak the malice of a mortal foe ? Under the colour of simplicity shroud the image of deceit ? Is thy Livia turned to my Lucilla, thy love to my lover, thy devotion to my saint ? Is this the courtesy of Athens, the cavilling of scholars, the craft of Grecians ? Couldst thou not remember, Philautus, that Greece is never without some wily Ulysses, never void of some Sinon,<sup>2</sup> never to seek of some deceitful shifter ? Is it not

<sup>1</sup> *Myrrha . . . Biblis . . . Phaedra*. Bond points out that all these victims of unnatural love are mentioned by Ovid in the *Ars Amat.*, i., the first two in lines 283–5, the last in line 511. Of course Phaedra’s story is in the *Heroides*, iv.

(a) *uttered these words* So 1578, 1597, etc. *uttered these or the like words*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sinon* : the designer of the wooden horse (see note 1 on p. 13).

commonly said of Grecians that craft cometh to them by kind, that they learn to deceive in their cradle ? Why then did his pretended courtesy bewitch thee with such credulity ? Shall my good will be the cause of his ill will ? Because I was content to be his friend, thought he me meet to be made his fool ? I see now that as the fish *Scolopidus*<sup>1</sup> in the flood Araris at the waxing of the moon is as white as the driven snow and at the waning as black as the burnt coal, so Euphues which at the first increasing of our familiarity was very zealous is now at the last cast become most faithless.

"But why rather exclaim I not against Lucilla, whose wanton looks caused Euphues to violate his plighted faith ? Ah wretched wench ! Canst thou be so light of love as to change with every wind ? So unconstant as to prefer a new lover before thine old friend ? Ah, well I wot that a new broom<sup>2</sup> sweepeth clean, and a new garment maketh thee leave off the old though it be fitter, and new wine causeth thee to forsake the old though it be better ; much like to the men in the island Scyrum<sup>3</sup> which pull up the old tree when they see the young begin to spring, and not unlike unto the widow of Lesbos which changed all her old gold for new glass. Have I served thee three years faithfully and am I served so unkindly ? Shall the fruit of my desire be turned to disdain ?

"But unless Euphues had inveigled thee thou hadst yet been constant ; yea, but if Euphues had not seen thee willing to be won he would never have wooed thee. But had not Euphues enticed thee with fair words thou wouldst never have loved him ; but hadst thou not given him fair looks he would never have liked thee. Aye, but Euphues gave the onset ; aye, but Lucilla gave the occasion. Aye, but Euphues first brake his mind ; aye, but Lucilla first bewrayed her meaning. Tush, why go I about to excuse any of them, seeing I have just cause to accuse them both ? Neither ought I to dispute which of them hath proffered me the greatest villainy sith that either of

<sup>1</sup> *The fish Scolopidus* : repeated by Lyly in *Endymion*, II. 1, 19. The simile had eluded commentators until Bond pointed out its source in the pseudo-Plutarchian treatise *De Fluviis*, vi. (In Amyot this chapter is called *Le Fleuve d'Arar, ou Saone*.)

<sup>2</sup> *A new broom* [etc.]. Heywood (p. 54) has it : "The green new broom sweepeth clean." Hazlitt (*Eng. Proverbs*, p. 303) quotes it from Edwards' *Damon and Pythias*, Act iv.

<sup>3</sup> *The men in the island Scyrum*. For this simile and the one that follows no source has been found. The scene of the story told below by Euphues (Cassander and Callimachus) is laid in the island Scyrum.

them hath committed perjury. Yet although they have found me dull in perceiving their falsehood, they shall not find me slack in revenging their folly. As for Lucilla, seeing I mean altogether to forget her, I mean also to forgive her, lest in seeking means to be revenged mine old desire be renewed."

Philautus, having thus discoursed with himself, began to write to Euphues as followeth:—

"Although hitherto, Euphues, I have shrined thee in my heart for a trusty friend, I will shun thee hereafter as a trothless foe; and although I cannot see in thee less wit than I was wont, yet do I find less honesty. I perceive at the last (although, being deceived, it be too late) that musk,<sup>1</sup> although it be sweet in the smell, is sour in the smack; that the leaf of the cedar tree,<sup>2</sup> though it be fair to be seen, yet the syrup depriveth sight; that friendship, though it be plighted by shaking the hand, yet it is shaken off by fraud of the heart.

"But thou hast not much to boast of, for as thou hast won a fickle lady so hast thou lost a faithful friend. How canst thou be secure of her constancy, when thou hast had such trial of her lightness? How canst thou assure thyself that she will be faithful to thee, which hath been faithless to me?

"Ah Euphues, let not my credulity<sup>(a)</sup> be an occasion hereafter for thee to practise the like cruelty. Remember this, that yet there hath never been any faithless to his friend that hath not also been fruitless to his God. But I weigh this treachery the less in that it cometh from a Grecian in whom is no troth.<sup>(b)</sup> Though I be too weak to wrestle for a revenge, yet God, who permitteth no guile to be guiltless, will shortly requite this injury; though Philautus have no policy to undermine thee, yet thine own practices will be sufficient to overthrow thee.

"Couldst thou, Euphues, for the love of a fruitless pleasure violate the league of faithful friendship? Didst thou weigh more the enticing looks of a lewd wench than the entire love of a loyal friend? If thou didst determine with thyself at the first to be false, why didst thou swear to be true? If to be true,

<sup>1</sup> *Musk . . . smack.* Erasmus in the *Similia* (*Works*, i. 618B) says that odour and taste do not go together, as in the case of figs and quinces (*cotoneis plurimum odoris, sapor autem asperrimus*). See note on the fig tree, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *The leaf of the cedar tree* [etc.]: see note on p. 47.

(a) *my credulity* So 1578 1595 *thy credulity*.

(b) *troth* 1578 *trothe*; 1579A & B, 1581 *trouth*; 1580 *troth*; 1595, etc. *truth*.

why art thou false ? If thou wast minded both falsely and forgedly to deceive me, why didst thou flatter and dissemble with me at the first ? If to love me, why dost thou flinch at the last ? If the sacred bands of amity (a) did delight thee, why didst thou break them ? If dislike thee, why didst thou praise them ? Dost thou not know that a perfect friend should be like the glaze-worm <sup>1</sup> which shineth most bright in the dark ; or like the pure frankincense which smelleth most sweet when it is in the fire ; or, at the least, not unlike to the damask rose which is sweeter in the still <sup>2</sup> than on the stalk ? But thou, Euphues, dost rather resemble the swallow <sup>3</sup> which in the summer creepeth under the eaves of every house and in the winter leaveth nothing but dirt behind her ; or the humble-bee which having sucked honey out of the fair flower doth leave it and loathe it ; or the spider which in the finest web doth hang the fairest fly.

“ Dost thou think, Euphues, that thy craft in betraying me shall any whit cool my courage in revenging thy villainy ? Or that a gentleman of Naples will put up such an injury at the hands of a scholar ? And if I do, it is not for want of strength to maintain my just quarrel, but of will which thinketh scorn to get so vain a conquest. I know that Menelaus for his ten years' war endured ten years' woe, that after all his strife he won (b) but a strumpet, that for all his travels (c) he reduced <sup>4</sup> (I cannot say reclaimed) but a straggler <sup>5</sup> ; which was as much, in my judgement, as to strive for a broken glass which is good for nothing. I wish thee rather Menelaus's care than myself his conquest ; that thou, being deluded by Lucilla, mayest rather know what it is to be deceived, than I, having conquered thee,

(a) the sacred bands of amity So 1578. 1595, etc. the arched bands of amity.

<sup>1</sup> The glaze-worm : glow-worm. Erasmus, *Similia* (Works, i. 616D), says : *Lampyrides non sunt conspicuae, nisi noctu aut in obscuro.*

<sup>2</sup> The damask rose . . . the still. This figure is common. Compare Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, 5 and 6.

<sup>3</sup> The swallow [etc.] : In his *Similia* (614D), Erasmus says, following a passage in the *De Ratione Dicendi ad C. Herennium* (iv. ch. xlviii.), formerly attributed to Cicero : *Hirundo aestate advolat, instante hieme avolat : Ita infidus amicus rebus lactis praesto est, commutata fortuna deserit amicum.*

(b) won Early texts have old preterite *wan*.

(c) travels 1578 *trauails* ; 1579A-1623 *trauayle* ; 1631-1636 *trauell*.

<sup>4</sup> Reduced : brought back.

<sup>5</sup> A straggler : according to some stories Helen lived faithfully and happily with Menelaus after their eight (or ten) years of wandering at the end of the Trojan war. According to others, however, she remained a light o' love. -

should prove what it were to bring back a dissembler. Seeing, therefore, there can no greater revenge light upon thee than that, as thou hast reaped where another hath sown, so another may thresh that which thou hast reaped, I will pray that thou mayest be measured unto with the like measure that thou hast meten unto others ; that as thou hast thought it no conscience <sup>1</sup> to betray me, so others may deem it no dishonesty to deceive thee ; that as Lucilla made it a light matter to forswear her old friend Philautus, so she may make it a mock to forsake her new fere Euphues. Which if it come to pass, as it is like by my compass,<sup>2</sup> then shalt thou see the troubles and feel the torments which thou hast already thrown into the hearts and eyes of others.

“ Thus hoping shortly to see thee as hopeless as myself is hapless, I wish my wish were as effectually ended as it is heartily looked for. And so I leave thee.

*Thine once,  
Philautus.”*

Philautus dispatching a messenger with this letter speedily to Euphues, went into the fields to walk there, either to digest his choler or chew upon his melancholy. But Euphues having read the contents was well content, setting his talk at naught and answering his taunts in these gibling terms :—

“ I remember Philautus how valiantly Ajax <sup>3</sup> boasted in the feats of arms, yet Ulysses bare away the armour ; and it may be that though thou crack <sup>4</sup> (a) of thine own courage, thou mayest easily lose the conquest. Dost thou think Euphues such a dastard that he is not able to withstand thy courage or such a dullard that he cannot descry thy craft. Alas, good soul ! It fareth with thee as with the hen which when the puttock <sup>5</sup> hath caught her chicken beginneth to cackle ; and thou having lost thy lover beginnest to prattle.

<sup>1</sup> *Conscience* : a thing to trouble the conscience, a cause of shame or compunction. The word is so used also by North in *The Diall of Princes*, but not elsewhere, so far as *NED.* shows.

<sup>2</sup> *Compass* : calculation, forecast. (Observe the pun.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ajax . . . Ulysses.* The story, as told by Ovid (*Metam.* xiii.), is that Ajax and Ulysses dispute for the arms of Achilles, each boasting of his deeds, that Ulysses wins by superior eloquence and wit, and Ajax falls on his sword.

<sup>4</sup> *Crack* : to talk, especially boastfully. Compare p. 270.

(a) *crack* Early texts print older form *crake*.

<sup>5</sup> *Puttock* : kite.

"Tush, Philautus, I am in this point of Euripides his mind,<sup>1</sup> who thinks it lawful for the desire of a kingdom to transgress the bounds of honesty and for the love of a lady to violate and break the bands of amity. The friendship between man and man as it is common so is it of course, between man and woman as it is seldom so is it sincere; the one proceedeth of the similitude of manners the other of the sincerity of the heart. If thou hadst learned the first point of hawking,<sup>2</sup> thou wouldst have learned to have held fast; or the first note of descant,<sup>3</sup> thou wouldst have kept thy *sol fa* to thyself.

"But thou canst blame me no more of folly in leaving thee to love Lucilla than thou mayest reprove him of foolishness that having a sparrow in his hand letteth her go to catch the pheasant, or him of unskilfulness that seeing the heron leaveth to level his shot at the stock-dove,<sup>4</sup> or that woman of coyness that having a dead rose in her bosom throweth it away to gather the fresh violet. Love knoweth no laws.<sup>5</sup> Did not Jupiter transform \* himself into the shape of Amphitryon to embrace

<sup>1</sup> *Euripides his mind.* The source of this citation has not been found by the commentators. The political side of this doctrine was familiar to Lyly's age through Machiavelli.

<sup>2</sup> "The first point of hawking is hold fast" (Heywood's *Prov.*, p. 64). The meaning probably is that the most important thing to learn is not to release the falcon too soon.

<sup>3</sup> *Descant*: the art of singing or composing in parts, harmony.

<sup>4</sup> *Seeing the heron . . . at the stock-dove.* In Alciati's *Emblems* (no. 83) a hunter is represented shooting at a heron with a bow while smaller birds are flying away. This may have suggested Lyly's simile, though the point of the picture is in the adder which is biting the hunter's heel.

<sup>5</sup> *Love knoweth no laws.* In the *Knight's Tale* of Chaucer, Arcite says (ll. 305 ff.):

Wostow nat wel the olde clerkes sawe,  
That 'who shal yeve a lover any lawe?'  
Love is a gretter lawe, by my pan,  
Than may be yeve to any erthly man.

And Skeat identifies the "old clerk" as Boethius (*De Cons. Phil.*, Book iii. metre 12).

<sup>6</sup> *Did not Jupiter transform* [etc.]. M'Kerrow (*Works of Nashe*, iv. p. 18) points out that a similar list of transformations in Nashe's *Anat. of Absurdity* may have been influenced by this passage, and calls attention to a list of Jove's amorous transformations in Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 110-114. The whole passage from Ovid (including lines 103-124) gives us, in fact, not only the four changes of Jove mentioned by Lyly, but also the four of Neptune, and the three of Apollo which immediately follow, and in order, one after the other, as here. There is therefore no reason for referring to the fables of Hyginus, as Bond does.

Alcmene ; into the form of a swan to enjoy Leda ; into a bull to beguile Io<sup>1</sup> ; into a shower of gold to win Danae ? Did not Neptune change himself into a heifer, a ram, a flood, a dolphin, only for the love of those he lusted after ? Did not Apollo convert himself into a shepherd, into a bird, into a lion, for the desire he had to heal his disease<sup>2</sup> ? If the gods thought no scorn to become beasts to obtain their best beloved, shall Euphues be so nice in changing his copy<sup>3</sup> to gain his lady ? No, no ; he that cannot dissemble in love is not worthy to live. I am of this mind that both might and malice, deceit and treachery, all perjury, any impiety may lawfully be committed in love, which is lawless.

"In that thou arguest Lucilla of lightness thy will hangs in the light of thy wit. Dost thou not know that the weak stomach, if it be cloyed with one diet, doth soon surfeit ? That the clown's garlic<sup>4</sup> cannot ease the courtier's disease so well as the pure treacle<sup>5</sup> ? That far fet and dear bought is good for ladies<sup>6</sup> ? That Euphues being a more dainty morsel than Philautus ought better to be accepted ?

"Tush, Philautus, set thy heart at rest, for thy hap willeth thee to give over all hope both of my friendship and her love. As for revenge, thou art not so able to lend a blow as I to ward it, neither more venturous to challenge the combat than I valiant to answer the quarrel. As Lucilla was caught by fraud so shall she be kept by force, and as thou wast too simple to espy my craft so I think thou wilt be too weak to withstand my courage ; if thy revenge (a) stand only upon thy wish, thou shalt never live to see my woe or to have thy will. And so farewell.

*Euphues."*

This letter being dispatched Euphues sent it and Philautus read it ; who disdaining those proud terms disdained also to answer them, being ready to ride with Ferardo.

<sup>1</sup> *Io* : a mistake for *Europa*, as Bond points out.

<sup>2</sup> *Disease* : the pain of love.

<sup>3</sup> *Changing his copy* : see note on p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Clown's garlic* : garlic is a familiar rustic remedy, preventative of enchantments, etc. See Lean's *Collectanea* (index).

<sup>5</sup> *Treacle* : here, any medicinal syrup.

<sup>6</sup> Heywood, p. 38, has : "Dear bought and far fet are dainties for ladies." Hazlitt, p. 136, quotes the proverb from a number of works. (His reference to Latimer seems to be a mistake.) Farmer, Heywood's editor, quotes Marston, *Malcontent* (1604) : "Some far-fet trick, trick good for ladies."

(a) *if thy revenge* So 1580, etc. 1578 *but if thy reuenge*.

Euphues, having for a space absented himself from the house of Ferardo, because he was at home, longed sore to see Lucilla ; which now opportunity offered unto him, Ferardo being gone again to Venice with Philautus. But in his absence one Curio, a gentleman of Naples of little wealth and less wit, haunted Lucilla her company, and so enchanted her that Euphues was also cast off with Philautus. Which thing being unknown to Euphues caused him the sooner to make his repair to the presence of his lady. Whom he finding in her muses<sup>1</sup> began pleasantly to salute in this manner :—

" Mistress Lucilla, although my long absence might breed your just anger (for that lovers desire nothing so much as often meeting), yet I hope my presence will dissolve your choler (for that lovers are soon pleased when of their wishes they be fully possessed). My absence is the rather to be excused in that your father hath been always at home, whose frowns seemed to threaten my ill fortune ; and my presence at this present the better to be accepted in that I have made such speedy repair to your presence."

Unto whom Lucilla answered with this gleek<sup>2</sup> : " Truly, Euphues, you have missed the cushion<sup>3</sup> : for I was neither angry with your long absence, neither am I well pleased at your presence. The one gave me rather a good hope hereafter never to see you, the other giveth me a greater occasion to abhor you."

Euphues, being nipped on the head,<sup>4</sup> with a pale countenance, as though his soul had forsaken his body, replied as followeth : " If this sudden change, Lucilla, proceed of any desert of mine, I am here not only to answer the fact but also to make amends for my fault ; if of any new motion or mind to forsake your new friend, I am rather to lament your inconstancy than revenge it. But I hope that such hot love cannot be so soon cold,<sup>5</sup> neither such sure faith be rewarded with so sudden forgetfulness."

<sup>1</sup> *Muses* : *NED.* gives : " In pensif muses him faste beseying " (Romance of *Partenay*, c. 1475, l. 3431), and : " In this depth of muzes " (Sidney, *Arcadia*, ed. 1622, p. 133).

<sup>2</sup> *Gleek* : a taunting jest, gibe.

<sup>3</sup> *You have missed the cushion* : you have spoken under a misapprehension, counted on something which proves false or unreal. See Heywood, p. 97, and Farmer's note. Various conjectures as to the origin of the phrase have been hazarded, but the quotations in *NED.* show that the allusion is merely the obvious one. Udall, transl. Erasmus' *Apophthegms*, used it (ed. Boston, 1877, p. xiii) where Erasmus had written merely *fuera lapsus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Nipped on the head*. Compare *Meas. for Meas.* III. 1, 91 : " This outward-sainted Deputy, whose settled visage . . . nips youth i' the head."

<sup>5</sup> *Hot love . . . soon cold* : see note on p. 29.



Lucilla, not ashamed to confess her folly, answered him with this frump<sup>1</sup>: "Sir, whether your deserts or my desire have wrought this change it will boot you little to know. Neither do I crave amends, neither fear revenge. As for fervent love you know there is no fire so hot but it is quenched with water, neither affection so strong but is weakened with reason. Let this suffice thee that thou know I care not for thee."

"Indeed," said Euphues, "to know the cause of your alteration would boot me little, seeing the effect taketh such force. I have heard that women either love entirely or hate deadly, and seeing you have put me out of doubt of the one, I must needs persuade myself of the other. This change will cause Philautus to laugh me to scorn and double thy lightness in turning so often. Such was the hope that I conceived of thy constancy that I spared not in all places to blaze thy loyalty, but now my rash conceit will prove me a liar and thee a light huswife."

"Nay," said Lucilla, "now shalt not thou laugh Philautus to scorn, seeing you have both drunk of one cup. In misery, Euphues, it is a great comfort to have a companion. I doubt not but that you will both conspire against me to work some mischief, although I nothing fear your malice. Whosoever accounteth you a liar for praising me may also deem you a lecher for being enamoured of me; and whosoever judgeth me light in forsaking of you may think thee as lewd in loving of me. For thou that thoughtest it lawful to deceive thy friend must take no scorn to be deceived of thy foe."

"Then I perceive, Lucilla," said he, "that I was made thy stale<sup>2</sup> and Philautus thy laughing-stock; whose friendship (I must confess indeed) I have refused, to obtain thy favour. And sithence another hath won that we both have lost, I am content for my part; neither ought I to be grieved, seeing thou art fickle."

"Certes, Euphues," said Lucilla, "you spend your wind in waste<sup>3</sup>; for your welcome is but small and your cheer is like to be less. Fancy giveth no reason of his change neither will be controlled for any choice. This is, therefore, to warn you that from henceforth you neither solicit this suit, neither offer any way your service. I have chosen one (I must needs confess)

<sup>1</sup> *Frump*: same sense as *gleek*, above.

<sup>2</sup> *Stale*: stool-pigeon, decoy. Compare p. 67, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Spend your wind in waste*: compare Heywood, pp. 59-60: "I will, with good will (quoth I), ill windes to swaye, Spend some wind at need, though I waste wind in vain."

neither to be compared to Philautus in wealth, nor to thee in wit, neither in birth to the worst of you both. I think God gave it me for a just plague for renouncing Philautus and choosing thee ; and sithence I am an ensample to all women of lightness, I am like also to be a mirror to them all of unhappiness. Which ill luck I must take by so much the more patiently, by how much the more I acknowledge myself to have deserved it worthily."

"Well, Lucilla," answered Euphues, "this case<sup>1</sup> (a) breedeth my sorrow the more in that it is so sudden, and by so much the more I lament it by how much the less I looked for it. In that my welcome is so cold and my cheer so simple, it nothing toucheth me—seeing your fury is so hot and my misfortune so great—that I am neither willing to receive it nor you to bestow it. If tract of time or want of trial had caused this metamorphosis, my grief had been more tolerable and your fleeting more excusable. But coming in a moment undeserved, unlooked for, unthought of, it increaseth my sorrow and thy shame."

"Euphues," quoth she, "you make a long harvest for a little corn<sup>2</sup> and angle for the fish that is already caught.<sup>3</sup> Curio, yea Curio, is he that hath my love at his pleasure and shall also have my life at his commandment ; and although you deem him unworthy to enjoy that which erst you accounted no wight worthy to embrace, yet seeing I esteem him more worth than any he is to be reputed as chief. The wolf chooseth him for her mate that hath or doth endure most travail for her sake. Venus was content to take the blacksmith with his polt-foot.<sup>4</sup> Cornelia<sup>5</sup> here in Naples disdained not to love a rude miller. As for changing did not Helen the pearl of Greece, thy countrywoman, first take Menelaus, then Theseus, and last of all Paris ? If brute beasts give us ensamples that those are most to be liked of whom we are best beloved, or if the princess of beauty, Venus, and her heirs, Helen and Cornelia, show that our affection standeth on our free will, then am I rather to be excused than accused. Therefore, good Euphues, be as merry as you may be, for time may so turn that once again you may be."

"Nay, Lucilla," said he, "my harvest shall cease seeing others have reaped my corn ; as for angling for the fish that is

<sup>1</sup> Case : occurrence, hap, chance.

(a) *this case* So 1578 ; 1595-1607 *cause* ; 1613, etc. *change*.

<sup>2</sup> *Make a long harvest for a little corn.* See Heywood, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> I do not find the second proverb elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> *Venus . . . polt-foot* : see note on p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Cornelia* : doubtless the heroine of some *novella*.

already caught, that were but mere folly. But in my mind, if you be a fish, you are either an eel<sup>1</sup> which as soon as one hath hold of her tail will slip out of his hand, or else a minnow which will be nibbling at every bait but never biting. But what fish soever you be, you have made both me and Philautus to swallow a gudgeon.<sup>2</sup>

"If Curio be the person, I would neither wish thee a greater plague nor him a deadlier poison. I, for my part, think him worthy of thee and thou unworthy of him: for although he be in body deformed, in mind foolish, an innocent born, a beggar by misfortune, yet doth he deserve a better than thyself, whose corrupt manners have stained thy heavenly hue, whose light behaviour hath dimmed the lights of thy beauty, whose unconstant mind hath betrayed the innocency of so many a gentleman.

"And in that you bring in the example of a beast to confirm your folly you show therein your beastly disposition, which is ready to follow such beastliness. But Venus played false. And what for that? Seeing her lightness serveth for an example, I would wish thou mightest try her punishment for a reward: that being openly taken in an iron net all the world might judge whether thou be fish or flesh<sup>3</sup>; and certes, in my mind no angle will hold thee, it must be a net. Cornelia loved a miller and thou a miser; can her folly excuse thy fault? Helen of Greece, my countrywoman born but thine by profession, changed and rechanged at her pleasure, I grant. Shall the lewdness of others animate thee in thy lightness? Why then dost thou not haunt the stews because Lais frequented them? Why dost thou not love a bull seeing Pasiphaë<sup>4</sup> loved one? Why art thou not enamoured of thy father knowing that Myrrha<sup>5</sup> was so incensed? These are set down that we, viewing their incontinency, should fly the like impudency, not follow the like excess; neither can they excuse thee of any inconstancy.

"Merry I will be as I may; but if I may hereafter as thou meanest, I will not. And therefore farewell Lucilla, the most

<sup>1</sup> *An eel* [etc.]. There was a proverbial saying, "as hard to hold as to take a wet eel by the tail," of people whose promise could not be trusted. See Heywood, p. 24, and Farmer's note. Düringsfeld (i., no. 2) gives many foreign illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> *To swallow a gudgeon*: see note on p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Fish or flesh*. Heywood has the full proverb, p. 24, and his editor quotes Roy, *Rede me and be not Wroth* (1528), i. iii. b.

<sup>4</sup> *Pasiphaë*: her story is alluded to by Ovid, *Heroides*, iv. 57-8, and *Metam.* viii. 131-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Myrrha*: see note on p. 73.

inconstant that ever was nursed in Naples ; farewell Naples, the most cursed town in all Italy ; and women all, farewell."

Euphues, having thus given her his last farewell, yet, being solitary, began afresh to recount his sorrow on this manner :—

"Ah Euphues, into what a quandary art thou brought! (a) In what sudden misfortune art thou wrapped! It is like to fare with thee as with the eagle which dieth neither for age nor with sickness, but with famine<sup>1</sup>: for although thy stomach hunger yet thy heart will not suffer thee to eat. And why shouldst thou torment thyself for one in whom is neither faith nor fervency? Oh the counterfeit love of women! Oh inconstant sex! I have lost Philautus, I have lost Lucilla, I have lost that which I shall hardly find again, a faithful friend.

"Ah foolish Euphues, why didst thou leave Athens, the nurse of wisdom, to inhabit Naples, the nourisher of wantonness? Had it not been better for thee to have eaten salt<sup>2</sup> with the philosophers in Greece than sugar with the courtiers of Italy? But behold the course of youth which always inclineth to pleasure. I forsook mine old companions to search for new friends, I rejected the grave and fatherly counsel of Eubulus to follow the brainsick humour of mine own will. I addicted myself wholly to the service of women to spend my life in the laps of ladies, my lands in maintenance of bravery, my wit in the vanities of idle sonnets. I had thought that women had been as we men, that is, true, faithful, zealous, constant; but I perceive they be rather woe unto men by their falsehood, jealousy, inconstancy. I was half persuaded that they were made of the perfection of men and would be comforters, but now I see they have tasted of the infection of the serpent and will be corrosives. The physician saith it is dangerous to minister physic unto the patient that hath a cold stomach and a hot liver, lest in giving warmth to the one he inflame the other; so verily it is hard to deal with a woman whose words seem fervent, whose heart is congealed into hard ice, lest

(a) into what a quandary art thou brought! In what sudden misfortune art thou wrapped! So 1578. 1579A, etc. into what a misfortune art thou brought! In what sudden misery art thou wrapped!

<sup>1</sup> The eagle which dieth . . . with famine: i.e., because his beak gets too long. See Lauchert, *Eng. Studien*, xiv. 193, on this legend of the *Physiologus*. Lyly's immediate source is evidently Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 613E): *Aquila avium rapacissima, non appetit morbo, neque senis, sed fame*. De Vocht gives references to Aristotle, Aelian, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, and St. Augustine.

<sup>2</sup> Eaten salt: see note on p. 456 and compare p. 462.

trusting their outward talk he be betrayed with their inward treachery.

"I will to Athens there to toss my books,<sup>1</sup> no more in Naples to live with fair looks. I will so frame myself as all youth hereafter shall rather rejoyce to see mine amendment, than be animated to follow my former life. Philosophy, Physic, Divinity shall be my study. Oh the hidden secrets of nature, the expresse image of moral virtues, the equal balance of justice, the medicines to heal all diseases, how they begin to delight me! The Axioms of Aristotle,<sup>2</sup> the Maxims (a) of Justinian, the Aphorisms of Galen have suddenly made such a breach into my mind that I seem only to desire them, which did only erst detest them.

"If wit be employed in the honest study of learning, what thing so precious as wit? If in the idle trade of love, what thing more pestilent than wit? The proof of late hath been verified in me, whom nature hath endued with a little wit which I have abused with an obstinate will. Most true it is that the thing the better it is the greater is the abuse; and that there is nothing but through the malice of man may be abused. Doth not the fire (an element so necessary that without it man cannot live) as well burn the house as burn in the house, if it be abused? Doth not treacle<sup>3</sup> as well poison as help if it be taken out of time? Doth not wine<sup>4</sup> if it be immoderately taken kill the stomach, enflame the liver, murder the drunken? (b) Doth not physic destroy if it be not well tempered? Doth not law accuse if it be not rightly interpreted? Doth not divinity condemn if it be not faithfully construed? Is not poison<sup>5</sup> taken out of the honeysuckle by the spider, venom out of the rose by the canker, dung out of the maple tree by the scorpion? Even so

<sup>1</sup> To toss my books: "to handle; compare *Titus Andron.* iv. 1, 41, 'What book is that she tosseth so?'" (Landmann). The paragraph that follows has some similarity with the opening speech of Faustus in Marlowe's play.

<sup>2</sup> *Axioms . . . Maxims* [etc.]. Bond points out that neither 'axioms' nor 'maxims' is the title of a work by the author mentioned. There was, however, so general a custom of reproducing ancient authors in the forms suggested by these names that Lyly may have had actual volumes in mind.

(a) *Maxims* 1578 *Maxinis*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Treacle . . . taken out of time.* Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 604E), says: *Ut optima remedia maxime perniciem adferunt, nisi apte sumantur.*

<sup>4</sup> *Doth not wine* [etc.]. Compare Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 617F): *Vino non est aliud corporis viribus utilius, si recte utaris: nec eodem est quicquam perniciosius, si modus absit.* This is quoted by Erasmus from Pliny, xiv. 7.

(b) *murder the drunken* So 1578. 1579A, etc. *mischiefe the drunken.*

<sup>5</sup> *Poison* [etc.]: see note on p. 346.

the greatest wickedness is drawn out of the greatest wit if it be abused by will or entangled with the world or inveigled with women.

"But seeing I see mine own impiety, I will endeavour myself to amend all that is past and to be a mirror of godliness hereafter. The rose though a little it be eaten with the canker yet being distilled yieldeth sweet water, the iron though fretted with the rust yet being burnt in the fire shineth brighter; and wit, although it hath been eaten with the canker of his own conceit and fretted with the rust of vain love, yet being purified in the still of wisdom and tried in the fire of zeal will shine bright and smell sweet in the nostrils of all young novices.

"As therefore I gave a farewell to Lucilla, a farewell to Naples, a farewell to women, so now do I give a farewell to the world; meaning rather to macerate myself <sup>(a)</sup> with melancholy than pine in folly, rather choosing to die in my study amidst my books than to court it in Italy in the company of ladies."

Euphues, <sup>(b)</sup> having thus debated with himself, went to his bed, there either with sleep to deceive his fancy, or with musing to renew his ill fortune or recant his old follies.

But it happened immediately Ferardo to return home. Who hearing this strange event was not a little amazed; and was now more ready to exhort Lucilla from the love of Curio, than before to the liking of Philautus. Therefore in all haste, with watery eyes and a woeful heart, began on this manner to reason with his daughter:—

"Lucilla (daughter I am ashamed to call thee, seeing thou hast neither care of thy father's tender affection nor of thine own credit), what sprite hath enchanted thy spirit that every minute thou alterest thy mind? I had thought that my hoary hairs should have found comfort by thy golden locks and my rotten age great ease by thy ripe years. But alas, I see in thee neither wit to order thy doings, neither will to frame thyself to discretion, neither the nature of a child, neither the nurture of a maiden, neither (I cannot without tears speak it) any regard of thine honour, neither any care of thine honesty. I am now enforced to remember thy mother's death, who I think was a prophetess in her life; for oftentimes she would say that thou hadst more beauty than was convenient for one that should be

(a) *to macerate myself* So 1578. 1595, etc. *to macerate my life*.

(b) *Euphues, having thus debated . . . his old follies. But* Added by editions after 1578.

honest, and more cockering than was meet for one that should be a matron.

“Would I had never lived to be so old or thou to be so obstinate; either would I had died in my youth in the court or thou in thy cradle; I would to God that either I had never been born or thou never bred. Is this the comfort that the parent reapeth for all his care? Is obstinacy paid for obedience, stubbornness rendered for duty, malicious desperateness for filial fear? I perceive now that the wise painter saw more than the foolish parent can, who painted love going downward, saying it might well descend but ascend it could never. Danaus, whom they report to be the father of fifty children, had among them all but one that disobeyed him<sup>1</sup> in a thing most dishonest; but I that am father to one more than I would be, although one be all, have that one most disobedient to me in a request lawful and reasonable. If Danaus seeing but one of his daughters without awe became himself without mercy, what shall Ferardo do in this case who hath one and all most unnatural to him in a most just cause?

“Shall Curio enjoy the fruit of my travails, possess the benefit of my labours, inherit the patrimony of mine ancestors, who hath neither wisdom to increase them nor wit to keep them? Wilt thou, Lucilla, bestow thyself on such an one as hath neither comeliness in his body nor knowledge in his mind nor credit in his country? Oh I would thou hadst either been ever faithful to Philautus or never faithless to Euphues, or would thou wouldst be more fickle to Curio. As thy beauty hath made thee the blaze<sup>2</sup> (a) of Italy, so will thy lightness make thee the byword of the world. O Lucilla, Lucilla, would thou wert less fair or more fortunate, either of less honour or greater honesty, either better minded or soon buried!

“Shall thine old father live to see thee match with a young fool? Shall my kind heart be rewarded with such unkind hate? Ah Lucilla, thou knowest not the care of a father nor the duty of a child, and as far art thou from piety as I from cruelty. Nature will not permit me to disherit my daughter, and yet it will suffer thee to dishonour thy father. Affection causeth me to wish thy life; and shall it entice thee to procure my death? It is mine only comfort to see thee flourish in thy

<sup>1</sup> But one that disobeyed him: Hypermnestra. See Ovid, *Heroides*, xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Blaze. NED. makes this equivalent to ‘blazing star,’ cynosure. But it is more likely only ‘glory, splendour,’ as on p. 165.

(a) made thee the blaze So 1579A, etc. 1578 made thee blaze.

youth ; and is it thine to see me fade in mine age ? To conclude, I desire to live to see thee prosper—and thou to see me perish.

“ But why cast I the effect of this unnaturalness in thy teeth,<sup>1</sup> seeing I myself was the cause ? I made thee a wanton and thou hast made me a fool, I brought thee up like a cockney <sup>2</sup> (a) and thou hast handled me like a cock’s-comb <sup>3</sup> (I speak it to mine own shame), I made more of thee than became a father and thou less of me than beseemed a child. And shall my loving care be cause of thy wicked cruelty ? Yea, yea, I am not the first that hath been too careful nor the last that shall be handled so unkindly ; it is common to see fathers too fond and children too froward.

“ Well, Lucilla, the tears which thou seest trickle down my cheeks and the drops of blood (which thou canst not see) that fall from my heart enforce me to make an end of my talk. And if thou have any duty of a child or care of a friend or courtesy of a stranger or feeling of a Christian or humanity of a reasonable creature, (b) then release thy father of grief and acquit thyself of ungratefulness. Otherwise thou shalt but hasten my death, and increase thine own defame ; which if thou do the gain is mine and the loss thine, and both infinite.”

Lucilla, either so bewitched that she could not relent or so wicked that she would not yield to her father’s request, answered him on this manner :—

“ Dear father, as you would have me to show the duty of a child so ought you to show the care of a parent ; and as the one (c) standeth in obedience so the other is grounded upon reason. You would have me as I owe duty to you to leave Curio, and I desire you as you owe me any love that you suffer me to enjoy him. If you accuse me of unnaturalness in that I yield not to your request, I am also to condemn you of unkindness in that you grant not my petition. You object I know not what to Curio ; but it is the eye of the master <sup>4</sup> that fatteth the

<sup>1</sup> Cast . . . *in thy teeth* : see note on p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Cockney* : a cockered or spoiled child, a ‘ minion ’ or ‘ pet.’ The word probably meant at first a ‘ cock’s egg ’ (see note (a) below), that is, one of the small ill-formed eggs popularly so known. See the history of the word in *NED*.

(a) *cockney* So 1578. 1597–1623 *Coakes* ; 1631–1636 *Cokes*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cock’s-comb* : a fool, a coxcomb.

(b) *humanity of a reasonable creature* So 1578. 1595, etc. *humility of a reasonable creature*.

(c) *and as the one* So 1578. 1579A, etc. *for as the one*.

<sup>4</sup> *The eye of the master* [etc.]. The source of this proverb is a passage in a work attributed to Aristotle (*Oeconomica*, 2) quoted by Hazlitt (p. 391) : “ The



horse, and the love of the woman that maketh the man. To give reason for fancy were to weigh the fire and measure the wind. If, therefore, my delight be the cause of your death, I think my sorrow would be an occasion of your solace. And if you be angry because I am pleased, certes I deem you would be content if I were deceased (a); which if it be so that my pleasure breed your pain and mine annoy your joy, I may well say that you are an unkind father and I an unfortunate child. But, good father, either content yourself with my choice, or let me stand to the main chance<sup>1</sup>; otherwise the grief will be mine and the fault yours, and both intolerable."

Ferardo, seeing his daughter to have neither regard of her own honour nor his request, conceived such an inward grief that in short space he died, leaving Lucilla the only heir of his lands and Curio to possess them. But what end came of her,<sup>2</sup> seeing it is nothing incident to the history of Euphues, it were superfluous to insert it, and so incredible that all women would rather wonder at it than believe it. Which event being so strange, I had rather leave them in a muse what it should be than in a maze in telling what it was.

Philautus, having intelligence of Euphues his success and the falsehood of Lucilla, although he began to rejoice at the misery of his fellow, yet seeing her fickleness could not but lament her folly and pity his friend's misfortune, thinking that the lightness of Lucilla enticed Euphues to so great liking. Euphues and Philautus having conference between themselves, casting discourtesy in the teeth each of the other, but chiefly noting disloyalty in the demeanour of Lucilla, after much talk renewed their old friendship, both abandoning Lucilla as most abomin-

answers of Perses and Libys are worth observing. The former, being asked what was the best thing to make a horse fat, answered, the master's eye: the other, being demanded what was the best manure, answered, the master's footsteps." Tusser, *500 Pointes of Husbandrie* (1573-1580), Eng. Dial. Soc., vol. xxi. p. 24, has "The eie of the maister enricheth the hutch." See also Camden, *Remains* (ed. 1614, p. 313), and Düringsfeld, i., no. 713. Lyly may have had it from Plutarch, *De Educatione Puer.*, § 13 (see p. 133, n. 1).

(a) *if I were deceased* So 1578. 1597, etc. *diseased*.

<sup>1</sup> *Stand to the main chance*. Probably the meaning is, either accept my choice or turn me loose to take whatever fortune offers. The phrase is originally a dicing term, the *main chance* being the same as the *main*, i.e., a number (one of the numbers from five to nine inclusive) called by the player before the cast. Compare p. 413 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Lucilla's end is described below, p. 170.

able. Philautus was earnest to have Euphues tarry in Naples and Euphues desirous to have Philautus to Athens ; but the one was so addicted to the court, the other so wedded to the university, that each refused the offer of the other. Yet this they agreed between themselves that though their bodies were by distance of place severed, yet the conjunction of their minds should neither be separated by the length of time nor alienated by change of soil. "I for my part," said Euphues, "to confirm this league give thee my hand and my heart." And so likewise did Philautus ; and so shaking hands they bid each other farewell.

Euphues to the intent he might bridle the overlashing<sup>1</sup> affections of Philautus, conveyed into his study a certain pamphlet which he termed "A cooling card<sup>2</sup> for Philautus"—yet generally to be applied to all lovers—which I have inserted as followeth.

<sup>1</sup> *Overlashing* : see note on p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Cooling card*. The phrase in the figurative sense of something that cools one's ardour is extremely common in the 16th and 17th centuries (see a number of references in M'Kerrow's *Nashe*, vol. iv. p. 328) ; but its origin is still unknown. That the allusion is to a card-game is evident from Lyly's phrase (p. 302), 'cooled with a card of ten,' and similar phrases elsewhere, but the game has not been found out (see *NED.*, s.v. *card*, sb.<sup>2</sup> ; also s.v. *cooling*).

## A COOLING CARD FOR PHILAUTUS AND ALL FOND LOVERS<sup>1</sup>

MUSING with myself, being idle, how I might be well employed,<sup>2</sup> friend Philautus, I could find nothing either more fit to continue our friendship or of greater force to dissolve our folly than to write a remedy for that which many judge past cure, for love, Philautus, with the which I have been so tormented that I have lost my time, thou so troubled that thou hast forgot reason, both so mangled with repulse, inveigled by deceit, and almost murdered by disdain, that I can neither remember our miseries without grief nor redress our mishaps without groans. How wantonly, yea, and how willingly have we abused our golden time and misspent our gotten treasure. How curious were we to please our lady, how careless to displease our Lord. How devote in serving our goddess, how desperate in forgetting our God. Ah my Philautus, if the wasting of our money might not dehort us, yet the wounding of our minds should deter us; if reason might nothing persuade us to wisdom, yet shame should provoke us to wit.

If Lucilla<sup>3</sup> read this trifle she will straight proclaim Euphues for a traitor, and seeing me turn my tippet,<sup>4</sup> will either shut me out for a wrangler or cast me off for a wiredrawer<sup>5</sup>; either convince me of malice in bewraying their sleights or condemn me

<sup>1</sup> Bond's contention that Guevara's *Menosprecio del Corte*, translated by Sir Francis Bryan in 1548, is a chief source for the subject-matter of the 'Cooling Card' is not justified by the evidence he adduces. Feuillerat has shown (App. C, pp. 583-94) that it is in fact chiefly a selective paraphrase of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*, with a short introduction and conclusion and five interjected passages, from 15 to 45 lines in length, of Lyly's own composition or from other sources.

<sup>2</sup> *Idle . . . well employed*: see note on p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *If Lucilla* [etc.]. So Ovid begins by imagining Cupid as having read his title, *Remedia Amoris*, and accusing him of treachery.

<sup>4</sup> *Turn my tippet*. A proverbial saying, equivalent to 'be a turn-coat.' The earliest uses, namely a proverb and fourteen epigrams (pp. 178-80) in Heywood, are chiefly in ecclesiastical applications, and it is probable that the allusion was originally to the tippet, or scarf, of priests, the band that goes around the neck with its two ends hanging loose in front.

<sup>5</sup> *Wiredrawer*: "i.e., 'precisian.' Metaphor from the mechanical art of drawing out wire fine" (Bond). Compare p. 309.

of mischief in arming young men against fleeting minions.<sup>1</sup> And what then? Though Curio be as hot as a toast,<sup>2</sup> yet Euphues is as cold as a clock (a); though he be a cock of the game, yet Euphues is content to be craven and cry creak<sup>3</sup>; though Curio be old huddle<sup>4</sup> and twang "*Ipse, he*,"<sup>5</sup> yet Euphues had rather shrink in the wetting<sup>6</sup> than waste in the wearing. I know Curio to be steel to the back,<sup>7</sup> standard-bearer in Venus's camp, sworn to the crew,<sup>8</sup> true to the crown, knight marshal<sup>9</sup> to Cupid, and heir apparent to his kingdom. But by that time that he hath eaten but one bushel of salt<sup>10</sup> with Lucilla he shall taste ten

<sup>1</sup> *Fleeting minions*: fickle coquettes. *Minion* at this time usually has the sense of a 'paramour' or 'mistress.'

<sup>2</sup> *Hot as a toast . . . cold as a clock*. Heywood, p. 54, has the usual form: "Hot as a toast . . . cold as a kay [key]." Brian Melbancke, in his *Philotimus* (1583), a close imitation of *Euphues*, has "clock" (cited by Lean, ii. 816). See also textual note (a).

(a) as cold as a clock So 1578-1613 (1579B omitting a). 1617-1636 as cold as a clod.

<sup>3</sup> *To be craven and cry creak*. The alliteration served to hold this phrase together in common use; e.g., *NED.* quotes Bishop W. Barlow, *Answer Namel. Cath.* (1609), 164, "This Craven Cocke, after . . . crowing a Conquest, being ready presently to cry Creak." Later it became confused, and in the 17th century we often have 'to cry craven.' See *NED.*, s.v. *craven*.

<sup>4</sup> *Old huddle*: a different sense from the same phrase in p. 23 and p. 122; for Curio is not said to be old. Probably it means a boon companion, an intimate.

<sup>5</sup> *Ipse, he*: Bond cites *As You Like It*, v. 1, 46.

<sup>6</sup> *Shrink in the wetting*: a common proverbial phrase. In addition to the quotations in *NED.*, M'Kerrow (*Nashe*, iv. 167) cites Harvey, *Works*, i. 68, 7; Lodge, *The Devil Conjured* (1596), A 2<sup>v</sup>; *Tarlton's Jests* (*Shakespeare Jest-books*, ii. 214). *NED.* thinks it arose out of another saying, 'to shrink as fast as Northern cloth,' for which see *Nashe*, i. 384, and *Westward Ho*, ii. 1 (cited by M'Kerrow); and in fact the two occur in the same phrase in the *Navy of Landships* of Taylor, the Water-poet (quoted by Lean, iii. 793).

<sup>7</sup> *Steel to the back*. Compare *Titus Andron.* iv. 3, 47: "No big-bon'd men fram'd of the Cyclops size, But metal, Marcus, steel to the very back." In the form 'metal to the back,' it is quoted by *NED.* in 1687 (s.v. *metal*) and 1705 (s.v. *back*).

<sup>8</sup> *Sworn to the crew*. Lean (iii. 325) quotes 'sworn to the pantable' (of an oath taken by pages to keep each other's secrets) from Breton, *Grimello's Fortunes*, p. 9, and Massinger, *The Unnatural Combat*, iii. 2; etc. Breton also uses 'sworn to the candlestick' (*Praise of Vertuous Ladies*, p. 57), of one vowed to the secrets of a religious order. *Crew* means a band of soldiers.

<sup>9</sup> *Knight marshal*: "An officer of the English royal household, who had judicial cognizance of transgressions within the King's house and verge, i.e. within a radius of twelve miles from the King's palace" (*NED.*).

<sup>10</sup> *A bushel of salt*: see note on p. 29.

quarters of sorrow in his love. Then shall he find for every pint of honey a gallon of gall, for every dram of pleasure an ounce of pain, for every inch of mirth an ell of moan.

And yet, Philautus,<sup>1</sup> if there be any man in despair to obtain his purpose or so obstinate in his opinion that, having lost his freedom by folly, would also lose his life for love, let him repair hither and he shall reap such profit as will either quench his flames or assuage his fury, either cause him to renounce his lady as most pernicious or redeem his liberty as most precious. Come therefore to me all ye lovers that have been deceived by fancy, the glass<sup>2</sup> of pestilence, or deluded by women, the gate to perdition; be as earnest to seek a medicine as you were eager to run into a mischief. The earth bringeth forth as well endive to delight the people as hemlock to endanger the patient, as well the rose to distil as the nettle to sting, as well the bee to give honey as the spider to yield poison. If my lewd life, gentlemen, have given you offence, let my good counsel make amends; if by my folly any be allured to lust, let them by my repentance be drawn to continency. Achilles' spear<sup>3</sup> could as well heal as hurt, the scorpion<sup>4</sup> though he sting yet he stints the pain, though the herb Nerius<sup>5</sup> poison the sheep yet is it a

<sup>1</sup> Here the free paraphrase of Ovid begins. *And yet, Philautus . . . most precious* represents *Rem. Am. i. 15-16* :—

At, si quis male fert indignae regna puellae,  
Ne pereat, nostrae sentiat artis opem,

and 21-22 :—

Qui, nisi desierit, misero periturus amore est;  
Desinat : et nulli funeris auctor eris.

*Come therefore . . . repentance* reproduces *Rem. Am. 41-48* (with similes added by Lyly) :—

Ad mea, decepti juvenes, praecepta venite  
Quos suus ex omni parte fefellit Amor.  
Discite sanari, per quem didicistis amare :  
Una manus vobis vulnus opemque feret.  
Terra salutare herbas, eademque nocentes,  
Nutrit ; et urticae proxima saepe rosa est.  
Vulnus in Herculeo quae quondam fecerat hoste,  
Vulneris auxilium Pelias hasta tulit.

<sup>2</sup> *Glass* : mirror, *speculum*. Compare p. 55 and note on p. 415.

<sup>3</sup> *Achilles' spear*. This figure was extremely common in classical literature (see Plutarch, *De Recta Ratione Audiendi*, § 46, and *De Inim. Util.*, § 6 ; Pliny, xxv. 19, and xxxiv. 45 ; etc.) and Erasmus has it in his *Similia*. But Lyly's source is the passage of Ovid just quoted.

<sup>4</sup> *The scorpion* [etc.] : not in Ovid. See note on p. 53 above.

<sup>5</sup> *The herb Nerius* : Pliny, xvi. 33. Compare Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 618D).

remedy (a) to man against poison, though I have infected some by example yet I hope I shall comfort many by repentance.

Whatsoever I speak to men, the same also I speak to women.<sup>1</sup> I mean not to run with the hare and hold with the hound, to carry fire in the one hand and water in the other,<sup>2</sup> neither to flatter men as altogether faultless, neither to fall out with women as altogether guilty. For as I am not minded to pick a thank with the one, so am I not determined to pick a quarrel with the other. If women be not perverse they shall reap profit by remedy of pleasure. If Phyllis<sup>3</sup> were now to take counsel she would not be so foolish to hang herself, neither Dido so fond to die for Aeneas, neither Pasiphaë so monstrous to love a bull, nor Phaedra so unnatural to be enamoured of her son.

This is, therefore,<sup>4</sup> to admonish all young imps<sup>5</sup> and novices in love not to blow the coals<sup>6</sup> of fancy with desire but to quench them with disdain. When love tickleth thee decline it lest it stifle thee; rather fast than surfeit, rather starve than strive to exceed.<sup>(b)</sup> Though the beginning of love bring delight, the end bringeth destruction. For as the first draught of wine<sup>7</sup> doth comfort the stomach, the second inflame the liver, the third fume into the head, so the first sip of love is pleasant, the second perilous, the third pestilent. If thou perceive thyself to be enticed with their wanton glances or allured with their wicked guiles, either enchanted with their beauty or enamoured with their bravery, enter with thyself into this meditation:—

“What shall I gain<sup>8</sup> if I obtain my purpose? Nay rather,

(a) *yet is it a remedy* So 1580. 1578, 1579A & B *yet is a remedy*; 1581, etc. *yet it is a remedy*.

<sup>1</sup> *Whatsoever I speak . . . enamoured by her son*. Paraphrase of *Rem. Am.* i. 49–64, with addition of Euphuistic proverbs and formulæ, and some omissions.

<sup>2</sup> *To run with the hare . . . water in the other*. Heywood has (p. 24): “To hold with the hare, and run with the hound, Fire in the one hand, and water in the tother.”

<sup>3</sup> *Phyllis* [etc.]. All these allusions are in *Rem. Am.* i. 55–64.

<sup>4</sup> *This is, therefore . . . be not coursers* (p. 96): not in Ovid.

<sup>5</sup> *Imps*: see note on p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *To blow the coals*: see note on p. 230.

<sup>7</sup> *than strive to exceed* So 1578. 1597, etc. *than strain to exceed*.

<sup>8</sup> *The first draught of wine* [etc.]. The final source is Diogenes Laertius, *Vitæ Phil.*, *Anacharsis Scythæ*, 5: “He said that a vine bore three bunches of grapes. The first, the bunch of pleasure; the second, that of drunkenness; the third, that of disgust.” Lyly quotes this more closely in *Euphues and his England* (below, p. 254); but in both cases he may have been following Erasmus’ *Apophthegms* (*Works*, iv. 329c).

<sup>8</sup> *What shall I gain . . . be not coursers*. This passage imitates the *Diall of*

what shall I lose in winning my pleasure? If my lady yield to be my lover is it not likely she will be another's leman? And if she be a modest matron my labour is lost. This therefore remaineth, that either I must pine in cares or perish with curses. If she be chaste then is she coy, if light then is she impudent. If a grave matron who can woo her; if a lewd minion who would wed her? If one of the vestal virgins they have vowed virginity, if one of Venus's court they have vowed dishonesty. If I love one that is fair it will kindle jealousy, if one that is foul it will convert me into frenzy; if fertile to bear children my care is increased, if barren my curse is augmented (a); if honest I shall fear her death, if immodest I shall be weary of her life. To what end then shall I live in love, seeing always it is a life more to be feared than death? For all my time wasted in sighs and worn in sobs, for all my treasure spent on jewels and spilt in jollity, what recompense shall I reap besides repentance, what other reward shall I have than reproach, what other solace than endless shame?"

But haply thou wilt say, "If I refuse their courtesy I shall be accounted a meacock,<sup>1</sup> a milksop, taunted and retaunted with check and checkmate, flouted and reflouted with intolerable glee." Alas, fond fool, art thou so pinned to their sleeves that thou regardest more their babble than thine own bliss, more their frumps than thine own welfare? Wilt thou resemble the kind<sup>2</sup> spaniel which the more he is beaten the fonder he is, or the foolish eyas<sup>3</sup> which will never away? Dost thou not know that women deem none valiant unless he be too venturous? That they account one a dastard if he be not desperate, a pinchpenny<sup>4</sup> if he be not prodigal, if silent a sot, if full of words a fool?

*Princes* (North's translation from Guevara). Bond quotes *Certain Letters*, c. vi., at the end of the work, which he says is closely imitated in the first paragraph, and Book ii. ch. xvi. fol. iii. (ed. 1568) which evidently suggested the second both in substance and style. The imitation is not close, however, in the first paragraph.

(a) *my curse is augmented* So 1578. 1597 *my course*; 1607 *my griefe*.

<sup>1</sup> *Meacock*: a coward or weakling. *NED.* suggests that it was originally the name of some bird.

<sup>2</sup> *Kind*: as on p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Eyas*: a young hawk which has not yet been fully trained. The proper form of the word etymologically is *nyas* (see *NED.*), as Pettie has it (fol. 82) in a passage which Lyly is here appropriating: "a Niesse, which wyl never away" (quoted by Bond).

<sup>4</sup> *Pinchpenny*. The word 'pinchpurse' occurs in the passage from the *Diall* quoted by Bond.

Perversely do they always think of their lovers and talk of them scornfully, judging all to be clowns which be no courtiers and all to be pingers<sup>1</sup> that be not coursers.

Seeing, therefore,<sup>2</sup> the very blossom of love is sour, the bud cannot be sweet. In time prevent danger, lest untimely thou run into a thousand perils. Search the wound while it is green ; too late cometh the salve when the sore festereth, and the medicine<sup>3</sup> bringeth double care when the malady is past cure. Beware of delays.<sup>4</sup> What less than the grain of mustard-seed<sup>5</sup> ; in time almost what thing is greater than the stalk thereof ? The slender twig groweth to a stately tree, and that which with the hand might easily have been pulled up will hardly with the ax be hewn down. The least spark if it be not quenched will burst into a flame, the least moth in time eateth the thickest cloth ; and I have read that in a short space there was a town in Spain<sup>6</sup> undermined with conies, in Thessalia with moles, with frogs in France, in Africa with flies. If these silly worms in tract of time overthrow so stately towns, how much more will love which creepeth secretly into the mind (as the rust doth into the iron and is not perceived) consume the body, yea, and confound the soul. Defer not from hour to day, from day to month, from month to year, and always remain in misery. He that to-day<sup>7</sup> is not willing will to-morrow be more wilful.

But alas,<sup>8</sup> it is no less common than lamentable to behold

<sup>1</sup> *Pingers*. NED. defines as a trifle or dabbler, deriving it from a verb *pingle*, now only dialectal. This does not well explain the antithesis with *courser*. The suggestion of Nares that it means a farm-horse and is derived from *pingle*, a small enclosed farm or homestead, has however nothing but this passage in its favour.

<sup>2</sup> *Seeing, therefore . . . more wilful* : Rem. Am. i. 85-93, with omission and additions.

<sup>3</sup> *The medicine* [etc.] : compare Rem. Am. 131-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Beware of delays* : see note on p. 68. The Latin of Ovid is : *Sed propera ; nec te venturas differ in horas*.

<sup>5</sup> *The grain of mustard-seed* : see Matt. xiii. 31-2.

<sup>6</sup> *A town in Spain . . . flies*. Bond quotes Pliny, viii. 43, and Fortescue's *Forest* (1571), fol. 107 v, as the sources, remarking that one of Lyly's phrases points to his use of Fortescue. But Pliny was probably the only source.

<sup>7</sup> *He that to-day* [etc.]. After a number of similes and analogies from other sources, Lyly returns in this sentence to Ovid, mistranslating l. 94 : *Qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit*.

<sup>8</sup> *But alas, . . . senseless* : dilates on the theme of Rem. Am. 91-135, but with a purely Euphuistic pattern of proverbs, wonders of nature, and classical anecdotes, all from other sources than Ovid.



the tottering estate of lovers who think by delays to prevent dangers, with oil to quench fire, with smoke to clear the eyesight. They flatter themselves with a fainting farewell, deferring ever until to-morrow; whenas their morrow doth always increase their sorrow. Let neither their amiable countenances, neither their painted protestations, neither their deceitful promises allure thee to delays. Think this with thyself, that the sweet songs of Calypso were subtle snares to entice Ulysses, that the crab<sup>1</sup> then catcheth the oyster when the sun shineth, that Hiena<sup>2</sup> when she speaketh like a man deviseth most mischief, that women when they be most pleasant pretend most treachery. Follow Alexander,<sup>3</sup> which hearing the commendation and singular comeliness of the wife of Darius, so courageously withstood the assaults of fancy that he would not so much as take a view of her beauty. Imitate Cyrus, a king endued with such continericy that he loathed to look on the heavenly hue of Panthea, and when Araspus told him that she excelled all mortal wights in amiable show, "By so much the more," said Cyrus, "I ought to abstain from her sight; for if I follow thy counsel in going to her, it may be I shall desire to continue with her and by my light affection neglect my serious affairs." Learn of Romulus<sup>4</sup> to refrain from wine be it never so delicate, of Agesilaus<sup>5</sup> to despise costly apparel be it never so curious, of Diogenes<sup>6</sup> to detest

<sup>1</sup> *The crab* [etc.]. Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus*, xxiv., no. 23 (*Works*, xii. 514), says: *Narrat Ambrosius, quod cancer libenter intrat conchilia ostreorum, et comedit conchilia: et ab alia parte timens concludi infra concham et conteri, intrare non audet: observat igitur donec ostreum ad radium solis delectatum aperit concham, et tunc lapidem anteriori manu quae bifurcata est intra concham ponens, concludi concham non permittit: et tunc ostreum depascitur.*

<sup>2</sup> *Hiena* [etc.]. Erasmus' *Similia*, 612B (*Works*, i.) following Pliny (viii. 44), says: *Hyaena vocem humanam imitatur, et nomen alicujus ediscit, quem evocatum lacerat: Ita quidam obsequio blandiuntur, donec in perniciem trahant.* The similarity of the application makes it probable that Erasmus is Lyly's source.

<sup>3</sup> *Follow Alexander* [etc.]. As Bond points out, the stories of Alexander and Cyrus here alluded to are told by Plutarch in *De Curiositate*. Lyly follows him almost verbally in the story concerning Cyrus, less closely in that concerning Alexander, for which he may have referred also to Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, ch. xxii. In the latter we read: "For myself, said he, I have neither seene, nor desired to see Darius wife" (North's transl.).

<sup>4</sup> *Learn of Romulus* [etc.]: see note on p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Agesilaus*. In the *Apophtheg.* Lacon. Plutarch says that when some one wondered at Agesilaus' extreme simplicity in eating and dressing, Agesilaus replied that the reward of such strictness was liberty.

<sup>6</sup> *Diogenes*. Erasmus says in his *Apophtheg.*, *Diogenes*, no. 19 (Udall's transl., no. 124, ed. 1877, p. 137), that "Diogenes was one that loved no women in no sauce." De Vocht quotes also *Apophtheg.*, *Diogenes*, no. 107

women be they never so comely. He that toucheth pitch<sup>1</sup> shall be defiled, the sore eye infecteth the sound, the society with women breedeth security in the soul and maketh all the senses senseless.

Moreover<sup>2</sup> take this counsel as an article of the creed, which I mean to follow as the chief argument of my faith: that idleness<sup>3</sup> is the only nurse and nourisher of sensual appetite, the sole maintenance of youthful affection, the first shaft that Cupid shooteth into the hot liver of a heedless lover. I would to God I were not able to find this for a truth by mine own trial; and I would the example of others' idleness had caused me rather to avoid that fault than experience of mine own folly. How dissolute have I been in striving against good counsel, how resolute in standing in mine own conceit; how forward to wickedness, how froward to wisdom; how wanton with too much cockering, how wayward in hearing correction. Neither was I much unlike these abbey-lubbers<sup>4</sup> in my life (though far unlike them in belief), which laboured till they were cold, eat till they sweat, and lay in bed till their bones ached. Hereof cometh it, gentlemen, that love creepeth into the mind by privy craft and keepeth his hold by main courage.

The man being idle, the mind is apt to all uncleanness; the mind being void of exercise, the man is void of honesty. Doth not the rust fret the hardest iron if it be not used? Doth not the moth eat the finest garment if it be not worn? Doth not moss grow on the smoothest stone<sup>5</sup> if it be not stirred? Doth not

(Works, iv. 182D): *Amorem dixit otiosorum negotium*, etc., which comes to Erasmus from Diogenes Laertius, vi. ch. ii., no. 51.

<sup>1</sup> *He that toucheth pitch.* This proverb is one of those used by Shakespeare in his parody of Euphuism. See 1 *Henry IV.*, II. 4, 438-61. (On Shakespeare's parody see Schwan, *Eng. Studien*, vi. 102 ff., Bond, *Works of Lyly*, i. 133, n., 150, n. 3). The proverb originates in Ecclesiasticus xiii. 1, and is quoted by Skeat (*Early Eng. Proverbs*, no. 294) from Chaucer, Wyclif, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Moreover . . . spoileth the mind?* (p. 99): a free re-handling of the theme of *Rem. Am.* 135-43.

<sup>3</sup> *Idleness* [etc.]. Of course this is a commonplace; but it may have been suggested, as De Vocht says, by the passage from Erasmus' *Apophth.* quoted in note 6 on p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Abbey-lubbers*: idle monks, a term of Reformation polemics, quoted by NED. from 1538 to 1705. Cotgrave (*Fr.-Eng. Dict.*, 1611) has: "Archimarmitoneraſtique [from *archimandrite*, an abbot, etc.]. . . . An Abbey-lubber, or arch-frequenter of the Cloyster beefe-pot, or beefe-boyler."

<sup>5</sup> *Moss grow on the smoothest stone* [etc.]. The allusion is to the old proverb, quoted in English from the 13th century and found in almost all languages. See Heywood (Farmer's note), p. 431, and Düringsfeld, ii., no. 390.

impiety infect the wisest wit if it be given to idleness? Is not the standing water sooner frozen than the running stream? Is not he that sitteth more subject to sleep than he that walketh? Doth not common experience make this common unto us that the fattest ground<sup>1</sup> bringeth forth nothing but weeds if it be not well tilled? That the sharpest wit inclineth only to wickedness if it be not exercised (a)? Is it not true which Seneca reporteth, that as too much bending breaketh the bow<sup>2</sup> so too much remission spoileth the mind? Besides this,<sup>3</sup> immoderate sleep, immodest play, unsatiable swilling of wine doth so weaken the senses and bewitch the soul that before we feel the motion of love we are resolved into lust. Eschew idleness, my Philautus; so shalt thou easily unbend the bow and quench the brands of Cupid. Love gives place to labour, labour and thou shalt never love. Cupid is a crafty child, following those at an inch that study pleasure and flying those swiftly that take pains.

Bend thy mind<sup>4</sup> to the law, whereby thou mayest have understanding of old and ancient customs, defend thy clients, enrich thy coffers, and carry credit in thy country. If law seem loathsome unto thee, search the secrets of physic, whereby thou mayest know the hidden natures of herbs, whereby thou mayest gather profit to thy purse and pleasure to thy mind. What can be more exquisite in human affairs (b) than for every fever be it never so hot, for every palsy be it never so cold, for every infection be it never so strange, to give a remedy? The old verse standeth as yet in his old virtue, "That Galen giveth goods, Justinian honours."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The fattest ground* [etc.]. Skeat (*Early Eng. Proverbs*, no. 120) quotes *Piers Plowman*, c. xiii. 224: "On fat lande and ful of donge foulest weedes groweth." See also Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV.*, iv. 4, 54.

(a) *if it be not exercised* So 1579A, etc. 1578 omits it.

<sup>2</sup> *As too much bending breaketh the bow.* Erasmus, *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 1070E; 1536 ed., p. 962), quotes Plutarch, *An Seni Sit gerend. Resp.*, § 16, but not Seneca. In his *Similia* (*Works*, i. 564A), however, he has a form nearer to Lyly's: *Ut arcus tensus rumpitur: Sic animus remissus frangitur.* He classifies this also as Plutarchean.

<sup>3</sup> *Besides this . . . to thy mind:* follows *Rem. Am.* 139-51, with but slight changes.

<sup>4</sup> *Bend thy mind . . . Justinian honours.* It is notable that Lyly changes the tone of Ovid here so as to represent accurately the ideal of the Burghleys and Bacons of Elizabeth's day—the pursuit of learning and of wealth at once.

(b) *What can be more exquisite in human affairs* So 1578. 1595-1607 *exquisite to*; 1613, etc. *requisite to*.

<sup>5</sup> *Galen giveth goods, Justinian honours.* Though this "verse" was doubtless much quoted in academic circles, I have not been able to find it elsewhere.

If thou<sup>1</sup> be so nice that thou canst no way brook the practice of physic or so unwise that thou wilt not beat thy brains about the institutes of the law, confer all thy study, all thy time, all thy treasure to the attaining of the sacred and sincere knowledge of divinity ; by this mayest thou bridle thine incontineny, rein thine affections, restrain thy lust. Here shalt thou behold as it were in a glass that all the glory of man is as the grass, that all things under heaven are but vain, that our life is but a shadow, a warfare, a pilgrimage, a vapour, a bubble, a blast ; of such shortness that David saith it is but a span long, of such sharpness that Job noteth it replenished with all miseries, of such uncertainty that we are no sooner born but we are subject to death, the one foot no sooner on the ground but the other ready to slip into the grave. Here shalt thou find ease for thy burden of sin, comfort for the conscience pined with vanity, mercy for thine offences by the martyrdom of thy sweet Saviour. By this thou shalt be able to instruct those that be weak, to confute those that be obstinate, to confound those that be erroneous, to confirm the faithful, to comfort the desperate, to cut off the presumptuous, to save thine own soul by thy sure faith, and edify the hearts of many by thy sound doctrine.

If this seem too strait a diet for thy straining<sup>2</sup> disease (a) or too holy a profession for so hollow a person, then employ thyself to martial feats, to justs, to tourneys, yea, to all torments rather than to loiter in love and spend thy life in the laps of ladies. What more monstrous can there be than to see a young man abuse those gifts to his own shame which God hath given him for his own preferment ? What greater infamy than to confer the sharp wit to the making of lewd sonnets, to the idolatrous worshipping of their ladies, to the vain delights of fancy, to all kinds of vice as it were against kind and course of nature ? Is it not folly to show wit to women which are neither able nor willing to receive fruit thereof ? Dost thou not know that the tree *Silvacenda*<sup>3</sup> beareth no fruit in Pharos ? That the

<sup>1</sup> If thou . . . sound doctrine : of course not in Ovid. And in the following paragraph (*If this seem . . . in vain*) only the hint about following the wars comes from the *Rem. Am.*

<sup>2</sup> Straining : probably, urgent, pressing, constraining.

(a) straining disease So 1578. 1579A & B straying ; 1580-1623 *straunge* ; 1631-1636 *strong*.

<sup>3</sup> *Silvacenda* : a good example of Lyly's carelessness or wilful perversion of his sources. Pliny says (xvi. 47) : *Fiunt vero quaedam loci vitio infructuosa, sicut in Paro silva caedua* (i.e., a coppice-wood), *quae nihil fert*. From *silva caedua* Lyly (or some predecessor) makes *Silvacenda*.

Persian trees in Rhodes<sup>1</sup> do only wax green but never bring forth apple? That Amomus (a) and Nardus<sup>2</sup> will only grow in India, Balsamum only in Syria,<sup>3</sup> that in Rhodes no eagle will build her nest, no owl live in Crete,<sup>4</sup> no wit spring in the will of women? Mortify therefore thy affections and force not Nature against Nature to strive in vain.

Go into the country.<sup>5</sup> Look to thy grounds, yoke thine oxen, follow thy plough, graft thy trees, behold thy cattle, and devise with thyself how the increase of them may increase thy profit. In autumn pull thine apples, in summer ply thy harvest, (b) in the spring trim thy gardens, in the winter thy woods; and thus beginning to delight to be a good husband thou shalt begin to detest to be in love with an idle huswife. When profit shall begin to fill thy purse with gold then pleasure shall have no force to defile thy mind with love. For honest recreation after thy toil use hunting or hawking, either rouse the deer or unperch the pheasant; so shalt thou root out the remembrance of thy former love and repent thee of thy foolish lust. And although thy sweetheart bind thee by oath alway to hold a candle at her shrine and to offer thy devotion to thine own destruction, yet go, run, fly into the country; neither water thou thy plants,<sup>6</sup> in that thou departest from thy pigsney,<sup>7</sup> neither stand in a

<sup>1</sup> *Persian trees in Rhodes.* Bond tries to find the source in Pliny, xvi. 59; but in xvi. 47 (the sentence immediately following the one quoted above) we read: *Persicæ arbores* (i.e., peaches) *in Rhodo florent tantum.*

(a) *Amomus* So Bond edition. Early texts *Amonius*.

<sup>2</sup> *Amomus and Nardus.* In xvi. 59, Pliny says that "Amomum . . . and nard, those most delicate of perfumes, will not endure the carriage from India to Arabia."

<sup>3</sup> *Balsamum only in Syria.* In xvi. 59, Pliny says: *Fastidit balsamum alibi nasci.* The text of Pliny is evidently incomplete here, and probably Lyly had a text in which the gap was filled by a mention of Syria or Judaea as its natural home. See Pliny, xii. 54, where the statement occurs in full.

<sup>4</sup> *In Rhodes . . . in Crete:* Pliny, x. 41.

<sup>5</sup> From this point almost to the end of the *Cooling Card* Lyly follows Ovid through the second half of the first book and all of the second of *Rem. Am.*, omitting passages and embroidering the style. For instance, the first two paragraphs (*Go into the country . . . quiet of conscience*) contain no substantial addition to the sentences on which they are based (see *Rem. Am.* i. 169-231) except the sentence, 'When profit shall begin to fill thy purse' [etc.], which admirably illustrates the bourgeois morality.

(b) *ply the harvest* So 1578. 1595 *pile thy harvest.*

<sup>6</sup> *Water . . . thy plants:* old slang for weeping. So in Udall's transl. of Erasmus' *Apophthegms* (ed. 1877, p. 296): "When he [Caesar] read the chronicle of Alexander the Great, he could not forbear to water his plants."

<sup>7</sup> *Pigsney:* a term signifying 'sweetheart, favourite, darling,' in literary

mammering <sup>1</sup> whether it be best to depart or not ; but by how much the more thou art unwilling to go by so much the more hasten thy steps, neither feign for thyself any sleeveless <sup>2</sup> excuse whereby thou mayest tarry. Neither let rain nor thunder, neither lightning nor tempest, stay thy journey ; and reckon not with thyself how many miles thou hast gone—that showeth weariness—but how many thou hast to go—that proveth manliness.

But foolish and frantic lovers will deem my precepts hard and esteem my persuasions haggard.<sup>3</sup> I must of force confess that it is a corrosive to the stomach of a lover but a comfort to a godly liver to run through a thousand pikes,<sup>4</sup> to escape ten thousand perils. Sour potions bring sound health, sharp purgations make short diseases, and the medicine the more bitter it is the more better it is in working. To heal the body we try physic, search cunning, prove sorcery, venture through fire and water, leaving nothing unsought that may be gotten for money, be it never so much, or procured by any means, be they never so unlawful. How much more ought we to hazard all things for the safeguard of mind and quiet of conscience !

And, certes,<sup>5</sup> easier will the remedy be when the reason is espied. Do you not know the nature of women, which is grounded only upon extremities ? Do they think any man to delight in them unless he dote on them ? Any to be zealous except they be jealous ? Any to be fervent in case he be not furious ? If he be cleanly then term they him proud, if mean in apparel a sloven, if tall a lungis,<sup>6</sup> if short a dwarf, if bold blunt, if shamefast a coward ; insomuch as they have neither mean in their frumps nor measure in their folly.

use from the 14th to the 18th centuries inclusive. It was originally *pig's eye* (compare the development of sense in *cockney* : see above, note on p. 88).

<sup>1</sup> *Mammering* : a state of perplexity, 'a muse.' The word in this sense is quoted only in the fixed phrase, "stand in aammering," as here.

<sup>2</sup> *Sleeveless* : futile, irrelevant, trifling. "Very common c. 1570-1600, especially in *sleeveless answer*" (NED.). In the phrase *sleeveless errand* it survived until recent years.

<sup>3</sup> *Haggard*. Early dictionaries, Cotgrave, etc., quote the word in the sense 'wild, contrary, unsociable,' which suits the context here. On the common sense see note on p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Pikes* : see note on p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *And certes*. This paragraph is not in Ovid. It is merely a second imitation of the passage from North's *Diall* referred to in the note on p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> *Lungis* : a long, slim fellow. Ultimately from *Longinus*, supposed name of the centurion whose spear pierced our Lord's side on the Cross. In use only from c. 1560 to c. 1610. See NED.

But at the first<sup>1</sup> the ox wieldeth not the yoke, nor the colt the snaffle, nor the lover good counsel ; yet time causeth the one to bend his neck, the other to open his mouth, and should enforce the third to yield his right to reason. Lay before<sup>2</sup> thine eyes the slights and deceits of thy lady, her snatching in jest and keeping in earnest, her perjury, her impiety, the countenance she showeth to thee of course,<sup>3</sup> the love she beareth to others of zeal, her open malice, her dissembled mischief. O, I would in repeating their vices thou couldest be as eloquent as in remembering them thou oughtest to be penitent. Be she never<sup>4</sup> so comely, call her counterfeit ; be she never so straight, think her crooked ; and wrest all parts of her body to the worst, be she never so worthy. If she be well set<sup>5</sup> then call her a boss,<sup>6</sup> if slender a hazel twig, if nut-brown as black as a coal, if well coloured a painted wall ; if she be pleasant then is she a wanton, if sullen a clown, if honest then is she coy, if impudent a harlot. Search every vein and sinew of their disposition ; if she have no sight<sup>7</sup> in descant<sup>8</sup> desire her to chant it, if no cunning to dance request her to trip it, if no skill in music proffer her the lute, if an ill gait then walk with her, if rude in speech talk with her ; if she be gag-toothed<sup>9</sup> tell her some merry jest to make her laugh, if pink-eyed some doleful history to cause her weep : in the one her grinning will show her deformed, in the other her whining like a pig half roasted.

It is a world<sup>10</sup> to see how commonly we are blinded with the collusions of women, and more enticed by their ornaments being artificial than their proportion being natural. I loathe almost to think on their ointments and apothecary drugs, the sleeking

<sup>1</sup> But at the first . . . reason : *Rem. Am.* 235-36 :—

Aspicis ut prensos urant juga prima juvencos  
Et nova velocem cingula laedat equum ?

<sup>2</sup> Lay before . . . mischief : *Rem. Am.* 299-305.

<sup>3</sup> Of course : as a matter of course, habitually, conventionally.

<sup>4</sup> Be she never . . . roasted : *Rem. Am.* 325-40.

<sup>5</sup> Well set : firmly and solidly formed.

<sup>6</sup> Boss : originally, a protuberance or swelling, here, a fat person (used especially of women). Compare Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (First Part), iii. 3. Marlowe's editor, in Mermaid Series ed., p. 50, quotes (without exact reference) from Cotgrave : "A fat bosse. . . Femm grasse et grosse ; une coche."

<sup>7</sup> Sight : knowledge, skill ; "very common in the 16th century" (*NED.*).

<sup>8</sup> Descant : see note on p. 78. The word here is merely equivalent to singing.

<sup>9</sup> Gag-toothed : having a projecting tooth.

<sup>10</sup> It is a world . . . mortify thee : particulars of toilet are from *Rem. Am.* 343-56 ; those of costume from Lyly's observation.

of their faces, and all their slibber-sauces<sup>1</sup> which bring queasiness to the stomach and disquiet to the mind. Take from them their periwigs, their paintings, their jewels, their rolls,<sup>2</sup> their bolsterings,<sup>3</sup> and thou shalt soon perceive that a woman is the least part of herself.<sup>4</sup> When they be once robbed of their robes then will they appear so odious, so ugly, so monstrous that thou wilt rather think them serpents than saints, and so like hags that thou wilt fear rather to be enchanted than enamoured. Look in their closets and there shalt thou find an apothecary's shop of sweet confections, a surgeon's box of sundry salves, a pedlar's pack of new fangles. Besides all this, their shadows,<sup>5</sup> their spots,<sup>6</sup> their lawns, their lyfkies,<sup>7</sup> their ruffs, their rings show them rather Cardinals' courtesans than modest matrons, and more carnally affected than moved in conscience. If every one of these things severally be not of force to move thee yet all of them jointly should mortify thee.

Moreover, to make thee the more stronger to strive against these sirens<sup>8</sup> and more subtle to deceive these tame serpents, my counsel is that thou have more strings to thy bow than one.<sup>9</sup> It is safe riding at two anchors,<sup>10</sup> a fire divided in twain burneth

<sup>1</sup> *Slibber-sauces* : a disgusting ointment or wash.

<sup>2</sup> *Rolls* : round cushions or pads "of hair or other material, forming part of a woman's head-dress" (*NED.*).

<sup>3</sup> *Bolsterings* : pads used to bolster out part of the dress.

<sup>4</sup> *The least part of herself* : *Rem. Am.* 344, *Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.*

<sup>5</sup> *Shadows*. Florio, *Ital.-Eng. Dict.* (1598), s.v. *velaregli*, has: "bonegraces, shadowes, vailes or faunes that women use to weare on their foreheads for the sunne." Cotgrave (1611), s.v. *cornette*: "A fashion of shadow, or boonegrace, used in old time, and at this day, by some old women."

<sup>6</sup> *Spots* : patches used on the face for ornament; beauty-spots.

<sup>7</sup> *Lyfkies* : bodices (Dutch *lijfken*, from *lijf*, body).

<sup>8</sup> Ovid calls women *lotophagos* and *Sirenas* (*Rem. Am.* ii. 393).

<sup>9</sup> *More strings to thy bow than one* : see Heywood, p. 37. A commoner early form was "two strings to one bow." So, for instance, in a letter of Queen Elizabeth to James VI., quoted in Heywood, p. 334, by Farmer. The idea is from *Rem. Am.* ii. 45, *Hortor et, ut pariter binas habeatis amicas*, and the following lines.

<sup>10</sup> *Riding at two anchors*. Heywood, p. 92: "Good riding at two anchors, men have told For if the tone fail, the tother may hold." See also Düringsfeld, ii., no. 750. This passage, to the end of the paragraph, follows closely *Rem. Am.* ii. 47-51:—

Secta bipartito cum mens discurrit utroque

Alterius vires subtrahit alter Amor.

Grandia per multos tenuantur flumina rivos,

Cassaque seducto stipite flamma perit.

Non satis una tenet ceratas anchora puppes.



slower, a fountain running into many rivers is of less force, the mind enamoured on two women is less affected with desire and less infected with despair, one love expelleth another and the remembrance of the latter quencheth the concupiscence of the first.

Yet if thou<sup>1</sup> be so weak, being bewitched with their wiles, that thou hast neither will to eschew nor wit to avoid their company, if thou be either so wicked that thou wilt not or so wedded that thou canst not abstain from their glances, yet at the least dissemble thy grief. If thou be as hot as the mount Aetna, feign thyself as cold as the hill Caucasus; carry two faces in one hood,<sup>2</sup> cover thy flaming fancy with feigned ashes, show thyself sound when thou art rotten, let thy hue be merry when thy heart is melancholy, bear a pleasant countenance with a pined conscience, a painted sheath<sup>3</sup> with a leaden dagger. Thus dissembling thy grief thou mayest recure thy disease. Love creepeth in by stealth and by stealth slideth away.

If she break promise<sup>4</sup> with thee in the night or absent herself in the day, seem thou careless, and then will she be careful; if thou languish, then will she be lavish of her honour, yea, and of the other strange beast, her honesty. Stand thou on thy pantofles<sup>5</sup> and she will vail bonnet.<sup>6</sup> Lie thou aloof and she will seize on the lure. If thou pass by her door and be called back, either seem deaf and not to hear or desperate and not to care. Fly the places, the parlours, the portals wherein thou hast been conversant with thy lady; yea, Philautus, shun the street where Lucilla doth dwell, lest the sight of her window renew the sum of thy sorrow.

Yet, although<sup>7</sup> I would have thee precise in keeping these precepts, yet would I have thee to avoid solitariness, that breeds melancholy, melancholy madness, madness mischief and utter desolation. Have ever some faithful fere with whom thou

<sup>1</sup> Yet if thou . . . slideth away. The idea and some of the ornaments are from *Rem. Am.* 95-8: *Quamvis infelix media torreferis Aetna*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Two faces in one hood: see Heywood, 23 and 180. Quoted by NED. from *Rom. of the Rose* (c. 1400), l. 7388, in form 'two heads.'

<sup>3</sup> A painted sheath [etc.]: see note on p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> If she break promise [etc.]: *Rem. Am.* ii. 109-15.

<sup>5</sup> Stand thou on thy pantofles: see note on p. 28. The Latin of this sentence (*Rem. Am.* ii. 122) is: *Sume animos: animis cedat ut illa tuis*.

<sup>6</sup> Vail bonnet: originally, to lower a topsail, later, by confusion, to take off one's hat out of respect. See NED., s.v. *bonnet*.

<sup>7</sup> Yet, although . . . Laelius: *Rem. Am.* ii. 183-96.

mayest communicate thy counsels, some Pylades<sup>1</sup> to encourage Orestes, some Damon to release Pythias, some Scipio to recure Laelius. Phyllis in wandering the woods hanged herself; Asiarchus<sup>2</sup> forsaking company spoiled himself with his own bodkin<sup>3</sup>; Biarus a Roman, more wise than fortunate, being alone destroyed himself with a potsherd. Beware solitariness.<sup>4</sup> But although I would have thee use company for thy recreation, yet would I have thee<sup>5</sup> always to leave the company of those that accompany thy lady; yea, if she have any jewel<sup>6</sup> of thine in her custody, rather lose it than go for it, lest in seeking to recover a trifle thou renew thine old trouble.

Be not curious<sup>7</sup> to curl thy hair, nor careful to be neat in thine apparel; be not prodigal of thy gold, nor precise in thy going; be not like the Englishman, which preferreth every strange fashion before the use of his country; be thou dissolute,<sup>8</sup> (a) lest thy lady think thee foolish in framing thyself to every fashion for her sake. Believe not their oaths<sup>9</sup> and solemn protestations, their exorcisms and conjurations, their tears which they have at commandment, their alluring looks, their treading on the toe, their unsavoury toys. Let every one loathe his lady,<sup>10</sup> and be ashamed to be her servant. It is riches<sup>11</sup> and ease that nourisheth affection, it is play,<sup>12</sup> wine, and wantonness that feedeth a lover as fat as a fool; refrain from all such meats as shall provoke thine appetite to lust, and all such means as may allure thy mind to folly. Take clear water for strong wine, brown bread for fine manchet, beef and brewis<sup>13</sup> for quails and partridge, for ease labour, for pleasure pain, for surfeiting

<sup>1</sup> Pylades and Phyllis are in Ovid. Of the latter he says:—

Quid nisi secretæ laeserunt Phyllida sylvae?

Certa necis caussa est: incommitata fuit.

<sup>2</sup> Asiarchus . . . Biarus. Bond thinks these are imaginary characters.

<sup>3</sup> Bodkin: a poniard or stiletto.

<sup>4</sup> Beware solitariness: Rem. Am. ii. 211, . . . *nimum secreta cave.*

<sup>5</sup> Yet would I have thee [etc.]: Rem. Am. ii. 240-43.

<sup>6</sup> If she have any jewel [etc.]: Rem. Am. ii. 275-76.

<sup>7</sup> Be not curious [etc.]: Rem. Am. ii. 283-84.

<sup>8</sup> Dissolute: negligent or remiss, as in dress or manners.

(a) be thou dissolute So 1578. 1607 Be not dissolute.

<sup>9</sup> Believe not their oaths [etc.]: Rem. Am. ii. 291-92.

<sup>10</sup> Let every one loathe his lady: Rem. Am. ii. 314.

<sup>11</sup> It is riches: Rem. Am. ii. 350.

<sup>12</sup> It is play . . . philosophers: Rem. Am. ii. 399-414.

<sup>13</sup> Brewis: bread soaked in the broth of salted meat; properly, the broth itself. 'Beef and brewis' is a dish in which the meat is served with the soaked bread about it.

hunger, for sleep watching, for the fellowship of ladies the company of philosophers.

If thou say to me, "Physician, heal thyself," I answer that I am meetly well purged of that disease; and yet was I never more willing to cure myself than to comfort my friend. And seeing the cause that made in me so cold a devotion should make in thee also as frozen a desire, I hope thou wilt be as ready to provide a salve as thou wast hasty in seeking a sore.

And yet, Philautus, I would not that all women should take pepper in the nose<sup>1</sup> in that I have disclosed the legerdemains of a few; for well I know none will wince<sup>2</sup> except she be galled, neither any be offended unless she be guilty. Therefore I earnestly desire thee that thou show this "cooling card" to none except thou show also this my defence to them all. For although I weigh nothing the ill-will of light huswives, yet would I be loath to lose the good will of honest matrons.

Thus, being ready to go to Athens, and ready there to entertain thee whensoever thou shalt repair thither, I bid thee farewell and fly women.

*Thine ever,  
Euphues.*

### TO THE GRAVE MATRONS, AND HONEST MAIDENS OF ITALY<sup>3</sup>

Gentlewomen, because I would neither be mistaken of purpose, neither misconstrued of malice, lest either the simple should suspect me of folly or the subtle condemn me of blasphemy against the noble sex of women, I thought good that this my faith should be set down to find favour with the one and confute the cavils of the other. Believe me, gentlewomen, although I have been bold to inveigh against many,<sup>(a)</sup> yet am I not so

<sup>1</sup> *Take pepper in the nose*: take offence. Quoted by NED. from *Piers Plowman* to Bunyan's *Holy War*.

<sup>2</sup> *None will wince* [etc.]. The typical form of the proverb is 'A galled horse will wince.' This is implied in Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, D939, and other early quotations (see Skeat, p. 127). Compare Heywood, p. 84, "I rub the galled horse back till he winch"; and *Hamlet*, III. 2, 251, "Let the galled jade wince; our withers are unwrung." See p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> *To the grave matrons* [etc.]. M'Kerrow points out (*Nashe*, iv. 12) that a long passage in Nashe's *Anatomy of Absurdity* is a reminiscence of this section of *Euphues*, and "is in some sort an answer to it."

(a) *against many* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *again many*.

V brutish to envy <sup>1</sup> them all ; though I seem not so gamesome as Aristippus <sup>2</sup> to play with Lais, yet am I not so dogged as Diogenes <sup>3</sup> to abhor all ladies, neither would I you should think me so foolish (although of late I have been very fantastical) that for the light behaviour of a few I should call in question the demeanour of all. I know that as there hath been an unchaste Helen in Greece, so there hath been also a chaste Penelope ; as there hath been a prodigious Pasiphaë, so there hath been a godly Theocrita <sup>4</sup> ; though many have desired to be beloved as Jupiter loved Alcmena, yet some have wished to be embraced as Phrigius embraced Pieria <sup>5</sup> ; as there hath reigned a wicked Jezebel, so hath there ruled a devout Deborah ; though many have been as fickle as Lucilla, yet hath there many been as faithful as Lucretia. Whatsoever therefore I have spoken of the spleen <sup>6</sup> against the slights and subtleties of women I hope there is none will mislike it if she be honest, neither care I if any do if she be an harlot. The sour crab hath the show of an apple as well as the sweet pippin, the black raven the shape of a bird as well as the white swan, the lewd wight the name of a woman as well as the honest matron. There is great difference between the standing puddle and the running stream, yet both water ; great odds between the adamant and the pumice, yet both stones ; a great distinction to be put between vitrum <sup>7</sup> and the crystal, yet both glass ; great contrariety between Lais and Lucretia, yet both women. Seeing, therefore, one may love the clear conduit-water though he loathe the muddy ditch and wear the precious diamond though he despise the ragged brick, I think one may also with safe conscience reverence the modest sex of honest matrons though he forswear the lewd sort of unchaste minions. Ulysses though he detested Calypso with her sugared voice, yet he em-

<sup>1</sup> *Envy* : feel a grudge against, disapprove of.

<sup>2</sup> *Aristippus*. His consort with Lais is reported by Diogenes Laertius, ii. ch. viii., no. 74, and hence by Erasmus, *Apophth.*, *Aristippus*, no. 31 (*Works*, iv. 168F).

<sup>3</sup> *Diogenes* : see note on p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Theocrita* : another invention. Possibly a mistake for *Theodora* (the Empress), whose name is often mentioned in lists of excellent women, e.g., by Castiglione, *The Courtier*, Book iii.

<sup>5</sup> *Phrigius* . . . *Pieria*. Bond refers to Plutarch, *De Mulierum Virtutibus*, 16, where occurs the story of the reconciliation of two cities through these lovers. Plutarch adds that the Milanese ladies still pray that they may be so loved as Phrigius loved Pieria. Compare p. 381.

<sup>6</sup> *Of the spleen* : in spleen or dudgeon.

<sup>7</sup> *Vitrum* : i.e. common glass.

braced Penelope with her rude distaff. Though Euphues abhor the beauty of Lucilla, yet will he not abstain from the company of a grave maiden. Though the tears of the hart be salt, yet the tears of the boar<sup>1</sup> be sweet; though the tears of some women be counterfeit to deceive, yet the tears of many be current to try their love. I, for my part, will honour those always that be honest and worship them in my life whom I shall know to be worthy in their living, neither can I promise such preciseness that I shall never be caught again with the bait of beauty; for although the falsehood of Lucilla have caused me to forsake my wonted dotage, yet the faith of some lady may cause me once again to fall into mine old disease. For as the fire-stone in Liguria<sup>2</sup> though it be quenched with milk yet again it is kindled with water, or as the roots of Anchusa<sup>3</sup> though it be hardened with water yet it is again made soft with oil, so the heart of Euphues enflamed erst with love although it be cooled with the deceits of Lucilla yet will it again flame with the loyalty of some honest lady, and though it be hardened with the water of wiliness yet will it be mollified with the oil of wisdom. I presume, therefore, so much upon the discretion of you gentlewomen that you will not think the worse of me in that I have thought so ill of some women, or love me the worse in that I loathe some so much. For this is my faith, that some one rose will be blasted in the bud, some other never fall from the stalk; that the oak will soon be eaten with the worm, the walnut tree never; that some women will easily be enticed to folly, some other never allured to vanity. You ought, therefore, no more to be aggrieved with that which I have said than the mint-master to see the coiner hanged, or the true subject the false traitor arraigned, or the honest man the thief condemned.

*And so farewell.*

You have heard, Gentlemen, how soon the hot desire of Euphues was turned into a cold devotion; not that fancy caused him to change, but that the fickleness of Lucilla enforced him to alter his mind. Having therefore determined with himself never again to be entangled with such fond delights, according

<sup>1</sup> *The tears of the hart . . . of the boar.* I can find no authority for this.

<sup>2</sup> *The fire-stone in Liguria.* Bond cites Pliny, xxxvii. 11, where *amber* is said to be found in Liguria and to give out fire. Erasmus, *Similia*, 600b, says that jet burns in water and is extinguished with oil.

<sup>3</sup> *Anchusa.* Bond quotes Pliny, xxii. 23: *Anchusae radix . . . liquari non potest in aqua, oleo dissolvitur.*

to the appointment made with Philautus, he immediately repaired to Athens, there to follow his own private study. And calling to mind his former looseness and how in his youth he had misspent his time, he thought to give a caveat to all parents how they might bring their children up in virtue, and a commandment to all youth how they should frame themselves to their fathers' instructions ; in the which is plainly to be seen what wit can and will do if it be well employed. Which discourse following, although it bring less pleasure to your youthful minds than his first course, yet will it bring more profit ; in the one being contained the race <sup>1</sup> of a lover, in the other the reasons of a philosopher.

<sup>1</sup> *Race* : career, course.

## EUPHUES AND HIS EPHEBUS<sup>1</sup>

It is commonly said, yet do I think it a common lie, that experience is the mistress of fools<sup>2</sup>; for in my opinion they be most fools that want it. Neither am I one of the least that have tried this true, neither he only that heretofore deemed it (a) to be false. I was hereof<sup>3</sup> (b) a student, of great wealth, of some wit, of no small acquaintance; yet have I learned that by experience that I should hardly have seen by learning. I have thoroughly sifted the disposition of youth, wherein I have found more bran than meal, more dough than leaven, more rage than reason. He that hath been burned<sup>4</sup> knoweth the force of the

<sup>1</sup> *Euphues and his Ephebus*. Bond says that this treatise is "a version of Plutarch's *De Educatione Puerorum*, part paraphrase, part translation, abbreviated in places, slightly expanded in others, and containing some considerable additions by Lyly himself, amounting to about eleven pages, or two-fifths of the whole." (Arber had already noted the relation between the two works: see his *Euphues*, p. 479.) As regards these additions, expansions, and alterations, De Vocht has shown, however, that Lyly was often indebted to another source, namely, Erasmus' *Colloquium Puerpera* (*Works*, i. 776 ff.), a dialogue between Eutrapelus (i.e. the facetious one) and Fabulla. Plutarch's *De Educatione* had been translated into English by Sir Thomas Elyot in 1535, and Bond tries to show, by rather slight evidence, that Lyly knew and used this translation. He has good reasons, however, for thinking that the *Latin* translation used by Lyly was that of Guarini of Verona, c. 1480. The name *Ephebus* is used, according to Bond, in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, i. 2, 4, and 8, of an adolescent, a boy of sixteen or seventeen years. It also appears, however, in Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2, 80, 327; in Terence, *Eun.*, 5, 1, 8; etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Experience is the mistress of fools*: i.e., because others learn from teaching. This proverb is quoted from Erasmus by Ascham, *Scholemaster*, i. (*Works*, 1904 ed., p. 215) in the form: "Experience is the common schoolhouse of fools and ill men." Lyly's first paragraph seems meant, in fact, as an answer to the long passage in Ascham in which he makes this quotation. The reference for Erasmus is *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 38E).

(a) *deemed it* Here, as in several other cases, *deem* in the first edition was changed to *think* in later texts: so, for instance, on pp. 10, 115, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Hereof*: i.e., 'of Oxford,' as the alteration of the text made in the second edition (see textual note below) shows.

(b) *I was hereof* So 1578. 1579A, etc. *I have been here*.

<sup>4</sup> *He that hath been burned*: see note on p. 63.

fire, he that hath been stung<sup>1</sup> remembereth the smart of the scorpion, he that hath endured the brunts of fancy knoweth best how to eschew the broils of affection. Let, therefore, my counsel be of such authority as it may command you to be sober, your conversation of such integrity as it may encourage me to go forward in that which I have taken in hand ; the whole effect shall be to set down a young man so absolute as that nothing may be added to his further perfection. And although Plato hath been so curious in his Commonweal, Aristotle so precise in his happy man,<sup>2</sup> Tully so pure in his Orator, that we may well wish to see them, but never have any hope to enjoy them ; yet shall my young imp be such an one as shall be perfect every way, and yet common, if diligence and industry be employed to the attaining of such perfection. But I would not have young men slow to follow my precepts or idle to defer the time, like Saint George<sup>3</sup> who is ever on horse-back yet never rideth.

✓ If my counsel shall seem rigorous to fathers to instruct their children or heavy for youth to follow their parents' will, let them both remember that the estrich<sup>4</sup> digesteth hard iron to preserve his health, that the soldier lieth in his harness to achieve conquest, that the sick patient swalloweth bitter pills to be eased of his grief, that youth should endure sharp storms to find relief.

I myself had been happy if I had been unfortunate,<sup>5</sup> wealthy if left meanly, better learned if I had been better lived. We have an old proverb, " Youth will have his course." <sup>6</sup> Ah gentlemen, it is a course which we ought to make a coarse<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *He that hath been stung.* Compare Erasmus' *Adagia*, i. 1, 29 (*Works*, ii. 38B): *Piscator ictus sapiet. . . . Cum piscator . . . a scorpio pisce feriretur, ictus, inquit, sapiam.* The similar passage, p. 367, betrays the use of Erasmus, but the *Similia*, not the *Adagia*.

<sup>2</sup> *Aristotle . . . in his happy man.* One would expect the title of a book here, as in the other cases. 'Happy man' seems, however, to be only an allusion to the subject-matter of the *Ethics*. See Bond's quotation from this.

<sup>3</sup> *Saint George* [etc.]. Compare p. 171. The simile is explained by the following from *King John*, ii. 1, 289: "St. George,—that swing'd the dragon, and e'er since Sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door." Lean, iii. 283, refers to Dyer's *Eng. Folk-lore* (1878).

<sup>4</sup> *The estrich* [etc.]. Bond quotes *Barth. Angl.* xxii. 33; and Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Phys.*, p. 38 n., traces the legend to late and inferior Greek manuscripts (perhaps of the 5th century) of the *Physiologus*.

<sup>5</sup> *Unfortunate*: without a fortune.

<sup>6</sup> *Youth will have his course*: so also in Italian, "La gioventù vuol fare il corso suo" (Düringsfeld, i., no. 846). Quoted by Lean from Th. Adams' *Sermons* (*Works*, p. 371) in the form, "Youth must be borne with."

<sup>7</sup> *Coarse.* Bond reads *course*; but see *NED.*, s.v. *coarse*.



account of, replenished with more miseries than old age, with more sins than common cut-throats, with more calamities than the date of Priamus.<sup>1</sup> We are no sooner out of the shell but we resemble the cocyx<sup>2</sup> which destroyeth itself through self-will, or the pelican<sup>3</sup> which pierceth a wound in her own breast; we are either led with a vain glory of our proper personage or with self-love of our sharp capacity, either entangled with beauty or seduced by idle pastimes, either witched with vicious company of others or inveigled with our own conceits. Of all these things I may the bolder speak having tried it true, to mine own trouble.

To the intent, therefore, that all young gentlemen might shun my former looseness, I have set it down; and that all might follow my future life, I mean here to show what fathers should do, what children should follow, desiring them both not to reject it (a) because it proceedeth from one which hath been lewd, no more than if they would neglect the gold because it lieth in the dirty earth, or the pure wine for that it cometh out of an homely press, or the precious stone Aetites<sup>4</sup> which is found in the filthy nests of the eagle, or the precious gem Draconites<sup>5</sup> that is ever taken out of the head of the poisoned dragon. But to my purpose.

<sup>1</sup> *The date of Priamus*: i.e., the day or time of his downfall, his end.

<sup>2</sup> *Cocyx*: the cuckoo. There seems no authority for Lyly's fact. Bond quotes Pliny, x. 11 (chap.-heading): "The only bird that is killed by its own kind"; but of course this is not what Lyly says.

<sup>3</sup> *The pelican*. The story is that the pelican is particularly affectionate to its young. When the young grow up, however, they bite their parents, who in turn bite and kill them. Then the mother in grief opens a vein in her breast and sprinkles the dead with her blood, who thereupon come to life. The story is not found in antiquity except in the *Physiologus* (see Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Phys.*, p. 8). Later it had an immense currency, the pelican being taken as a symbol of Christ and His sacrifice. Compare pp. 325 and 446 below.

(a) *not to reject it* So 1580, etc. 1578 *not reiecte it*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ætites*. Bond cites Pliny, x. 4, and xxx. 44. Compare also Isidore of Seville, *Orig.* xvi. 4, 22: *A. lapides reperiuntur in nidis aquilarum: atunt binos inveniri, marem et feminam, nec sine his parere aquilas.*

<sup>5</sup> *Draconites*. Isidore of Seville, *Orig.* xvi. 14, 7 (following Pliny, xxxvii. 57), says: *Dracontites ex cerebro draconis eruitur, quae nisi viventi abscisa fuerit . . . Audaces . . . viri explorant draconum specus, spargunt ibi gramina medicata ad incitandum draconum soporem, atque somno sopitis capita desecant et gemmas extrahunt.*

*That the child should be true born,<sup>1</sup>  
no bastard*

First touching their procreation, it shall seem necessary to entreat of whosoever he be that desireth to be the sire of an happy son or the father of a fortunate child, let him abstain from those women which be either base of birth or bare of honesty. For if the mother be noted of incontineny or the father of vice, the child will either during life be infected with the like crime or the treacheries of his parents as ignomy<sup>2</sup> to him will be cast in his teeth. For we commonly call those unhappy children which have sprung from dishonest parents. It is, therefore, a great treasure to the father and tranquillity to the mind of the child to have that liberty which both nature, law, and reason have set down. The guilty conscience of a father that hath trodden awry causeth him to think and suspect that his father also went not right, whereby his own behaviour is as it were a witness of his own baseness; even as those that come of a noble progeny boast of their gentry. Hereupon it came that Diophantus, Themistocles his son, would often and that openly say in a great multitude that whatsoever he should seem to request of the Athenians he should be sure also to obtain. "For," saith he, "whatsoever I will that will my mother; and what my mother saith my father sootheth<sup>3</sup>; and what my father desireth, that the Athenians will grant most willingly." The bold courage of the Lacedaemonians is to be praised, which set a fine on the head of Archidamus their king for that he had married a woman of a small personage, saying he minded to beget queens<sup>4</sup> not kings to succeed him. Let us not omit that which our ancestors were wont precisely to keep, that men should either be sober or drink little wine that would have sober and discreet children; for that the fact of the father would be figured in the infant. Diogenes, therefore, seeing a young man either overcome with drink or bereaved of his wits,

<sup>1</sup> *That the child should be true born.* Here Lyly begins to follow Plutarch. *That the child . . . succeed him* reproduces Plutarch's § 2; *Let us not . . . show briefly*, Plutarch's § 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ignomy*: so in all the early editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Sootheth*: declares to be true, confirms, makes good.

<sup>4</sup> *Queens*: Gr. *Βασιλίσκους*, which Amyot properly renders *roytelet*, 'kinglet,' 'a little or poor king' (Cotgrave). As Bond shows, some of the Latin texts have *reginas*.

cried with a loud voice, "Youth, youth, thou hadst a drunken father!" And thus much for procreation; now how the life should be led I will show briefly.

*How the life of a young man  
should be led*<sup>1</sup>

There are three things which cause perfection in man: nature, reason, use. Reason I call discipline, use exercise. If any one of these branches want, certainly the tree of virtue must needs wither. For nature without discipline is of small force, and discipline without nature more feeble; if exercise or study be void of any of these it availeth nothing. For as in tilling of the ground and husbandry there is first chosen a fertile soil, then a cunning sower, then good seed, even so must we compare nature to the fat earth, the expert husbandman to the schoolmaster, the faculties and sciences to the pure seeds. If this order had not been in our predecessors, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and whosoever was renowned in Greece for the glory of wisdom, they had never been eternized (a) for wise men, neither canonized, as it were, for saints among those that study sciences. It is, therefore, a most evident sign of God's singular favour towards him that is endued with all these qualities, without the least of the which man is most miserable.

But if there be any one that deemeth wit not necessary to the obtaining of wisdom, after he hath gotten the way to virtue by industry and exercise, he is an heretic, in my opinion, touching the true faith of learning. For if nature play not her part, in vain is labour; and, as I said before, if study be not employed, in vain is nature. Sloth turneth the edge of wit, study sharpeneth the mind; a thing be it never so easy is hard to the idle, a thing be it never so hard is easy to the wit well employed. And most plainly we may see in many things the efficacy of industry and labour. The little drops of rain<sup>2</sup> pierce the hard marble, (b) iron with often handling is worn to nothing. Besides this, industry showeth herself in other things. The fertile soil if it be never tilled doth wax barren, and that which is most noble by

<sup>1</sup> *How the life . . . altereth nature* (p. 116) reproduces Plutarch's § 4, omitting certain comparisons and adding others.

(a) *eternized* So 1595. 1578 *eternished* Compare *NED*.

<sup>2</sup> *Little drops of rain* [etc.]: see note on pp. 66 and 321.

(b) *The little drops of rain pierce the hard marble* So 1581, etc. 1578 *The little drops of rayne pearceth harde marble*.

nature is made most vile by negligence. What tree if it be not topped beareth any fruit? What vine<sup>1</sup> if it be not pruned bringeth forth grapes? Is not the strength of the body turned to weakness through too much delicacy; were not Milo his arms brawn-fallen<sup>2</sup> for want of wrestling? Moreover by labour the fierce unicorn<sup>3</sup> is tamed, the wildest falcon is reclaimed, the greatest bulwark<sup>4</sup> is sacked. It was well answered of that man of Thessaly, who, being demanded who among the Thessalians were reputed most vile, "Those," said he, "that live at quiet and ease, never giving themselves to martial affairs." But what should one use many words in a thing already proved? It is custom, use, and exercise that bring a young man to virtue, and virtue to his perfection.

Lycurgus, the lawgiver of the Spartans, did nourish two whelps, both of one sire and one dam; but after a sundry manner: for the one he framed to hunt and the other to lie always in the chimney's end at the porridge-pot. Afterward calling the Lacedaemonians into one assembly, he said, "To the attaining of virtue, ye Lacedaemonians, education, industry, and exercise is the most noblest means; the truth of the which I will make manifest unto you by trial." Then bringing forth the whelps and setting down there a pot and a hare, the one ran at the hare, the other to the porridge-pot. The Lacedaemonians scarce understanding this mystery, he said, "Both these be of one sire and one dam. But you see how education altereth nature."

### *Of the education of youth*<sup>5</sup>

It is most necessary and most natural, in mine opinion, that the mother of the child be also the nurse, both for the entire love she beareth to the babe, and the great desire she hath to have it

<sup>1</sup> *What vine* [etc.]: an addition of Lyly's, perhaps suggested by Erasmus, *Similia*, 619B.

<sup>2</sup> *Milo . . . brawn-fallen*: compare p. 165. This is an addition of Lyly's. Milo is the celebrated athlete of the 6th century B.C., who was six times victor in wrestling at the Olympian games. *Brawn-fallen* is quoted as late as Farquhar (1705).

<sup>3</sup> *The fierce unicorn* [etc.]: another addition. See note on p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Bulwark*: in its original sense, a rampart or fortification.

<sup>5</sup> *Of the education of youth*. From this point to p. 120 (. . . and literature) Lyly follows Plutarch's § 5, with a long insertion from Erasmus' *Puerpera* (see below).

well nourished. For is there <sup>1</sup> any one more meet to bring up the infant than she that bore it? Or will any be so careful for it as she that bred it? For as the throbs and throes in child-birth wrought her pain so the smiling countenance of the infant increaseth her pleasure. The hired nurse is not unlike to the hired servant, which, not for good will but gain, not for love of the man but the desire of the money, accomplisheth his day's work. Moreover Nature in this point enforceth the mother to nurse her own child, which hath given unto every beast milk to succour her own; and methinketh Nature to be a most provident foreseer and provider for the same, which hath given unto a woman two paps, that if she should conceive two she might have wherewith also to nourish twain; and that by sucking of the mother's breasts there might be a greater love both of the mother towards the child and the child towards the mother. Which is very likely to come to pass, for we see commonly those that eat and drink and live together to be more zealous one to the other than those that meet seldom. Is not the name of a mother <sup>2</sup> most sweet? If it be, why is half that title bestowed on a woman which never felt the pains in conceiving, neither can conceive the like pleasure in nursing as the mother doth? Is the earth called the mother of all things only because it bringeth forth? No, but because it nourisheth those things that spring out of it: whatsoever is bred in the sea is fed in the sea; no plant, no tree, no herb cometh out of the ground that is not moistened and as it were nursed of the moisture and milk of the earth. The lioness <sup>3</sup> nurseth her whelps, the raven cherisheth her birds, the viper her brood, and shall a woman cast away her babe?

I account it cast away which in the swath-clouds is cast aside; and little care can that mother have which can suffer such cruelty. And can it be termed with any other title than cruelty, the infant yet looking red of the mother, the mother yet breathing through

<sup>1</sup> *For is there . . . increaseth her pleasure.* Here Lyly expands and adds to Plutarch—according to De Vocht, under the influence of Erasmus' *Puerpera* (*Works*, i. 773D); but the resemblance to Erasmus is not striking.

<sup>2</sup> *Is not the name of a mother* [etc.]. From this point to p. 119 (. . . *order of affection*) Lyly virtually translates from Erasmus' *Puerpera*, interweaving two passages (768B to E and 773A to D). De Vocht shows the nature of the operation by parallel columns.

<sup>3</sup> *The lioness* [etc.]. This sentence affords an illustration of the method by which Lyly brings his borrowings into conformity with the pattern of his own style. Erasmus has: *Ululae, leones, et viperae educant partus suos; et homines suos foetus abijciunt?*

the torments of her travail, the child crying for help (which is said to move wild beasts), even in the self-said <sup>1</sup> moment it is born, or the next minute, to deliver it to a strange nurse (a) which perhaps is neither wholesome in body, neither honest in manners, which esteemeth more thy argent,<sup>2</sup> although a trifle, than thy tender infant, thy greatest treasure? Is it not necessary and requisite that the babe be nursed with that true accustomed juice and cherished with his wonted heat, and not fed with counterfeit diet? Wheat <sup>3</sup> thrown into a strange ground turneth to a contrary grain, the vine translated into another soil changeth his kind. A slip pulled from the stalk withereth; the young child as it were slipped from the paps of his mother either changeth his nature or altereth his disposition.

It is prettily said of Horace,<sup>4</sup> a new vessel will long time savour of that liquor that is first poured into it; and the infant will ever smell of the nurse's manners, having tasted of her milk. Therefore let the mother, as often as she shall behold those two fountains of milk as it were of their own accord flowing and swelling with liquor, remember that she is admonished of nature, yea, commanded of duty, to cherish her own child with her own teats; otherwise <sup>5</sup> when the babe shall now begin to tattle and call her, "Mamma," with what face (b) can she hear it of his mouth unto whom she hath denied mamma? It is not milk only that increaseth the strength or augmenteth the body, but the natural heat and agreement of the mother's body with the child's. It craveth the same accustomed moisture that before it received in the bowels, by the which the tender parts were bound and knit together, by the which it increased and was succoured in the body.

Certes I am of that mind that the wit and disposition is altered and changed by the milk, as the moisture and sap of the earth doth change the nature of that tree or plant that it nourisheth. Wherefore the common byword of the common people seemeth

<sup>1</sup> *Self-said*: self-same. Quoted by NED. in but one other place.

(a) *to deliver it to a strange nurse* So 1581, etc. 1578 omits it.

<sup>2</sup> *Argent*: a preciousness of diction characteristic of Lyly. The original has *pecunia*. He is trying to reinforce the *t* (*tr-, -nt-, -nd-*) pattern of the phrase.

<sup>3</sup> *Wheat . . . the vine . . . A slip*. All these analogies are translated from Erasmus.

<sup>4</sup> *Prettily said of Horace*: namely in 1 *Epp.* ii. 70, *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu* (quoted by Erasmus, *Colloq. Fam.*, *Works*, i., 768E).

<sup>5</sup> *Otherwise* [etc.]: in Erasmus, *Alioqui cum infans jam fari meditabitur, ac blanda balbutie te mammam vocabit, qua fronte hoc audies ab eo, cui mammam* [i.e. breast] *negaris?*

(b) *with what face* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *with what force*.

to be grounded upon good experience, which is, "This fellow<sup>1</sup> hath sucked mischief even from the teat of his nurse." The Grecians, when they saw anyone sluttishly fed, they would say, "Even as nurses";<sup>2</sup> whereby they noted the great disliking they had of their fulsome feeding. The etymology of mother among the Grecians may aptly be applied to those mothers which unnaturally deal with their children: they call it *meter a meterine*,<sup>3</sup> (a) that is, mother of not making much of, or of not nourishing. Hereof it cometh that the son doth not with deep desire love his mother, neither with duty obey her, his natural affection being as it were divided and distraught into twain, a mother and a nurse; hereof it proceedeth that the mother beareth but a cold kindness towards her child, when she shall see the nature of her nurse in the nurture of her child. The chiefest way to learning is if there be a mutual love and fervent desire between the teacher and him that is taught; then verily the greatest furtherance to education is if the mother nourish the child and the child suck the mother, that there be, as it were, a relation and reciprocal order of affection.

Yet if the mother,<sup>4</sup> either for the evil habit of the body or the weakness of her paps, cannot, though she would, nurse her infant, then let her provide such a one as shall be of a good complexion, of an honest condition, careful to tender the child, loving to see well to it, willing to take pains, diligent in tending and providing all things necessary, and as like both in the lineaments of the body and disposition of the mind to the mother as may be. Let her forslow<sup>5</sup> no occasion that may bring the child to quietness and cleanliness. For as the parts of a child as soon as it is born are framed and fashioned of the midwife, that in all points it may be straight and comely, so the manners of the child at the

<sup>1</sup> This fellow [etc.]: in Erasmus, *Iste malitiam cum lacte nutricis imbibit*. Cicero, *Tusc.* iii. 1, 2, has: *Ut paene cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse videamur*. Prudentius, *c. Symmach.*, 1, 201, quotes the proverb in a similar form.

<sup>2</sup> Even as nurses. Erasmus has: *Graecis dici solet, Ut nutrices: cum significant aliquem male pasci: paullulum enim permansi in os inserunt infantis, maximam partem deglutiunt ipsae*. The latter part of this is a rendering of a passage from the *Knights* of Aristophanes, quoted by him in his *Adagia* in illustration of the adage *nutricum more male* (*Adagia*, III. 5, 30).

<sup>3</sup> This difficult passage is explained by Erasmus' Latin: *Qui μήτηρ dici putant a μη τέρειν, hoc est, a non servando*.

(a) *meter a meterine* So 1578. 1580 *Metera meterine*; 1597, etc. *meter a meterine*.

<sup>4</sup> Here Lyly returns to Plutarch and renders (in the next two paragraphs) the rest of his § 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Forslow*: A.S. *forślāwian*, be slow about, hence, remit, neglect, omit.

first are to be looked into that nothing discommend the mind, that no crooked behaviour or undecent demeanour be found in the man.

Young and tender age is easily framed to manners ; and hardly are those things mollified which are hard. For as the steel is imprinted in the soft wax, so learning is engraven in the mind of an young imp. Plato, that divine philosopher, admonished all nurses and weaners of youth that they should not be too busy to tell them fond fables or filthy tales, lest at their entrance into the world they should be contaminated with unseemly behaviour. Unto the which Phocylides,<sup>(a)</sup> the poet, doth pithily allude, saying, " Whilst that the child is young let him be instructed in virtue and literature."

Moreover <sup>1</sup> they are to be trained up in the language of their country, to pronounce aptly and distinctly without stammering every word and syllable of their native speech, and to be kept from barbarous talk as the ship from rocks ; lest, being affected with their barbarism, they be infected also with their unclean conversation.

It is an old proverb, that if one dwell the next door to a cripple he will learn to halt, if one be conversant with an hypocrite he will soon endeavour to dissemble. When this <sup>2</sup> young infant shall grow in years and be of that ripeness that he can conceive learning, insomuch that he is to be committed to the tuition of some tutor, all diligence is to be had to search such a one as shall neither be unlearned, neither ill lived, neither a light person.

A gentleman that hath honest and discreet servants disposeth them to the increase of his seigniories ; one he appointeth steward of his courts, another overseer of his lands, one his factor in far countries for his merchandise, another purveyor for his cates <sup>3</sup> at home. But if among all his servants he shall espy one either filthy in his talk or foolish in his behaviour, either without wit or void of honesty, either an unthrift or a wittol, him he sets not as a surveyor and overseer of his manors but a supervisor of his children's conditions and manners ; to him he committeth the guiding and tuition of his sons which is by his proper nature a

(a) *Phocylides* 1578 *Phocides* ; 1579A, etc. *Phocilides* (1631 *Phocylides*).

<sup>1</sup> *Moreover they . . . dissemble* : Plutarch's § 6.

<sup>2</sup> *When this . . . their own conceits* (p. 123) : Plutarch's § 7, with a passage from Erasmus or Ascham.

<sup>3</sup> *Purveyor for his cates* : i.e., buyer of victuals, etc. Plutarch has : τοὺς δὲ εἰσπράττοντας = τοὺς δὲ δανειστέας, which Amyot renders, *les autres receveurs, les autres banquiers*, etc.



slave, a knave by condition, a beast in behaviour. And sooner <sup>1</sup> will they bestow an hundred crowns to have a horse well broken — than a child well taught; wherein I cannot but marvel to see them so careful to increase their possessions, when they be so careless to have them wise that should inherit them.

A good and discreet schoolmaster should be such an one as Phoenix was, the instructor of Achilles, whom Peleus <sup>2</sup> (as Homer reporteth) appointed to that end that he should be unto Achilles not only a teacher of learning but an example of good living. But that is most principally to be looked for and most diligently to be foreseen, that such tutors be sought out for the education of a young child whose life hath never been stained with dishonesty, whose good name hath never been called into question, whose manners hath been irreprehensible before the world. As husbandmen hedge in their trees, so should good schoolmasters with good manners hedge in the wit and disposition of the scholar, whereby the blossoms of learning may the sooner increase to a bud.

Many parents are in this to be misliked which, having neither trial of his honesty nor experience of his learning to whom they commit the child to be taught, without any deep or due consideration put them to one either ignorant or obstinate; the which if they themselves shall do of ignorance the folly cannot be excused, if of obstinacy their lewdness is to be abhorred. Some fathers are overcome with the flattery of those fools which profess outwardly great knowledge and show a certain kind of dissembling sincerity in their life; others, at the entreating of their familiar friends, are content to commit their sons to one without either substance of honesty or shadow of learning. By which their indiscreet dealing they are like those sick men which reject the expert and cunning physician and, (a) at the request

<sup>1</sup> *And sooner* [etc.]. This sentence comes finally from Erasmus' *Apophthegms, Aristippus*, 22 (*Works*, iv. 167E), freely translated by Udall as follows: "He did featly check the judgment of the common people, who . . . do bestow more cost on keeping or dressing their horses, than in the good guiding and ordering of their sons and daughters." Lyly's phrasing, however, suggests that he had the passage from Ascham, *Scholemaster*, i. (*Works*, ed. 1904, p. 193).

<sup>2</sup> *Whom Peleus* [etc.]. This passage (to the end of the sentence) is not in the accepted texts of Plutarch (or in Amyot, etc.), but, as Bond reports, is in Guarini's Latin version and Elyot's English translation. It is probably a gloss which in some manuscripts was incorporated in the text.

(a) *and, at the request of their friends, admit the heedless practiser* So 1578. 1595 prints *at* for *at*; 1597 follows, printing *all* and inserting *and* before *admit*,

of their friends, admit the heedless practiser, which dangereth the patient and bringeth the body to his bane ; or not unlike unto those which, at the instant and importunate suit of their acquaintance, refuse a cunning pilot and choose an unskilful mariner, which hazardeth the ship and themselves in the calmest sea. Good God, can there be any that hath the name of a father which will esteem more the fancy of his friend than the nurture of his son !

It was not in vain that *Crates*<sup>1</sup> would often say that, if it were lawful, even in the market-place he would cry out, " Whither run you fathers, which have all your cark and care to multiply your wealth, nothing regarding your children unto whom you must leave all ? " In this they resemble him which is very curious about the shoe and hath no care of the foot. Besides this there be many fathers so inflamed with the love of wealth that they be as it were incensed with hate against their children. Which Aristippus seeing in an old miser did partly note it. This old miser asking of Aristippus what he would take to teach and bring up his son, he answered, " A thousand groats."

" A thousand groats ! God shield ! " answered this old huddle,<sup>2</sup> " I can have two servants of that price." <sup>3</sup> (a)

Unto whom he made answer, " Thou shalt have two servants and one son and whether wilt thou sell ? "

Is it not absurd to have so great a care of the right hand of the child to cut his meat that if he handle his knife in the left hand we rebuke him severely, and to be secure of his nurture in discipline and learning ?

But what do \* happen unto those parents that bring up their children like wantons ? When their sons shall grow to man's estate, disdaining now to be corrected, stubborn to obey, giving themselves to vain pleasures and unseemly pastimes, then with

thus changing the meaning : *and all the request of their friends, and admit the heedless practiser.*

<sup>1</sup> *Crates*. The best modern texts read *Σωκράτης*, but the older texts, *teste* Bond, have Lyly's reading.

<sup>2</sup> *Huddle* : See note on p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Lyly for some reason mis-translates the Greek (or Latin) word for *slave* as a plural ; and in the reply of Aristippus he is again misled, in this case, as Bond shows, by mis-punctuation in Guarini's Latin version. The philosopher's answer is : " Yes, and then you will have two servants, one of them your son, the other him whom you have bought."

(a) *I can have two servants of that price.* So 1579A, etc. 1578 omits *can*.

<sup>4</sup> *Do*. For examples of *do* as a form of the 3rd pers. sing. pres. in the 16th century, see *NED*.

the foolish truants they begin to wax wise and to repent them of their former folly; when their sons shall insinuate (a) themselves in the company of flatterers (a kind of men more perilous to youth than any kind of beasts), when they shall haunt harlots, frequent taverns, be curious in their attire, costly in their diet, careless in their behaviour, when they shall either be common dicers with gamesters, either wanton dalliers with ladies, either spend all their thrift on wine or all their wealth on women, then the father curseth his own security and lamenteth too late his child's misfortunes; then the one accuseth his sire as it were of malice that he would not bring him up in learning, and himself of mischief that he gave not his mind to good letters. If these youths had been trained up in the company of any philosopher, they would never have been so dissolute in their life or so resolute in their own conceits.

It is good nurture<sup>1</sup> that leadeth to virtue and discreet demeanour that planeth the path to felicity. If one have either the gifts of fortune, as great riches, or of nature, as seemly personage, he is to be despised in respect of learning. To be a noble man it is most excellent, but that is our ancestors', as Ulysses said to Ajax<sup>2</sup>; as for our nobility, our stock, our kindred, and whatsoever we ourselves have not done, I scarcely account ours. Riches are precious, but fortune ruleth the roost; which oftentimes taketh away all from them that have much and giveth them more that had nothing. Glory is a thing worthy to be followed, but as it is gotten with great travail, so is it lost in a small time. Beauty is such a thing as we commonly prefer before all things, yet it fadeth before we perceive it to flourish. Health is that which all men desire, yet ever subject to any disease. Strength is to be wished for, yet is it either abated with an ague or taken away with age; whosoever, therefore, boasteth of force is too, too beastly, seeing he is in that quality not to be compared with beasts as the lion, the bull, the elephant. It is virtue,<sup>3</sup> yea, virtue, gentlemen, that maketh gentlemen, that maketh the poor rich, the base-born noble, the subject a sovereign, the deformed beautiful, the sick whole, the weak strong, the most miserable most happy.

(a) *insinuate* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *insumate*.

<sup>1</sup> *It is good nurture . . . of virtue* (p. 124): Plutarch's § 8.

<sup>2</sup> *As Ulysses said to Ajax*: rather of Ajax, in the presence of the leaders. Quoted from Ulysses' address in Ovid's *Metam.* xiii. 140-1. Compare p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> *It is virtue* [etc.]. This sentence, which is not in Plutarch, may come from Erasmus, *Enc. Moriae* (*Works*, iv. 429c), quoted by De Vocht: *Porro*

There are two principal and peculiar gifts in the nature of man, knowledge and reason; the one commandeth, the other obeyeth. These things neither the whirling wheel of fortune can change, neither the deceitful cavilling of worldlings separate, neither sickness abate, neither age abolish. It is only knowledge which, worn with years, waxeth young; and when all things are cut away with the sickle of time,<sup>(a)</sup> knowledge flourisheth so high that time cannot reach it. War taketh all things with it even as the whirlpool, yet must it leave learning behind it. Wherefore it was wisely answered in my opinion of Stilpo the philosopher; for when Demetrius won the city and made it even to the ground, leaving nothing standing, he demanded of Stilpo whether he had lost anything of his in this great spoil. Unto whom he answered, "No, verily, for war getteth no spoil of virtue." Unto the like sense may the answer of Socrates be applied, when Gorgias asked him whether he deemed the Persian king happy or not. "I know not," said he, "how much virtue or discipline he hath; for happiness doth not consist in the gifts of fortune but in the grace of virtue."<sup>(b)</sup>

But as there<sup>1</sup> is nothing more convenient than instruction for youth, so would I have them nurtured in such a place as is renowned for learning, void of corrupt manners, undefiled with vice, that seeing no vain delights they may the more easily abstain from licentious desires. They that study to please the multitude are sure to displease the wise, they that seem to flatter rude people with their rude pretences level at great honour, having no aim at honesty.

When I was here a student in Athens<sup>2</sup> it was thought a great commendation for a young scholar to make an oration extempore. But certainly in my judgement it is utterly to be condemned, for whatsoever is done rashly is done also rawly; he that taketh upon him to speak without premeditation knoweth neither how to begin nor where to end, but falling into a vein of babbling uttereth those things which with modesty he should have con-

*alium stemmalis gloriantem, ignobilem ac nothum appellet, quod a virtute longe absit, quae sola nobilitatis sit fons.* The idea, however, was a favourite of the humanists. The 53rd motto, for instance, in Vives' *Satellitium* (or *Symbola*) is, *Generositas virtus, non sanguis.* It is notable that Lyly, by modifying Plutarch a little and omitting a little, contrives to eliminate all that seemed a disparagement of wealth and rich men.

(a) *the sickle of time* So 1580, etc. 1578, 1579A cycle; 1579B Cicle.

(b) *the grace of virtue* So 1579A, etc. 1578 omits *the*.

<sup>1</sup> *But as there . . . loathsomeness to the ear* (p. 126): Plutarch's §9.

<sup>2</sup> *When I was here a student in Athens*: this clause an addition by Euphues.

cealed, and forgetteth those things that before he had conceived. An oration either penned, either premeditated, keepeth itself within the bounds of decorum. I have read that Pericles, being at sundry times called of the people to plead, would always answer that he was not ready; even after the same manner Demosthenes, being sent for to declaim amidst the multitude, stayed and said, "I am not yet provided." And in his invective against Midias<sup>1</sup> (a) he seemeth to praise the profitableness of premeditation. "I confess," saith he, "ye Athenians, that I have studied and considered deeply with myself what to speak; for I were a sot if without due consideration had of those things that are to be spoken I should have talked unadvisedly."

But I speak this not to this end, to condemn the exercise of the wit, but that I would not have any young scholar openly to exercise it; but when he shall grow both in age and eloquence, insomuch as he shall through great use and good memory be able aptly to conceive and readily to utter anything, then this saying extempore bringeth an admiration and delight to the auditory and singular praise and commendation to the orator. For as he that hath long time been fettered with chains, being released, halteth through the force of his former irons, so he that hath been used to a strict kind of pleading, when he shall talk extempore will savour of his former penning. But if any shall use it as it were a precept for youth to tattle extempore, he will in time bring them to an immoderate kind of humility.<sup>2</sup> A certain painter brought to Apelles the counterfeit of a face in a table, saying, "Lo, Apelles, I drew this even now."

Whereunto he replied, "If thou hadst been silent, I would have judged this picture to have been framed of the sudden. I marvel that in this time thou couldst not paint many more of these."

But return we again. As I would have tragical and stately style shunned, so would I have that abject and base phrase eschewed; for this swelling kind of talk hath little modesty, the other nothing moveth. Besides this, to have the oration all one in every part,<sup>3</sup> neither adorned with fine figures, neither

<sup>1</sup> *Against Midias*. Bond gives the reference, *In Midiam*, p. 191.

(a) *Midias*. So Bond edition. Early texts *Mydas*.

<sup>2</sup> *Humility*: "lowness and poorness of style" (Bond), "that abject and base phrase" of which Lyly speaks just below. Ancient critics recognized three kinds or levels of discourse. To write *humiliter* or *submissee* was to use the simplest and least elevated of these.

<sup>3</sup> *To have the oration all one in every part* [etc.]. Most of this sentence is an addition by Lyly, partly self-justificatory, but also probably founded on Quintilian (*De Inst. Orat.* xii. 69-71).

sprinkled with choice phrases, bringeth tediousness to the hearers and argueth the speaker of little learning and less eloquence. He should moreover talk of many matters, not always harp upon one string; he that always singeth one note without descant breedeth no delight, he that always playeth one part bringeth loathsomeness to the ear. It is variety<sup>1</sup> that moveth the mind of all men, and one thing said twice (as we say commonly) deserveth a trudge. Homer would say<sup>2</sup> that it loathed him to repeat anything again though it were never so pleasant or profitable. Though the rose be sweet, yet being tied with the violet the smell is more fragrant; though meat nourish, yet having good savour it provoketh the appetite. The fairest nosegay is made of many flowers, the finest picture of sundry colours, the wholesomest medicine of divers herbs. Wherefore it behoveth youth with all industry to search not only the hard questions of the philosophers but also the fine cases of the lawyers, not only the quirks and quillities (a) of the logicians but also to have a sight in the numbers of the arithmeticians, the triangles and circles of the geometricians, the sphere and globe of the astrologians, the notes and crotchets of the musicians, the odd conceits of the poets, the simples of the physicians, and in all things, to the end that when they shall be willed to talk of any of them they may be ignorant in nothing. He that hath a garden-plot doth as well sow the pot-herb as the marjoram, as well the leek as the lily, as well the wholesome hyssop as the fair carnation; the which he doth to the intent he may have wholesome herbs as well to nourish his inward parts as sweet flowers to please his outward desire, as well fruitful plants to refresh his senses as fair shows to please his sight. Even so whosoever that hath a sharp and capable wit, let him as well give his mind to sacred knowledge of divinity as to the profound study of philosophy, that by his wit he may not only reap pleasure but profit, not only contentation in mind but quietness in conscience. I will proceed in the Education.

I would have<sup>3</sup> them first of all to follow philosophy as most ancient, yea, most excellent; for as it is pleasant to pass through many fair cities but most pleasant to dwell in the fairest, even

<sup>1</sup> *It is variety . . . in the Education*: Lyly's addition.

<sup>2</sup> *Homer would say* [etc.]. This quotation is given, as from *Odyssey*, xii. [l. 453], by Plutarch in his *De Garrulitate*.

(a) *quillities* So 1578. Later editions have *quiddities*.

<sup>3</sup> *I would have . . . overcome with anger*: the first part of Plutarch's § 10.

so to read many histories and arts it is pleasant (a), but as it were to lodge with philosophy most profitable. It was prettily said of Bion the philosopher, "Even as when the wooers could not have the company of Penelope they ran to her handmaids,(b) so they that cannot attain to the knowledge of philosophy apply their minds to things most vile and contemptible." Wherefore we must prefer philosophy as the only princess of all sciences and other arts as waiting-maids. For the curing and keeping in temper of the body man by his industry hath found two things, physic and exercise, the one cureth sickness, the other preserveth the body in temper; but there is nothing that may heal diseases or cure the wounds of the mind but only philosophy. By this shall we learn what is honest, what dishonest, what is right, what is wrong; and that I may in one word say what may be said, what is to be known, what is to be avoided, what to be embraced, how we ought to obey our parents, reverence our elders, entertain strangers, honour the magistrates, love our friends, live with our wives, use our servants, how we should worship God, be dutiful to our fathers, stand in awe of our superiors, obey laws, give place to officers, how we may choose friends, nurture our children, and—that which is most noble—how we should neither be too proud in prosperity, neither pensive in adversity, neither like beasts overcome with anger.

And here<sup>1</sup> I cannot but lament Athens, which having been

(a) to read many histories and arts it is pleasant So 1579A, etc. 1578 omits *it is*.

(b) they ran to her handmaids So 1579A, etc. 1578 *runne*.

<sup>1</sup> And here . . . his hope (p. 130): of course an addition by Lyly, Athens representing, as elsewhere in *Euphues*, Oxford University. This passage created a scandal which was perhaps not unpleasing to the young aspirant for the world's notice, and in the second edition of *Euphues* Lyly added the address 'To my very good friends, the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford,' in which he mentions this passage as the one that gave offence. The incident was not forgotten ten years later when Lyly still further offended some Oxford sensibilities in his *Pappe with an Hatchet*. See Feuillerat (pp. 74-6, and App. A., xvii, xxiii). Lyly's invective was, however, fully deserved. Both Burleigh and Leicester were at this time applying the weight of their authority to the task of recovering the universities from the state of disorder and neglect into which they had fallen as a result of the Reformation and the rapid changes of religious control. See the essay by Mons. Benson on *Education* in vol. iii. of the *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, and the many interesting evidences cited by Feuillerat, *John Lyly*, pp. 28-30.

As to the use of the name *Athens* for Oxford, Feuillerat notes, p. 75, n., that this was not uncommon in the 16th and 17th centuries, and cites Dryden's *Prol. to the Univ. of Oxford* (*Works*, Globe ed., p. 452), where Cambridge is also called *Thebes* by contrast.

always the nurse of philosophers, doth now nourish only the name of philosophy. For to speak plainly of the disorder of Athens, who doth not see it and sorrow at it? Such playing at dice, such quaffing of drink, such dalliance with women, such dancing, that in my opinion there is no quaffer in Flanders so given to tippling, no courtier in Italy so given to riot, no creature in the world so misled as a student in Athens. Such a confusion of degrees that the Scholar knoweth not his duty to the Bachelor, nor the Bachelor to the Master, nor the Master to the Doctor. Such corruptions of manners, contempt of magistrates, such open sins, such private villainy, such quarrelling in the streets, such subtle practices in chambers as maketh my heart to melt with sorrow to think of it, and should cause your minds, gentlemen, to be penitent (*a*) to remember it.

Moreover who doth know a scholar by his habit? Is there any hat of so unseemly a fashion, any doublet of so long a waist, any hose so short, any attire either so costly or so courtly, either so strange in making or so monstrous in wearing, that is not worn of a scholar? Have they not now instead of black cloth black velvet, instead of coarse sackcloth fine silk? Be they not more like courtiers than scholars, more like stage-players than students, more like ruffians of Naples than disputers in Athens?

I would to God they did not imitate all other nations in the vice of the mind as they do in the attire of their body; for certainly as there is no nation whose fashion in apparel they do not use, so is there no wickedness published in any place that they do not practise. I think that in Sodom and Gomorrah there was never more filthiness, never more pride in Rome, more poisoning in Italy, more lying in Crete,<sup>1</sup> more privy spoiling in Spain, more idolatry in Egypt than is at this day in Athens; never such sects among the heathens, such schisms amongst the Turks, such misbelief among the infidels as is now among scholars. Be there not many in Athens which think there is no God, no redemption, no resurrection? What shame is this, gentlemen, that a place so renowned for good learning should be so shamed for ill living? That where grace doth abound, sin should so superabound? That where the greatest profession of knowledge is, there should be also the least practising of honesty?

I have read of many universities, as of Padua in Italy, Paris in France, Wittenberg in Germany, in England of Oxford and

(*a*) *to be penitent* So 1579A, etc. 1578 omits *be*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lying in Crete*: see note on p. 13.



Cambridge, which if they were half so ill as Athens they were too, too bad; and, as I have heard, as they be they be stark nought. But I can speak the less against them for that I was never in them, yet can I not choose but be aggrieved that by report I am enforced rather to accuse them of vanity than excuse them any way. Ah, gentlemen, what is to be looked for, nay, what is not to be feared, when the temple of Vesta, where virgins should live, is like the stews freight<sup>1</sup> with strumpets,(a) when the altar where nothing but sanctity and holiness should be used is polluted with uncleanness, when the universities of Christendom which should be the eyes, the lights, the leaven, the salt, the seasoning of the world are dimmed with blind concupiscence, put out with pride, and have lost their savour with impiety?

Is it not become a byword amongst the common people that they had rather send their children to the cart<sup>2</sup> than to the university, being induced so to say for the abuse that reigneth in the universities? Who sending their sons to attain knowledge, find them little better learned but a great deal worse lived than when they went, and not only unthrifts of their money but also bankrupts of good manners. Was not this the cause that caused a simple woman in Greece to exclaim against Athens, saying, "The Master and the Scholar, the Tutor and the Pupil, be both agreed; for the one careth not how little pain he taketh for his money, the other how little learning."

I perceive that in Athens there be no changelings when, of old, it was said<sup>3</sup> to a Lacedaemonian that all the Grecians knew honesty, but not one practised it. When Panathenaea were celebrated at Athens, an old man going to take a place was mockingly rejected. At the last coming among the Lacedaemonians, all the youth gave him place; which the Athenians liked well of. Then one of the Spartans cried out, "Verily, the Athenians know what should be done, but they never do it." When one of the Lacedaemonians had been for a certain time in Athens, seeing nothing but dancing, dicing, banqueting, surfeiting, and licentious behaviour, returning home he was asked

<sup>1</sup> *Freight*. This contracted form of the past part. was in use until the early part of the 18th century.

(a) *the stews freight with strumpets* 1578 *fraight*; 1579A, etc. *fraught*.

<sup>2</sup> *To the cart*: "i.e., for conveying criminals to the gallows" (Bond).

<sup>3</sup> *It was said . . . nothing bad*. The three anecdotes related here are found in Plutarch, *Apophtheg. Laconica*, 52 and 62, and in Erasmus' *Apophtheg.*, Book ii., nos. 53, 54, 63 (*Works*, iv. 140, 141). Compare p. 312, n. 5.

how all things stood in Athens ; to whom he answered, " All things are honest there "—meaning that the Athenians accounted all things good and nothing bad.

How such abuses should or might be redressed in all universities, especially in Athens, if I were of authority to command, it should be seen, or of credit to persuade those that have the dealings with them, it should soon be shown. And until I see better reformation in Athens my young Ephebus shall not be nurtured in Athens.

I have spoken all this that you gentlemen might see how the philosophers (a) in Athens practise nothing less than philosophy. What scholar is he that is so zealous at his book as Chrysippus,<sup>1</sup> who, had not his maid Melissa thrust meat into his mouth, had perished with famine, being always studying ? Who so watchful as Aristotle,<sup>2</sup> who going to bed would have a ball of brass in his hand, that if he should be taken in a slumber it might fall and awake him ? No, no, the times are changed,<sup>3</sup> as Ovid saith, and we are changed in the times. Let us endeavour every one to amend one and we shall all soon be amended, let us give no occasion of reproach and we shall more easily bear the burden of false reports, and as we see by learning what we should do so let us do as we learn ; then shall Athens flourish, then shall the students be had in great reputation, then shall learning have his hire and every good scholar his hope.

But return we \* once again to Philosophy.(b) There is amongst men a trifold kind of life : active, which is about civil function and administration of the commonweal ; speculative, which is in continual meditation and study ; the third a life led,

(a) *philosophers* So 1579A, etc. (except 1617 *Philosopher*). 1578 *Philo*.

<sup>1</sup> *Chrysippus* . . his maid *Melissa*. Lyly's mistake in attributing to Chrysippus a fact related by Valerius Maximus (*Dicta factaque*, viii. 7, no. 5) of Carneades—a mistake repeated in *Campaspe*, i. 3, 2 ff.—is explained by the passage of Erasmus' *Convivium Profanum* (*Works*, i. 661D) quoted by De Vocho : *Chrysippus adeo fertur intentus fuisse suis argutiis logicis, ut ad mensam etiam fame periturus fuerit, nisi ancilla Melissa cibum in os ingessisset*.

<sup>2</sup> *Watchful as Aristotle* [etc.]. The source is Diogenes Laertius, v., *Life of Arist.*, § 10. Bond quotes also *A Treatise of Moral Philos.*, 1567, fol. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *The times are changed* [etc.]. Bond says the dictum is medieval, quoting Matthias Barbonius, *Deliciae Poetarum Germanorum*, i. 685. Lyly may have thought, however, of various passages in Ovid, such as *Fasti*, vi. 771 : *Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis* ; or one of the passages, such as *Met.* xv. 177 ff., in which he expounds the doctrine of flux in all things.

<sup>4</sup> *But return we . . . their cities*. Here Lyly resumes his paraphrase of Plutarch, in this paragraph reproducing part of § 10.

(b) *Philosophy* All early texts have contraction *Philo* for *Philosophy*.

most commonly a lewd life, an idle and vain life, the life that the Epicures account their whole felicity, a voluptuous life replenished with all kind of vanity. If this active life be without philosophy it is an idle life or, at the least, a life evil employed, which is worse; if the contemplative life be separated from the active it is most unprofitable. I would, therefore, have my youth so to bestow his study as he may both be exercised in the common weal to common profit, and well employed privately for his own perfection; so as by his study the rule he shall bear may be directed, and by his government his study may be increased. In this manner did Pericles deal in civil affairs, after this sort did Archytas the Tarentine,<sup>(a)</sup> Dion the Syracusian, the Theban<sup>✓</sup> Epaminondas<sup>(b)</sup> govern their cities.

For the exercise<sup>1</sup> of the body it is necessary also somewhat be<sup>†</sup> added. That is, that the child should be at such times permitted to recreate himself when his mind is overcome with study, lest dulling himself with overmuch industry he become unfit afterward to conceive readily; besides this, it will cause an apt composition<sup>2</sup> (c) and that natural strength that it before retained. A good composition of the body layeth a good foundation of old age; for as in the fair summer we prepare all things necessary for the cold winter, so good manners in youth and lawful exercises be as it were victuals and nourishments for age. Yet are their labours and pastimes so to be tempered that they weaken not their bodies more by play than otherwise they should have done by study, and so to be used that they addict not themselves more to the exercise of the limbs than the following of learning. The greatest enemies to discipline, as Plato recounteth, are labours and sleep. It is also requisite that he be expert in martial affairs, in shooting, in darting, that he hawk and hunt for his honest pastime and recreation.

And if after<sup>3</sup> these pastimes he shall seem secure, nothing

(a) *Archytas the Tarentine* So 1581, etc. 1578-1580 omit *the*. So also p. 133.

(b) *Epaminondas* So 1597, etc. Earlier texts have varied spellings: 1578, 1579A *Epiminides*; 1579B, 1580 *Epaminides*; 1581 *Epimionndas*; 1595 *Epiminondas*.

<sup>1</sup> *For the exercise . . . and recreation*: Plutarch's § 11.

<sup>2</sup> *It will cause an apt composition . . . retained*. I think there must be a corruption of the text here. The words make no sense; but they seem to correspond to the following phrases in Plutarch: "Partly with a view to a good carriage of the body, partly with a view to strength."

(c) *an apt composition* So 1578. 1595, etc. *an apt disposition*.

<sup>3</sup> *And if after . . . own opinions*: Plutarch's § 12. Compare a passage in

regarding his books, I would not have him scourged with stripes but threatened with words, not dulled with blows like servants, the which the more they are beaten the better they bear it and the less they care for it. For children of good disposition are either incited by praise to go forward or shamed by dispraise to commit the like offence; those of obstinate and blockish behaviour are neither with words to be persuaded, neither with stripes to be corrected. They must now be taunted with sharp rebukes, straightways admonished with fair words, now threatened a payment, by and by promised a reward, and dealt withal as nurses do with the babes, whom after they have made to cry they proffer the teat. But diligent heed must be taken that he be not praised above measure, lest standing too much in his own conceit he become also obstinate in his own opinions.

I have known<sup>1</sup> many fathers whose great love towards their sons hath been the cause in time that they loved them not: for when they see a sharp wit in their son to conceive, for the desire they have that he should outrun his fellows they loaden him with continual exercise, which is the only cause that he sinketh under his burden and giveth over in the plain field.<sup>2</sup> Plants are nourished with little rain, yet drowned with much; even so the mind with indifferent labour waxeth more perfect, with much study it is made fruitless. We must consider that all our life is divided into remission and study. As there is watching so is there sleep, as there is war so is there peace, as there is winter so is there summer, as there be many working days so is there also many holidays; and if I may speak all in one word, ease is the sauce of labour,<sup>3</sup> which is plainly to be seen not only in living things but also in things without life. We unbend the bow that we may the better bend him, we unloose the harp that we may the sooner tune him, the body is kept in health as well with fasting as eating, the mind healed with ease as well as with labour.

Those parents are in mind to be misliked which commit the whole care of their child to the custody of a hireling, neither asking, neither knowing how their children profit in learning.

the *Scholemaster* (1904 ed., pp. 197 ff.) in which Ascham teaches the same doctrine of mercy and kindness, following Plato, *De Rep.* 7.

<sup>1</sup> *I have known . . . mother of perfection*: Plutarch's § 13. The short paragraph on memory (*Moreover . . . perfection*) represents a much longer passage in Plutarch.

<sup>2</sup> *In the plain field*: in the midst of the fight, in open battle. See *NED.*, *plain* a.<sup>1</sup> and *plain* a.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Ease is the sauce of labour*. This saying is in the original.

For if the father were desirous to examine his son in that which he hath learned, the master would be more careful what he did teach. But seeing the father careless what they learn, he is also . . . secure what he teacheth. That notable saying of the horse-keeper<sup>1</sup> may here be applied, which said nothing did so fat the horse as the eye of the king.

Moreover I would have the memory of children continually to be exercised, which is the greatest furtherance to learning that can be. For this cause they feigned in their old fables memory to be the mother of perfection.

Children<sup>2</sup> are to be chastised if they shall use any filthy or unseemly talk, for, as Democritus saith, the word is the shadow of the work. They must be courteous in their behaviour, lowly in their speech, not disdaining their cockmates<sup>3</sup> or refraining their company; they must not live wantonly, neither speak impudently, neither be angry (*a*) without cause, neither quarrellous<sup>4</sup> without colour. (*b*) A young man, being perverse in nature and proud in words and manners, gave Socrates a spurn; who being moved by his fellows to give him another, "If," said Socrates, "an ass had kicked me would you also have me to kick him again?" The great wisdom in Socrates (*c*) in compressing his anger (*d*) is worthy great commendation. Archytas the Tarentine, returning from war and finding his ground overgrown with weeds and turned up with moles, sent for his farmer unto whom he said, "If I were not angry I would make thee repent thy ill husbandry." Plato having a servant whose bliss was in filling of his belly, seeing him on a time idle and dishonest in behaviour, said, "Out of my sight, for I am incensed with anger!" Although these ensamples be hard to imitate, yet should every man do his endeavour to repress that hot and heady humour which he is by nature subject unto.

To be silent and discreet in company, though many think it

<sup>1</sup> *Horse-keeper* : Gr. ἵπποκῆμος; Amyot, écuyer. The source of the saying is Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, 2. See note on p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Children are to be chastised . . . in a son* (p. 135): Plutarch's § 14, with a long inserted passage, *We may see* (p. 134) . . . *of the tyrant* (p. 135).

<sup>3</sup> *Cockmates* : see note on p. 43.

(*a*) *neither be angry* So editions after 1580. 1578-1580 omit *be*.

<sup>4</sup> *Quarrellous* : "in common use from about 1560 to 1650" (*NED.*).

(*b*) *quarrellous without colour* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *quarrelous without choler*.

(*c*) *the great wisdom in Socrates* So editions after 1580. 1578-1580 *the greatest wisdom in Socrates*.

(*d*) *in compressing his anger* So 1578. 1581, etc. *suppressing*.

a thing of no great weight or importance, yet is it most requisite for a young man and most necessary for my Ephebus. It never hath been hurtful to any to hold his peace; to speak, damage to many. Whatso is kept in silence is hushed; but whatsoever is babbled out cannot again be recalled. We may see <sup>1</sup> the cunning and curious work of nature which hath barred and hedged nothing in so strongly as the tongue, with two rows of teeth and therewith two lips (a); besides she hath placed it far from the heart, that it should not utter that which the heart had conceived. This also should cause us to be silent, seeing those that use much talk though they speak truly are never believed. Wine,<sup>2</sup> therefore, is to be refrained, which is termed to be the glass of the mind; and it is an old proverb, "Whatsoever is in the heart <sup>3</sup> of the sober man is in the mouth of the drunkard." Bias,<sup>4</sup> holding his tongue at a feast, was termed there of a tattler to be a fool; who said, "Is there any wise man that can hold his tongue amidst the wine?"

Unto whom Bias answered, "There is no fool that can." A certain gentleman here in Athens invited the king's legates to a costly and sumptuous feast where also he assembled many philosophers; and talking of divers matters, both of the common-weal and learning, only Zeno said nothing. Then the ambassadors said, "What shall we show of thee, O Zeno, to the king?"

"Nothing," answered he, "but that there is an old man in Athens that amidst the pots could hold his peace." Anacharsis<sup>5</sup> supping with Solon was found asleep, having his right hand before his mouth, his left upon his privities; whereby was noted that

<sup>1</sup> *We may see . . . face of the tyrant.* Bond shows that in this passage Lyly weaves together materials from Plutarch's *De Garrulitate*. On the teeth as a hedge for the tongue (to *are never believed*), he quotes ch. iii. of this work.

(a) *and therewith two lips* So 1579A, etc. 1578 omits *and*.

<sup>2</sup> *Wine . . . the glass of the mind*: not in Plutarch. The original source is Aeschylus, *Fragmenta*, 274, 393. Lyly perhaps had it from Erasmus' *Adagia* (*In vino veritas*, *Works*, ii. 267B), where Erasmus falsely attributes it to Euripides, or (more likely) from the *Adagia*, *Works*, ii. 267E (*Vinum animi speculum*). Lyly uses it again, p. 288; and in *Sapho and Phao*, II. 4, 80, calls grapes 'mind-glasses.'

<sup>3</sup> *Whatsoever is in the heart* [etc.]. This proverb is in Plutarch's *De Garrulitate*, § 4, whence Lyly probably got it. Erasmus has it in his *Adagia*, ii. 1, no. 55 (*Works*, ii. 428D), and quotes it again in its Greek form under the adage *In vino veritas*.

<sup>4</sup> *Bias* [etc.]. This incident and that concerning Zeno which follows are related in Plutarch, *De Garrulitate*, § 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Anacharsis* [etc.]. This is related by Plutarch, *De Garrulitate*, § 7.

the tongue should be reined in with the strongest bridle. Zeno,<sup>1</sup> because he would not be enforced to reveal anything against his will by torments, bit off his tongue and spit it in the face of the tyrant.

Now when children shall by wisdom and use refrain from over much tattling, let them also be admonished that when they shall speak they speak nothing but truth. To lie is a vice most detestable ; not to be suffered in a slave, much less in a son.

But the greatest<sup>2</sup> thing is yet behind,<sup>3</sup> whether that those are to be admitted as cockmates with children which love them entirely or whether they be to be banished from them. Whenas I see many fathers, more cruel to their children than careful of them, which think it not necessary to have those about them that most tender them, then I am half as it were in a doubt to give counsel. But when I call to my remembrance Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aeschines, Saebetes,<sup>4</sup> and all those that so much commend the love of men, which have also brought up many to great rule, reason, and piety, then I am encouraged to imitate those whose excellency doth warrant my precepts to be perfect. If any shall love the child for his comely countenance, him would I have to be banished as a most dangerous and infectious beast ; if he shall love him for his father's sake or for his own good qualities, him would I have to be with him always as supervisor of his manners. Such hath been in times past (a) the love of one Athenian to the other and of one Lacedaemonian to the other.

But having said<sup>5</sup> almost sufficient for the education of a child, I will speak two words how he should be trained when he groweth in years. I can not but mislike the nature of divers parents which appoint overseers and tutors for their children in their tender age, and suffer them when they come to be young men to have the bridle in their own hand, knowing not that age

<sup>1</sup> Zeno [etc.] : *De Garrulitate*, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> But the greatest . . . to the other. This paragraph represents § 15 of Plutarch's *De Educatione Puerorum*, which Lyly resumes after an interruption. The passage is strangely inappropriate in a modern work.

<sup>3</sup> The greatest thing is yet behind. The phrase was proverbial. Heywood has it (p. 195) as, 'The best (worst) is yet behind.' Rushton, *Shakespeare's Euphuism*, p. 76, quotes *Macbeth*, I. 3, 117 : 'The greatest is behind.'

<sup>4</sup> Saebetes : i.e. Cebes, Lyly being misled by the genitive form in his original.

(a) Such hath been in times past So 1607, etc. 1578 such hath it bene in times past.

<sup>5</sup> But having said . . . fear of punishment : Plutarch, *De Educ.* § 16.

requireth rather a hard snaffle than a pleasant bit <sup>1</sup> and is sooner allured to wickedness than childhood. Who knoweth not the escapes <sup>2</sup> of children, as they are small, so they are soon amended ? Either with threats they are to be remedied or with fair promises to be rewarded. But the sins and faults of young men are almost or altogether intolerable, which give themselves to be delicate in their diet, prodigal in their expense, using dicing, dancing, drunkenness, deflowering of virgins, abusing wives, committing adulteries, and accounting all things honest that are most detestable. Here, therefore, must be used a due regard that their lust may be repressed, their riot abated, their courage cooled ; for hard it is to see a young man to be master of himself which yieldeth himself as it were a bonds slave to fond and over lashing affections. Wise parents ought to take good heed, especially at this time, that they frame their sons to modesty either by threats or by rewards, either by fair promises or severe practices, either showing the miseries of those that have been overcome with wildness or the happiness of them that have contained themselves within the bands of reason ; these two are as it were the ensigns of virtue :—the hope of honour, the fear of punishment.

But chiefly parents <sup>3</sup> must cause their youths to abandon the society of those which are noted of evil living and lewd behaviour, which Pythagoras seemed somewhat obscurely to note in these his sayings. First, *that one should abstain from the taste of those things that have black tails* : that is, we must not use the company of those whose corrupt manners do as it were make their life black. *Not to go above the balance* : that is, to reverence justice, neither for fear or flattery to lean to any one partially. *Not to lie in idleness* <sup>4</sup> : that is, that sloth should be abhorred. *That we should not shake every man by the hand* : that is, we should not contract friendship with all. *Not to wear a strait ring* : that is, that we should lead our life so as we need not to fetter it with chains. *Not to bring fire to a slaughter* <sup>5</sup> : that is, we must not

<sup>1</sup> *A hard snaffle . . . a pleasant bit* : compare Heywood, p. 181 : “ ‘ I will bridle thee with rough bit, wife.’ Quoth she : ‘ If thou wilt bridle me, I will snaffle thee.’ ” The figure is not in Plutarch.

<sup>2</sup> *Escapes* : transgressions, errors, slips.

<sup>3</sup> *But chiefly parents . . . devouring mind* (p. 138) : Plutarch’s § 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Not to lie in idleness* : lit., ‘ not to sit on the *χῶμα*,’ or, as it were, the peck-measure ; ‘ ne te sied point sur le bois-seau ’ (Amyot). This aphorism is illustrated in Alciati’s *Emblems*, no. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Not to bring fire to a slaughter* : a mistranslation, as Bond shows, of Guarini’s Latin, *Ignem ferro caedi minime decere*. In *Euphues and his England*



provoke any that is furious with words. *Not to eat our hearts*: that is, that we should not vex ourselves with thoughts, consume our bodies with sighs, with sobs, or with care to pine our carcasses. *To abstain from beans*: that is, not to meddle in civil affairs or business of the commonweal—for in the old times the election of magistrates was made by the pulling of beans. *Not to put our meat in scapio*<sup>1</sup>: that is, we should not speak of manners or virtue to those whose minds are infected with vice. *Not to retire when we are come to the end of our race*: that is, when we are at the point of death we should not be oppressed with grief but willingly yield to nature.\*

But I will return to my former precepts; that is, that young men should be kept from the company of those that are wicked, especially from the sight of the flatterer. For I say now, as I have oftentimes before said, that there is no kind of beast so noisome as the flatterer, nothing that will sooner consume both the son and the father and all honest friends. When the father exhorteth the son (a) to sobriety, the flatterer provoketh him to wine; when the father weaneth him to continency, the flatterer allureth him to lust; when the father admonisheth him to thrift, the flatterer haleth him to prodigality; when the father encourageth him to labour, the flatterer layeth a cushion under his elbow<sup>2</sup> to sleep, bidding him to eat, drink, and be merry, for that the life of man is soon gone and but as a short shadow—"and seeing that we have but a while to live, who would live like a servant?" They say that now their fathers be old and dote through age like Saturnus. Hereof it cometh that young

(p. 298) and *Sapho and Phao*, II. 4, 110, Lyly uses the proverb correctly, probably following Erasmus' *Adagia*, i. 1, 2 (*Works*, ii. 17), where Erasmus annotates the ten 'Symbolae Pythagorae' at length.

<sup>1</sup> *Scapio*: L. *scaphium*, *scapium*, occasionally used as here in an obscene sense. The Gr. has *σι*; *ἀπειδαι*.

(a) *When the father exhorteth the son . . .* In this passage I have adopted emendations of the first edition more freely than usual, for the sake of uniformity in pronouns. All the emendations adopted appeared in the 16th-century texts. The history of the passage may be indicated as follows:—*When the father exhorteth the son to sobriety, the flatterer provoketh him to wine; when the father weaneth* (so 1578; 1581, etc. *warneth*) *him* (so 1595; 1578 *them*) *to continency, the flatterer allureth him* (so 1580, etc.; 1578 *them*) *to lust: when the father admonisheth him* (so 1595, etc.; 1578 *them*) *to thrift, the flatterer haleth him* (so 1595, etc.; 1578 *them*) *to prodigality; when the father encourageth him* (so 1595, etc.; 1578 *them*) *to labour, the flatterer layeth a cushion under his elbow to sleep, bidding him* (so 1581, etc.; 1578 *them*) *to eat, drink, and be merry* (so 1578; 1579A, etc. *and to be merry*) . . .

<sup>2</sup> *Layeth a cushion under his elbow*: see note on p. 26.

men giving not only attentive care but ready coin to flatterers, fall into such misfortune ; hereof it proceedeth that they haunt the stews, marry before they be wise, and die before they thrive. These be the beasts which live by the trenchers of young gentlemen and consume the treasures of their revenues ; these be they that soothe young youths in their own sayings, that uphold them in all their doings with a yea or nay ; these be they that are at every beck, at every nod, freemen by fortune, slaves by free will. Wherefore if there be any father (a) that would have his children nurtured and brought up in honesty, let him expel these panthers <sup>1</sup> which have a sweet smell but a devouring mind.

Yet would I <sup>2</sup> not have parents altogether precise or too severe in correction, but let them with mildness forgive light offences, and remember that they themselves have been young ; as the physician by mingling bitter poisons with sweet liquor bringeth health to the body, so the father with sharp rebukes seasoned with loving looks causeth a redress and amendment in his child. But if the father be thoroughly angry upon good occasion, let him not continue his rage, for I had rather he should be soon angry than hard to be pleased ; for when the son shall perceive that the father hath conceived rather a hate than a heat against him, he becometh desperate, neither regarding his father's ire, neither his own duty. Some light faults let them dissemble as though they knew them not, and seeing them let them not seem to see them and hearing them let them not seem to hear. We can easily forget the offences of our friends be they never so great ; and shall we not forgive the escapes of our children be they never so small ? We bear oftentimes with our servants, and shall we not sometimes with our sons ? The fairest jennet <sup>3</sup> is ruled as well with the wand as with the spur, the wildest child is as soon corrected with a word as with a weapon.

If thy son <sup>4</sup> be so stubborn obstinately to rebel against thee, or so wilful to persevere in his wickedness that neither for fear of punishment, neither for hope of reward, he is any way to be reclaimed, then seek out some marriage fit for his degree ; which

(a) *if there be any father* So editions after 1580. 1578-1580 *if there be any fathers.*

<sup>1</sup> *Panthers* [etc.] : see note on p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Yet would I . . . with a weapon* : Plutarch's § 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Jennet* : " a small Spanish horse " (NED.). The analogies in this sentence are substituted for others in Plutarch.

<sup>4</sup> *If thy son . . . their wife* : Plutarch's § 19.

is the surest bond of youth and the strongest chain to fetter affections that can be found. Yet let his wife be such a one as is neither much more noble in birth or far more richer in goods, but according to the wise saying: "Choose one every way as near as may be equal in both." For they that do desire great dowries do rather marry themselves to the wealth than to their wife.

But to return<sup>1</sup> to the matter. It is most requisite that fathers both by their discreet counsel and also their honest conversation be an ensample of imitation to their children; that they seeing in their parents,<sup>(a)</sup> as it were in a glass, the perfection of manners, they may be encouraged by their upright living to practise the like piety. For if a father rebuke his child of swearing and he himself a blasphemer, doth he not see that in detecting<sup>2</sup> his son's vice he also noteth his own? If the father counsel the son to refrain wine as most unwholesome and drink himself immoderately, doth he not as well reprove his own folly as rebuke his son's? Age alway ought to be a mirror for youth, for where old age is impudent there certainly youth must needs be shameless, where the aged have no respect of their honourable and gray hairs there the young gallants have little regard of their honest behaviour—and in one word to conclude all, where age is past gravity, there youth is past grace.

The sum of all, wherewith I would have my Ephebus endued and how I would have him instructed, shall briefly appear in this following: first, that he be of honest parents, nursed of his mother, brought up in such a place as is incorrupt both for the air and manners, with such a person as is undefiled, of great zeal, of profound knowledge, of absolute perfection; that he be instructed<sup>(b)</sup> in philosophy, whereby he may attain learning, and have in all sciences a smack, whereby he may readily dispute of anything; that his body be kept in his pure strength by honest exercise, his wit and memory by diligent study; that he abandon all allurements of vice and continually incline to virtue. Which if it shall, as it may, come to pass, then do I hope that if ever Plato's commonweal<sup>3</sup> shall flourish that my Ephebus

<sup>1</sup> *But to return . . . past grace*: the first part of Plutarch's § 20. Hereafter Lyly leaves Plutarch, omitting a short passage at the end of § 20.

(a) *that they seeing in their parents* So 1579A, etc. 1578 misprints *that hee seeinge in their parenies*.

<sup>2</sup> *Detecting*: exposing, displaying.

(b) *that he be instructed* So 1581, etc. 1578–1580 omit *he*.

<sup>3</sup> *Plato's commonweal* [etc.]. These three authors are cited in the same way at the beginning of the *Euphues and his Ephebus*. Such echoic repetition is characteristic.

shall be a citizen, that if Aristotle find any happy man (a) it will be my child, if Tully confess any to be an absolute orator it will be my young youth.

I am here therefore, gentlemen, to exhort you that with all industry you apply your minds to the study of philosophy; that as you profess yourselves students, so you may be students; that as you disdain not the name of a scholar, so you will not be found void of the duty of scholars. Let not your minds be carried away with vain delights, as with travelling into far and strange countries where you shall see more wickedness than learn virtue and wit; neither with costly attire of the new cut, the Dutch hat, the French hose, the Spanish rapier, the Italian hilt, and I know not what. Cast not your eyes on the beauty of women lest ye cast away your hearts with folly, let not that fond love wherewith youth fatteth himself as fat as a fool infect you; for as a sinew being cut though it be healed there will always remain a scar, or as fine linen stained with black ink though it be washed never so often will have an iron mole,<sup>1</sup> so the mind once mangled or maimed with love, though it be never so well cured with reason or cooled by wisdom, yet there will appear a scar by the which one may guess the mind hath been pierced and a blemish whereby one may judge the heart hath been stained. Refrain from dicing which was the only cause that Pyreus<sup>2</sup> was stricken to the heart, and from dancing which was the means that lost John Baptist's head. I am not he that will disallow honest recreation, although I detest the abuses. I speak boldly unto you because I myself know you; what Athens hath been, what Athens is, what Athens shall be I can guess. Let not every inn and ale-house in Athens be as it were your chamber, frequent not those ordinary tables where either for the desire of delicate cates or the meeting of youthful companions ye both spend your money vainly and your time idly. Imitate him in life whom ye honour for his learning, Aristotle, who was never seen in the company of those that idly bestowed their time. There is nothing more swifter than time, nothing more sweeter. We have not, as Seneca saith,<sup>3</sup> little

(a) that if Aristotle find any happy man 1578 *fined*; 1613, etc. *finde*.

<sup>1</sup> Iron mole: see note on p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Pyreus. Bond prints *Pyrrhus*, and explains the allusion by a sentence in Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus* (ch. xxvi.), in which Antigonus is represented as comparing the general to a gambler who could never be satisfied without laying higher stakes. Since this is not a satisfactory explanation of Lyly's words, it is better to leave the name as it appears in all early editions.

<sup>3</sup> We have not, as Seneca saith [etc.]. Bond quotes Seneca's *De Brevitate*

time to live, but we leese much; neither have we a short life by nature, but we make it shorter by naughtiness; our life is long if we know how to use it. Follow Apelles,<sup>1</sup> that cunning and wise painter, which would let no day pass over his head without a line, without some labour.

It was prettily said of Hesiodus,<sup>2</sup> "Let us endeavour by reason to excel beasts, seeing beasts by nature excel men." Although strictly taken it be not so, for that man is endued with a soul, yet taken touching their perfection of senses in their kind it is most certain. Doth not the lion for strength, the turtle for love,<sup>3</sup> the ant for labour excel man? Doth not the eagle see clearer, the vulture smell better, the mole hear lightlier? (a) Let us, therefore, endeavour to excel in virtue, seeing in qualities of the body we are inferior to beasts.

And here I am most earnestly to exhort you to modesty in your behaviour, to duty to your elders, to diligence in your studies. I was of late in Italy where mine ears glowed and my heart was galled to hear the abuses that reigned (b) in Athens. I can not tell whether those things sprang by the lewd and lying lips of the ignorant, which are always enemies to learning, or by the reports of such as saw them and sorrowed at them. It was openly reported of an old man in Naples that there was more lightness in Athens than in all Italy, more wanton youths of scholars than in all Europe besides, more Papists, more Atheists, more sects, more schisms than in all the monarchies of the world. Which things although I think they be not true yet can I not but lament that they should be deemed to be true; and I fear me they be not altogether false—there can no great smoke arise but there must be some fire,<sup>4</sup> no great report without great suspicion. Frame, therefore, your lives to such integrity, your studies to the attaining of

*Vitae, 1: Non exiguum temporis habemus, sed multum perdimus . . . non accepimus brevem vitam, sed fecimus . . . Vita, si scias uti, longa est.*

<sup>1</sup> *Apelles* [etc.] : from Pliny, xxxvi. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Said of Hesiodus* : in the *Works and Days*, 276–9. Bond notes that the passage is quoted in part by Plutarch, *De Sollertia Animalium*, vi. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *The turtle for love*. On the remarkable affectionateness and fidelity of the turtle-dove, see Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Physiologus*, 177, 194, etc. See note on p. 254.

(a) *the mole hear lightlier* So 1578. 1595–1607 *beare lighter*; 1613, etc. *hear lighter*.

(b) *the abuses that reigned* So 1595, etc. 1578 *that reygne*.

<sup>4</sup> *No great smoke . . . fire*: Heywood, pp. 69, 70. The proverb is quoted by NED. from 1450 onward. See Düringsfeld, i. 888.

such perfection, that neither the might of the strong, neither the malice of the weak, neither the swift reports of the ignorant be able to spot you with dishonesty or note you of ungodliness. The greatest harm that you can do unto the envious<sup>1</sup> is to do well, the greatest corrosive that you can give unto the ignorant is to prosper in knowledge, the greatest comfort that you can bestow on your parents is to live well and learn well, the greatest commodity that you can yield unto your country is with wisdom to bestow that talent that by grace was given you.

And here I cannot choose but give you that counsel that an old man in Naples gave me most wisely, although I had then neither grace to follow it, neither will to give ear to it; desiring you not to reject it because I did once despise it. It is this, as I can remember, word for word :—

“Descend into your<sup>2</sup> own consciences, consider with yourselves the great difference between staring and stark blind, wit and wisdom, love and lust. Be merry but with modesty, be sober but not too sullen, be valiant but not too venturous. Let your attire be comely but not too costly, your diet wholesome but not excessive, use pastime as the word importeth—to pass the time in honest recreation. Mistrust no man without cause, neither be ye credulous without proof, be not light to follow every man’s opinion, neither obstinate to stand in your own conceits. Serve God, fear God, love God, and God will bless you as either your hearts can wish or your friends desire.”

This was his grave and godly advice whose counsel I would have you all to follow. Frequent lectures, use disputations openly, neglect not your private studies, let not degrees be given for love but for learning, not for money but for knowledge. And because you shall be the better encouraged to follow my counsel, I will be as it were an example myself, desiring you all to imitate me.<sup>3</sup>

Euphues, having ended his discourse and finished those precepts which he thought necessary for the instructing of youth, gave his mind to the continual study of philosophy,

<sup>1</sup> *The greatest harm . . . unto the envious.* So Plutarch, *De Utilitate Inimicorum*, 4; thus translated by Erasmus (*Works*, iv. 25E): *Accipe nunc et Diogenis responsum . . . , Cuidam interroganti, quo pacto posset inimicum ulcisci, si teipsum, inquit, honestum ac bonum virum praestiteris.* Erasmus repeats this in a *Colloquium* (*Works*, i. 848c). See De Vocht, pp. 114–6.

<sup>2</sup> *Descend into your . . . friends desire:* reproduces verbally (with insignificant variations) the last part of Eubulus’ discourse, above, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Here ends *Euphues* and his *Ephebus*.

insomuch as he became Public Reader in the university, with such commendation as never any before him. In the which he continued for the space of ten years, only searching out the secrets of nature and the hidden mysteries of philosophy. And having collected into three volumes his lectures, thought for the profit of young scholars to set them forth in print; which if he had done, I would also in this his Anatomy (a) have inserted. But he, altering his determination, fell into this discourse with himself:—

“Why, Euphues, art thou so addicted to the study of the heathen that thou hast forgotten thy God in heaven? Shall thy wit be rather employed to the attaining of human wisdom than divine knowledge? Is Aristotle more dear to thee with his books than Christ with his blood? What comfort canst thou find in philosophy for thy guilty conscience, what hope of the resurrection, what glad tidings of the Gospel?

“Consider with thyself that thou art a gentleman, (b) yea, and a Gentile, and if thou neglect thy calling thou art worse than a Jew. Most miserable is the estate of those gentlemen which think it a blemish to their ancestors and a blot to their own gentry to read or practise divinity. They think it now sufficient for their felicity to ride well upon a great horse,<sup>1</sup> to hawk, to hunt, to have a smack in philosophy, neither thinking of the beginning of wisdom, neither the end, which is Christ; only they account divinity most contemptible, which is and ought to be most notable. Without this there is no lawyer be he never so eloquent, no physician be he never so excellent, no philosopher be he never so learned, no king, no kaiser, be he never so royal in birth, so politic in peace, so expert in war, so valiant in prowess, but he is to be detested and abhorred.

“Farewell, therefore, the fine and filed<sup>2</sup> phrase of Cicero, (c) the pleasant Elegies of Ovid, the depth and profound knowledge of Aristotle; farewell rhetoric, farewell philosophy, farewell all learning which is not sprung from the bowels of the holy Bible. In this learning shall we find milk for the weak and

(a) *Anatomy* 1578 *Notomie*; 1579A *Anotomie*; 1579B, etc. *Anatomie* (1631 *Anatomy*).

(b) *thou art a gentleman* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *gentlemen*.

<sup>1</sup> *A great horse*: i.e., the kind of horse suitable for tournament and war. Sir Philip Sidney was famous for his skill in this accomplishment.

<sup>2</sup> *Filed*: polished.

(c) *phrase of Cicero* So 1581, etc.; 1578 *prases*; 1579A, B, & 1580 *phrases*. The spellings of 1578–1680 probably are meant to represent L. *phrasis*.

marrow for the strong, in this shall we see how the ignorant may be instructed, the obstinate confuted, the penitent comforted, the wicked punished, the godly preserved.

" Oh I would gentlemen would sometimes (a) sequester themselves from their own delights and employ their wits in searching these heavenly and divine mysteries. It is common, yea, and lamentable, to see that if a young youth have the gifts of nature, as a sharp wit, or of fortune, as sufficient wealth to maintain him (b) gallantly, he employeth the one in the vain inventions of love, the other in the vile bravery of pride, the one in the passions of his mind and praises of his lady, the other in furnishing of his body and furthering of his lust. Hereof it cometh that such vain ditties, such idle sonnets, such enticing songs are set forth to the gaze of the world and grief of the godly. I myself know none so ill as myself, who in times past have been so superstitiously addicted that I thought no heaven to the paradise of love, no angel to be compared to my lady. But as repentance hath caused me to leave and loathe such vain delights, so wisdom hath opened unto me the perfect gate to eternal life.

" Besides this, I myself have thought that in divinity there could be no eloquence which I might imitate, no pleasant invention which I might follow, no delicate phrase that might delight me ; but now I see that in the sacred knowledge of God's will the only eloquence, the true and perfect phrase, the testimony of salvation doth abide. And seeing without this all learning is ignorance, all wisdom mere folly, (c) all wit plain bluntness, (d) all justice iniquity, all eloquence barbarism, all beauty deformity, I will spend all the remainder of my life in studying the Old Testament, wherein is prefigured the coming of my Saviour, and the New Testament, wherein my Christ doth suffer for my sins and is crucified for my redemption ; whose bitter agonies should cast every good Christian into a shivering ague to remember His anguish, whose sweating of water and blood should cause every devote and zealous Catholic to shed tears of repentance in remembrance of His torments."

Euphues, having discoursed this with himself, did immediately abandon all light company, all the disputations in schools, all philosophy, and gave himself to the touchstone of holiness in divinity, accounting all other things as most vile and contemptible.

(a) *sometimes* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *semetimes*.

(b) *to maintain him* So 1597. 1578 *to maintain them*.

(c) *all wisdom mere folly* So 1580, etc. 1578 *all wisdom more folly*.

(d) *all wit plain bluntness* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *and wit plain bluntness*.



## EUPHUES TO THE GENTLEMEN SCHOLARS IN ATHENS<sup>1</sup>

THE merchant that travelleth for gain, the husbandman that toileth for increase, the lawyer that pleadeth for gold, the craftsman that seeketh to live by his labour, all these after they have fattened themselves with sufficient either take their ease or less pain than they were accustomed. Hippomenes<sup>2</sup> ceased to run when he had gotten the goal, Hercules to labour when he had obtained the victory, Mercury to pipe when he had cast Argus in a slumber. Every action hath his end; and then we leave to sweat when we have found the sweet. The ant though she toil in summer, yet in winter she leaveth to travail. The bee though she delight to suck the fair flower, yet is she at last cloyed with honey. The spider that weaveth the finest thread ceaseth at the last, when she hath finished her web.

But in the action and study of the mind, gentlemen, it is far otherwise; for he that tasteth the sweet of learning endureth all the sour of labour. He that seeketh the depth of knowledge is as it were in a labyrinth, in which the farther he goeth the farther he is from the end; or like the bird in the limebush, which the more she striveth to get out the faster she sticketh in. And certainly it may be said of learning as it was feigned of nectar, the drink of the gods, the which the more it was drunk the more it would overflow the brim of the cup; neither is it far unlike the stone that groweth in the river of Caria,<sup>3</sup> the which the more it is cut the more it increaseth. And it fareth with him that followeth it as with him that hath the dropsy, who the more he drinketh the more he thirsteth. Therefore in my mind the student is at less ease than the ox that draweth or the ass that carrieth his burden, who neither at the board when others

<sup>1</sup> *Euphues to the Gentlemen Scholars in Athens*: see note on p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Hippomenes*: who defeated Atalanta in the race and married her. The story is told in Ovid's *Met.* x. 565 ff. Compare p. 295, p. 348, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *The stone . . . in the river of Caria*: see note on p. 47.

eat is void of labour, neither in his bed when others sleep is without meditation.

But as in manuary<sup>1</sup> crafts, though they be all good, yet that is accounted most noble that is most necessary, so in the actions and studies of the mind, although they be all worthy, yet that deserveth greatest praise which bringeth greatest profit. And so we commonly do make best account of that which doth us most good. We esteem better of the physician that ministereth the potion than of the apothecary that selleth the drugs. How much more ought we with all diligence, study, and industry to spend our short pilgrimage (a) in the seeking out of our salvation. Vain is philosophy, vain is physic, vain is law, vain is all learning without the taste of divine knowledge.

I was determined to write notes of philosophy, which had been to feed you fat with folly; yet that I might seem neither idle, neither you evil employed, I have here set down a brief discourse which of late I have had with an heretic, which kept me from idleness and may, if you read it, deter you from heresy. It was with an Atheist, a man in opinion monstrous (b) yet tractable to be persuaded. By this shall you see the absurd dotage of him that thinketh there is no God, or an unsufficient God; yet here shall you find the sum of faith which justifieth only in Christ, the weakness of the law, the strength of the Gospel, and the knowledge of God's will. Here shall ye find hope if ye be in despair, comfort if ye be distressed, if ye thirst drink, meat if ye hunger. If ye fear Moses who saith, *Without you fulfil the law you shall perish*, behold Christ which saith, *I have overcome the law*. And that in these desperate days wherein so many sects are sown, and in the waning of the world wherein so many false Christs are come, you might have a certainty of your salvation, I mean to set down the touchstone whereunto every one ought to trust and by the which every one should try himself; which if you follow, I doubt not but that as you have proved learned philosophers, you will also proceed excellent divines, which God grant.

<sup>1</sup> *Manuary*: manual. In common use at the end of the 16th and through the 17th century.

(a) *to spend our short pilgrimage* So 1580, etc. 1578 omits *to*.

(b) *a man in opinion monstrous* So 1578. 1579A-1581 *in my opinion*; 1595, etc. *in mine opinion*.

## EUPHUES AND ATHEOS<sup>1</sup>

*Atheos*. I am glad, Euphues, that I have found thee at leisure, partly that we might be merry, and partly that I might be persuaded in a thing that much troubleth my conscience. It is concerning God. There be many that are of this mind, that there is a God whom they term the Creator of all things, a God whom they call the Son, the Redeemer of the world, a God whom they name the Holy Ghost, the Worker of all things, the Comforter, the Spirit; and yet are they of this opinion also, that They be but one God, co-equal in power, co-eternal, incomprehensible and yet a Trinity in person.

I, for my part, although I am not so credulous to believe their curious opinions, yet am I desirous to hear the reasons that should drive them into such fond and frantic imaginations. For as I know nothing to be so absurd which some of the philosophers have not defended, so think I nothing so erroneous which some of our Catholics have not maintained. If there were, as divers dream, a God that would revenge the oppression of the widows and fatherless, that would reward the zeal of the merciful, pity the poor, and pardon the penitent, then would the people either stand in greater awe or owe more love towards their God.

I remember Tully, disputing<sup>2</sup> of the nature of gods, bringeth Dionysius as a scoffer of such vain and devised deities, who, seeing Aesculapius with a long beard of gold and Apollo his father beardless, played the barber and shaved it from him,

<sup>1</sup> *Euphues and Atheos*. There is a marked incongruity between this exercise in Christian evidences and the other parts of the work, but similar examples of unresolved discord could easily be found in the 16th century. If Lyly is paraphrasing or adapting an original in a foreign language such an original has not yet been found; but there were a number of works of this period dealing with the subjects which afterward came to be known collectively as Natural Theology, such as Du Plessis-Mornay's *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, which first appeared at about the same date as *Euphues*.

The name *Atheos* may have been suggested by a passage in Plutarch's *De Tranquillitate Animi*, 5, concerning one Theodorus, who was surnamed *Atheos* "for his profane opinion." This may also have suggested the change of *Atheos*' name to Theophilus (see p. 162).

<sup>2</sup> I remember Tully, disputing: *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 34.

saying it was not decent that the son should have a beard and the father none. Seeing also Jupiter with an ornament of gold, took it from him, jesting thus, "In summer this array is too heavy, in winter too cold ; here I leave one of woollen both warmer for the cold and lighter for the heat." He coming also into the temple, where certain of the gods with golden gifts stretched out their hands, took them all away, saying, "Who will be so mad as to refuse things so gently offered ?" Dost thou not see, Euphues, what small account he made of their gods ? For at the last, sailing into his country with a prosperous wind, he laughing said, "Lo, see you not, my masters, how well the gods reward our sacrilege ?" I could rehearse infinite opinions of excellent men who in this point hold on my side, but especially Protagoras.<sup>1</sup> (a)

And in my judgement, if there be any God it is the world wherein we live, that is the only God.<sup>2</sup> What can we behold more noble than the world, more fair, more beautiful, more glorious ; what more majestic to the sight or more constant in substance ? But this by the way, Euphues ; I have greater and more forcible arguments to confirm my opinion and to confute the errors of those that imagine that there is a God.

But first I would gladly hear thee shape an answer to that which I have said. For well I know that thou art not only one of those which believe that there is a God, but of them also which are so precise in honouring Him that they be scarce wise in helping themselves.

*Euphues.* If my hope, Atheos, were not better to convert thee than my hap was here to confer with thee, my heart would break for grief, which beginneth freshly to bleed for sorrow. Thou hast stricken me into such a shivering and cold terror at the rehearsing of this thy monstrous opinion, that I look every minute when the ground should open to swallow thee up and that God, which thou knowest not, should with thunder from heaven strike thee to hell. Was there ever barbarian so senseless, ever miscreant so barbarous, that did not acknowledge a living and everlasting Jehovah ? I cannot but tremble at the remembrance of His Majesty ; and dost thou make it a mockery ?

<sup>1</sup> *Protagoras* : Bond quotes Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* i. 2 and 12.

(a) *Protagoras* So 1578. 1580 *Pitagoras* ; 1581, etc. *Pithagoras* (1631 *Pythagoras*).

<sup>2</sup> *It is the world wherein we live, that is the only God.* As Bond notes, this opinion is quoted from Aristotle by Cicero in the *De Nat. Deor.* i. 13.

O iniquity of times, O corruption of manners, O blasphemy against the heavens ! The heathen man saith, yea, that Tully <sup>1</sup> whom thou thyself allegest, that there is no nation so barbarous, no kind of people so savage, in whom resteth not this persuasion (a) that there is a God ; and even they that in other parts of their life seem very little to differ from brute beasts do continually keep a certain seed of religion so thoroughly hath this common principle possessed all men's minds and so fast it sticketh in all men's bowels. Yea, idolatry itself is sufficient proof of this persuasion, for we see how willingly man abaseth himself to honour other creatures, to do homage to stocks, to go on pilgrimage to images. If, therefore, man rather than he would have no God do worship a stone, how much more art thou duller than a stone, which goest against the opinion of all men.

Plato, a philosopher, would often say there is One whom we may call God, omnipotent, glorious, immortal, unto Whose similitude we that creep here on the earth have our souls framed. What can be said more of a heathen, yea, what more of a Christian ? Aristotle, when he could not find out by the secrecý of nature the cause of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, cried out with a loud voice, " O Thing of things, <sup>2</sup> have mercy upon me ! "

Cleanthes alleged <sup>3</sup> four causes which might induce man to acknowledge a God : the first by the foreseeing of things to come ; the second by the infinite commodities which we daily ✕ reap, as by the temperature of the air, the fatness of the earth, the fruitfulness of trees, plants, and herbs, the abundance of all things that may either serve for the necessity of many or the superfluity of a few ; the third by the terror that the mind of man is stricken into by lightnings, thunderings, tempests, hails, snow, earthquakes, pestilence, by the strange and terrible sights which cause us to tremble, as the raining of blood, the fiery

<sup>1</sup> That Tully. Bond quotes *De Nat. Deor.* i. 17.

(a) in whom resteth not this persuasion So 1578. 1581-1613 in whom there resteth not ; 1617 in whom there resisteth not ; 1631-1636 in whom there resideth not.

<sup>2</sup> O Thing of things [etc.]. The same exclamation, in its Latin form, is given to Aristotle in *Campaspe*, i. 3, 31, but neither the real source of the phrase, nor the reason for its attribution to Aristotle, has yet been discovered. M'Kerrow (*Nashe*, iv. 335), commenting on Nashe's use of it (*Works*, iii. 66), cites also Burton, *Anat. of Melancholy*, ed. Shilleto, iii. 388, and a remark by Comparetti showing that in modern times it has been sometimes attributed to Cicero.

<sup>3</sup> Cleanthes alleged . . . omnipotent Deity. " An almost literal translation of another passage in Cicero's *De Nat. Deor.* (ii. 5) "—Bond.

impressions in the element, the overflowing of floods in the earth, the prodigious shapes and unnatural forms of men, of beasts, of birds, of fishes, of all creatures, the appearing of blazing comets which ever prognosticate some strange mutation, the sight of two suns which happened in the consulship of Tuditanus and Aquilius—with these things mortal men being affrighted are enforced to acknowledge an immortal and omnipotent God ; the fourth by the equality of moving in the heaven, the course of the sun, the order of the stars, the beautifulness of the element, the sight whereof might sufficiently induce us to believe they proceed not by chance, by nature, or destiny, but by the eternal and divine purpose of some omnipotent Deity: Hereof it came that when the philosophers could give no reason by nature they would say there is One above nature, another would call Him the First Mover, another the Aider of nature, and so forth.

But why go I about in a thing so manifest to use proofs so manifold ? If thou deny the truth who can prove it ; if thou deny that black is black, who can by reason reprove thee when thou opposest thyself against reason ? Thou knowest that manifest truths are not to be proved but believed, and that he that denieth the principle of any art is not to be confuted by arguments, but to be left to his own folly.

But I have a better opinion of thee, and therefore I mean not to trifle with philosophy but to try this by the touchstone of the Scriptures. We read in the second of Exodus<sup>1</sup> that when Moses desired of God to know what he should name Him to the children of Israel He answered, Thou shalt say, I am that I am. (a) Again, He that is hath sent me unto you. The Lord, even your God, He is God in the heaven above and in the earth beneath.<sup>2</sup> I am the first and the last I am.<sup>3</sup> I am the Lord and there is none other besides Me.<sup>4</sup> Again, I am the Lord and there is none other.<sup>5</sup> I have created the light and made darkness, making peace and framing evil.<sup>6</sup> If thou desire to understand what God is, thou shalt hear

<sup>1</sup> The second of Exodus : should be the third (iii. 14). In the following passage Lyly combines quotations from Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah, without proper indications of where one begins and another ends.

(a) *Thou shalt say, I am that I am. Again, He that is hath sent me unto you.* So 1578. After *I am that I am* 1581, etc. add *Again, I am that I am.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Lord . . . beneath :* Deut. iv. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *I am the first and the last I am :* Isa. xlv. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *I am . . . besides me :* Isa. xlvii. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *I am . . . other :* Isa. xlv. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *I have . . . evil :* Isa. xlv. 7.

He is even a consuming fire,<sup>1</sup> the Lord of revenge, the God of judgement, the living God, the searcher of the reins, He that made all things of nothing, Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and yet without beginning, the End and yet everlasting, One at whose breath the mountains shall shake, whose seat is the lofty cherubim, whose footstool is the earth, invisible yet seeing all things, a jealous God, a loving God, miraculous in all points, in no part monstrous.

Besides this, thou shalt well understand that He is such a God as will punish him, whosoever he is, that blasphemeth His name, for holy is the Lord. It is written,<sup>2</sup> *Bring out the blasphemer without the tents, and let all those that heard him lay their hands upon his head, and let all the people stone him. He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord shall die the death.* Such a jealous God, that whosoever committeth idolatry with strange gods He will strike with terrible plagues. *Turn not to idols, neither make gods with hands ; I am the Lord your God.*<sup>3</sup> *Thou shalt make no image which the Lord thy God abhorreth. Thou shalt have no new god, neither worship any strange idol.*<sup>4</sup> *For all the gods of the Gentiles are devils.*<sup>5</sup> *My sons keep yourselves from images ; the worshipping of idols is the cause of all evil, the beginning and the end. Cursed be that man that engraveth any images, it is an abomination before the Lord.*<sup>6</sup> *They shall be confounded that worship graven images<sup>7</sup> or glory in idols. I will not give My glory to another, nor My praises to graven images.*

If all these testimonies of the Scriptures cannot make thee to acknowledge a living God, hearken what they say of such as be altogether incredulous. *Every unbeliever shall die in his incredulity.*<sup>8</sup> *Woe be to those that be loose in heart ; they believe there is no God, and therefore they shall not be protected of Him. The wrath of the Lord shall kindle against an unbelieving nation.*<sup>9</sup> *If ye believe not, ye shall not endure.*<sup>10</sup> *He that believeth not shall be*

<sup>1</sup> *He is even a consuming fire* [etc.]. This is a passage of Lyly's own composition in which he has imitated Biblical diction and inwoven a variety of familiar Biblical expressions.

<sup>2</sup> *It is written* [etc.] : Lev. xxiv. 14-16.

<sup>3</sup> *Turn not to idols . . . your God* : Lev. xix. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Thou shalt have . . . strange idol* : Ps. lxxxi. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *For all . . . devils* : compare Deut. xxxii. 17, and 1 Cor. x. 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Cursed . . . before the Lord* : Deut. xxvii. 15.

<sup>7</sup> *They shall be confounded . . . to graven images* : Isa. xlii. 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Every unbeliever . . . incredulity* : compare John viii. 24.

<sup>9</sup> *The wrath . . . nation* : compare Ps. cvi. 40.

<sup>10</sup> *If ye believe not, ye shall not endure* : compare Luke viii. 11-15.

*damned.*<sup>1</sup>(a) *He that believeth not is judged already.*<sup>2</sup> *The portion of the unbelievers shall be in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.*<sup>3</sup>

If thou feel in thyself, Atheos, any spark of grace, pray unto the Lord and He will cause it to flame ; if thou have no feeling of faith, yet pray and the Lord will give abundance. For as He is a terrible God whose voice is like the rushing of many waters, so is He a merciful God whose words are as soft as oil ; though He breathe fire out of His nostrils against sinners, yet is He mild to those that ask forgiveness. But if thou be obstinate, that seeing thou wilt not see and knowing thou wilt not acknowledge, then shall thy heart be hardened with Pharaoh, and grace shall be taken away from thee with Saul. Thus saith the Lord, *Whoso believeth not shall perish.*(b) *Heaven and earth shall pass, but the word of the Lord shall endure forever.*<sup>4</sup> Submit thyself before the throne of His Majesty, and His mercy shall save thee. Honour the Lord and it shall be well with thee. Besides Him fear no strange god. Honour the Lord with all thy soul. Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise. Be not like the hypocrites, which honour God with their lips but be far from Him with their hearts, neither like the fool, which saith in his heart,(c) There is no God.

But if thou wilt still persevere in thine obstinacy, thine end shall be worse than thy beginning ; the Lord, yea, thy Saviour shall come to be thy Judge. When thou shalt behold Him come in glory with millions of angels and archangels, when thou shalt see Him appear in thunderings and lightnings and flashings of fire, when the mountains shall melt and the heavens be wrapped up like a scroll, when all the earth shall tremble, with what face wilt thou behold His glory that deniest His Godhead ? How canst thou abide His presence, that believest not His essence ? What hope canst thou have to be saved, which didst never acknowledge any (d) to be thy Saviour ? Then shall it be said to thee and to all those of thy sect (unless ye repent), *Depart*

<sup>1</sup> *He that . . . damned* : Mark xvi. 16.

(a) *He that believeth not shall be damned* So 1578. 1579A, etc. *He that believeth shall not be damned.*

<sup>2</sup> *He that . . . already* : John iii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *The portion . . . death* : Rev. xxi. 8.

(b) *Whoso believeth not shall perish* So 1578. 1581, etc. *Whoso believeth shall not perish.*

<sup>4</sup> *Whoso . . . forever* : Luke xxi. 33 ; Mark xiii. 31.

(c) *which saith in his heart* So 1579A, etc. 1578 misprints *his in heart*.

(d) *acknowledge any* So 1579A, etc. 1578 misprints *a-any*.



*all ye workers of iniquity.*<sup>1</sup> There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth when you shall see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the Kingdom of God, and ye to be thrust out. You shall conceive heat and bring forth wood, your own consciences shall consume you like fire.<sup>2</sup>

Here dost thou see, Atheos, the threatenings against unbelievers and the punishment prepared for miscreants. What better or sounder proof canst thou have that there is a God than thine own conscience, which is unto thee a thousand witnesses? Consider with thyself that thy soul is immortal, made to the image of the Almighty God. Be not curious to inquire of God but careful to believe, neither be thou desperate if thou see thy sins abound but faithful to obtain mercy; for the Lord will save thee because it is His pleasure. Search therefore the Scriptures, for they testify of Him.

*Atheos.* Truly, Euphues, you have said somewhat; but you go about contrary to the customs of schools, which, methinks, you should diligently observe, being a professed philosopher. For when I demand by what reason men are induced to acknowledge a God, you confirm it by course of Scripture, as who should say there were not a relation between God and the Scripture; because as the old fathers define, without Scripture there were no God, no Scripture without a God. Whosoever, therefore, denieth a Godhead denieth also the Scriptures which testify of Him. This is in my opinion *absurdum per absurdius*, to prove one absurdity by another.

If thou canst as substantially by reason prove thy authority of Scriptures to be true, as thou hast proved by Scriptures there is a God, then will I willingly with thee both believe the Scriptures and worship thy God. I have heard that Antiochus<sup>3</sup> commanded all the copies of the Testament to be burnt. From whence, therefore, have we these new books? I think thou wilt not say by revelation; therefore go forward.

*Euphues.* I have read of the milk of a tigress<sup>4</sup> that the more salt there is thrown into it the fresher it is; and it may be

<sup>1</sup> *Depart* [etc.]: Ps. vi. 8; Luke xiii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *You shall conceive . . . like fire.* Bond refers to Jer. v. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiochus*: Antiochus Epiphanes, who in 168 B.C. took Jerusalem and burned the books of the Law. See 1 Macc. i.

<sup>4</sup> Lyly's source for the simile of the tigress has not been found. Lauchert does not mention the story; it is not in Albertus Magnus, Isidore of Seville, Bartholomaeus, or Pliny.

that thou hast either eaten of that milk or that thou art the whelp of that monster, for the more reasons that are beat into thy head (a) the more unreasonable thou seemest to be, the greater my authorities are the lesser is thy belief.

As touching the authority of Scriptures, although there be many arguments which do prove, yea, and enforce the wicked to confess that the Scriptures come from God, yet by none other mean than by the secret testimony of the Holy Ghost our hearts are truly persuaded that it is God which speaketh in the law, in the prophets, in the Gospel. The orderly disposition of the wisdom of God, the doctrine savouring nothing of earthliness, the godly agreement of all parts among themselves, and specially the baseness of contemptible words uttering the high mysteries of the heavenly kingdom are second helps to establish the Scriptures.

Moreover the antiquity of the Scripture, whereas the books of other religions are later than the books of Moses ; which yet doth not himself invent a new God, but setteth forth to the Israelites the God of their fathers. Whereas Moses doth not hide the shame of Levi his father,<sup>1</sup> nor the murmuring of Aaron (b) his brother and of Marie his sister,<sup>2</sup> nor doth advance his own children ; the same are arguments that in his book is nothing feigned by man. Also the miracles that happened as well at the publishing of the law as in all the rest of time are infallible proofs that the Scriptures proceeded from the mouth of God. Also whereas Moses, speaking in the person of Jacob, assigneth government to the tribe of Judah, and where he telleth before of the calling of the Gentiles, whereof the one came to pass four hundred years after, the other almost two thousand years—these are arguments that it is God Himself that speaketh in the books of Moses. Whereas Isaiah telleth before of the captivity of the Jews and their restoring by Cyrus (which was born an hundred years after the death of Isaiah), and whereas Jeremiah, before the people were led away, appointeth their exile to continue threescore and ten years ; whereas Jeremiah and Ezekiel, being far distant in places the one from the other, do agree in all their sayings ; where Daniel telleth of

(a) *the more reasons that are beat into thy head.* So 1578. 1581 *are beaten.*

<sup>1</sup> *Levi his father* : he was really Moses' grandfather. See Ex. ii. and Gen. xxxiv.

(b) *the murmuring of Aaron* So 1581, etc. 1578–1580 *the mourning of Aaron.*

<sup>2</sup> *Marie his sister.* Mary is the Greek form of *Miriam*. See Num. xii. 1–2.

things to come six hundred years after—these are most certain proofs to establish the authority of the books of the prophets.

The simplicity of the speech of the first three evangelists containing heavenly mysteries, the praise of John thundering from on high with weighty sentences, the heavenly majesty shining in the writings of Peter and Paul, the sudden calling of Matthew from the receipt of custom, the calling of Peter and John from their fisher boats to the preaching of the Gospel, the conversion and calling of Paul being an enemy to the apostleship, are signs of the Holy Ghost speaking in them.

The consent of so many ages, of so sundry nations, and of so divers minds in embracing the Scriptures, and the rare godliness of some, ought to establish the authority thereof amongst us. Also the blood of so many martyrs which for the confession thereof have suffered death with a constant and sober zeal are undoubted testimonies of the truth and authority of the Scriptures.

The miracles that Moses recounteth are sufficient (a) to persuade us that God, yea, the God of Hosts set down the Scriptures. For this, that he was carried in a cloud up into the mountain, that there even until the fortieth day he continued without the company of men, that in the very publishing of the law his face did shine as it were beset with sunbeams, that lightnings flashed round about, that thunder and noises were each where heard in the air, that a trumpet sounded being not sounded with any mouth of man, that the entry of the tabernacle, by a cloud set between, was kept from the sight of the people, that his authority was so miraculously revenged with the horrible destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and all that wicked faction, that the rock stricken with a rod did by and by pour forth a river, that at his prayer it rained manna from heaven—did not God herein commend him from heaven as an undoubted prophet?

Now as touching the tyranny of Antiochus, which commanded all the books to be burned, herein God's singular Providence is seen which hath always kept His word both from the mighty, that they could never extinguish the same, and from the malicious, that they could never diminish it. There were divers copies which God of his great goodness kept from the bloody proclamation of Antiochus; and by and by followed the translating of them into Greek,<sup>1</sup> that they might be published

(a) are sufficient So 1579A, etc. 1578 sufficient.

<sup>1</sup> As Bond points out, the Septuagint had been made before Antiochus' burning of the Books.

unto the whole world. The Hebrew tongue lay not only unesteemed but almost unknown, and surely had it not been God's will to have His religion provided for it had altogether perished.

Thou seest, Atheos, how the Scriptures come from the mouth of God and are written by the finger of the Holy Ghost in the consciences of all the faithful. But if thou be so curious to ask other questions or so quarrelous to strive against the truth, I must answer thee as an old father answered a young fool, which needs would know what God did before he made heaven; to whom he said, "Hell, for such curious inquisitors of God's secrets, whose wisdom is not to be comprehended." For who is he that can measure the wind or weigh the fire<sup>1</sup> or attain unto the unsearchable judgements of the Lord?

Besides this, where the Holy Ghost hath ceased to set down there ought we to cease to inquire, seeing we have the sufficiency of our salvation contained in Holy Scripture. It were an absurdity in schools, if one being urged with a place in Aristotle could find none other shift to avoid a blank than in doubting whether Aristotle spake such words or no. Shall it then be tolerable to deny the Scriptures, having no other colour to avoid an inconvenience but by doubting whether they proceed from the Holy Ghost? But that such doubts arise among many in our age, the reason is their little faith, not the insufficient proof of the cause. Thou mayest as well demand how I prove white to be white or black black, and why it should be called white rather than green. Such gross questions are to be answered with slender reasons and such idle heads should be scoffed (a) with addle answers.

He that hath no motion of God in his mind, no feeling of the Spirit, no taste of heavenly things, no remorse in conscience, no spark of zeal is rather to be confounded by torments than reasons; for it is an evident and infallible sign that the Holy Ghost hath not sealed his conscience, whereby he might cry, "Abba, Father." I could allege Scripture to prove that the godly should refrain from the company of the wicked, which although thou wilt not believe yet will it condemn thee. Saint Paul saith,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Measure the wind or weigh the fire.* Compare 2 Esdras iv. 5: "Then said he unto me, Go to, weigh me a weight of fire, or measure me a measure of wind, or call me again the day that is past."

(a) *such idle heads should be scoffed* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *such idle heads would be scoffed.*

<sup>2</sup> *Saint Paul saith.* Lyly has an unjustifiable way of quoting the substance of a passage as if he were quoting literally. See 2 Thess. iii. 11 and 14.

*I desire you, brethren, that you abstain from the company of those that walk inordinately. Again, My son, if sinners<sup>1</sup> shall flatter thee give no ear unto them ; fly from the evil,<sup>2</sup> and evils shall fly from thee.*

And surely were it not to confute thy detestable heresy and bring thee, if it might be, to some taste of the Holy Ghost, I would abandon all place of thy abode ; for I think the ground accursed whereon thou standest. Thine opinions are so monstrous that I cannot tell whether thou wilt cast<sup>3</sup> a doubt, also, whether thou have a soul or no ; which if thou do, I mean not to waste wind in proving that which thine infidelity will not permit thee to believe. For if thou hast as yet felt no taste of the spirit working in thee, then sure I am that to prove the immortality of the soul were bootless ; if thou have a secret feeling, then it were needless. And God grant thee that glowing and sting in conscience that thy soul may witness to thyself that there is a living God, and thy heart shed drops of blood as a token of repentance in that thou hast denied that God. And so I commit thee to God, and that which I cannot do with any persuasion I will not leave to attempt with my prayer.

*Atheos.* Nay stay a while, good Euphues, and leave not him perplexed with fear whom thou mayest make perfect by faith. For now I am brought into such a double and doubtful distress that I know not how to turn me ; if I believe not the Scriptures then shall I be damned for unbelief, if I believe them then I shall be confounded for my wicked life. I know the whole course of the Bible, which if I should believe then must I also believe that I am an abject.<sup>4</sup> For thus saith Eli<sup>5</sup> to his sons, *If man sin against man, God can forgive it ; if against God, who shall entreat for him ? He that sinneth is of the devil, the reward of sin is death, thou shalt not suffer the wicked to live. Take all the princes of the people and hang them up against the sun on gibbets, that my anger may be turned from Israel.* These sayings of Holy Scripture cause me to tremble and shake in every sinew. Again, this saith

<sup>1</sup> *My son, if sinners* [etc.] : Prov. i. 10 : "My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not."

<sup>2</sup> *Fly from the evil.* Perhaps the original is James iv. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Cast* : consider, ponder, estimate the weight or value of.

<sup>4</sup> *An abject* : an outcast. Compare Ps. xxxv. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Thus saith Eli.* As in other places Lyly here runs several quotations under one caption. The first is 1 Sam. ii. 25. Others are Rom. vi. 23 ("the wages of sin," etc.), Num. xxv. 4 ("Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up before the Lord against the sun").

the Holy Bible,<sup>1</sup> *Now shall the scourge fall upon thee for thou hast sinned. Behold I set a curse before you to-day, if you shall not hearken to the commandments of the Lord. All they that have forsaken the Lord shall be confounded.* Furthermore where threats are poured out against sinners my heart bleedeth in my belly to remember them. *I will come unto you in judgement,*<sup>2</sup> saith the Lord, *and I will be a swift and a severe witness, offenders, adulterers, and those that have committed perjury and retained the duty of the hirelings, oppressed the widows, misused the stranger, and those that have not feared me, the Lord of Hosts.* Out of His mouth shall come a two-edged sword. *Behold I come quickly and bring my reward with me, which is to yield every one according to his deserts.*<sup>3</sup> Great is the day of the Lord and terrible, and who is he that may abide Him? (a) What shall I then do when the Lord shall arise to judge, and when He shall demand what shall I answer?

Besides this, the names that in Holy Scripture are attributed to God bring a terror to my guilty conscience. He is said to be *a terrible God, a God of revenge, Whose voice is like the thunder, Whose breath maketh all the corners of the earth to shake and tremble.* These things, Euphues, testify unto my conscience that if there be a God, He is the God of the righteous and One that will confound the wicked. Whither, therefore, shall I go or how may I avoid the day of vengeance to come? If I go to heaven that is His seat, if into the earth that is His footstool, if into the depth He is there also. Who can shroud himself from the face of the Lord, or where can one hide him that the Lord cannot find him? His words are like fire and the people like dry wood and shall be consumed.<sup>4</sup>

*Euphues.* Although I cannot but rejoice to hear thee acknowledge a God, yet must I needs lament to see thee so much distrust Him. The devil,<sup>5</sup> that roaring lion, seeing his prey to be

<sup>1</sup> *Thus saith the Holy Bible.* The first sentence apparently from Jer. xl. 3; the second, Deut. xi. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *I will come unto you in judgement* [etc.]: Mal. iii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. xxii. 12.

(a) *who is he that may abide Him* So 1578. 1580, etc. *who is he that can abide Him*; 1579, etc. *who is he that can abide it.*

<sup>4</sup> *His words . . . consumed*: Jer. v. 14. Other familiar Biblical passages are woven into the paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> *The devil* [etc.]: i.e., 'The Devil can cite Scripture to his purpose'; but this saying originates apparently with Shakespeare (*Mer. of Ven.*, i. 3, 93). Perhaps the idea was current in some proverbial form before Lyly, though no English proverb of the sort has been cited. Wahl, *Jahrbuch d. Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, xxii. 123) cites the French proverb of the 15th century: "Le diable

taken out of his jaws, allegeth all Scripture that may condemn the sinner, leaving all out that should comfort the sorrowful ; much like unto the deceitful physician, which recounteth all things that may endanger his patient, never telling anything that may recure him.

Let not thy conscience be aggrieved, but with a patient heart(a) renounce all thy former iniquities and thou shalt receive eternal life. Assure thyself that as God is a Lord so He is a Father, as Christ is a Judge so He is a Saviour, as there is a law so there is a Gospel. Though God have leaden hands which when they strike pay home, yet hath He leaden feet which are as slow to overtake a sinner. Hear, therefore, the great comfort flowing in every leaf and line of the Scripture, if thou be penitent.(b)

*I, Myself, am even He which doth blot out thy transgressions,<sup>1</sup> and that for Mine own sake ; and I will not be mindful of thy sins. Behold the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save, neither His ear heavy that it cannot hear. If your sins were as crimson they shall be made whiter than snow, and though they were as red as scarlet they shall be made like white wool. If we confess our offences He is faithful and just so that He will forgive us our sins. God hath not appointed us unto wrath but unto salvation by the means of our Lord Jesus Christ. The earth is filled with the mercy of the Lord. It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven that any one of the little ones should perish. God is rich in mercy. I will not the death of a sinner, saith the Lord God ; return and live. The Son of God came not to destroy but to save. God hath mercy on all because He can do all. God is merciful, long-suffering, and of much mercy. If the wicked man shall repent of his wickedness, which he hath committed, and keep My commandments, doing justice and judgement, he shall live the life and shall not die. If I shall say unto the sinner, Thou shalt die the death ; yet if he repent and do justice, he shall not die.*

Call to thy mind the great goodness of God in creating thee, His singular love in giving His Son for thee. So God loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever parle toujours en l'Evangile"; he also quotes Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, i. (Dodsley, viii. 261): "What, bring you Scripture to confirm your wrongs." Marlowe probably gave Shakespeare the suggestion.

(a) *but with a patient heart* So 1578. 1581, etc. *but with a penitent heart.* See next note.

(b) *if thou be penitent.* So 1580, etc. 1578 *if thou be patient.*

<sup>1</sup> The quotations in this passage are so familiar that it is not necessary to give the references.

*believed in Him might not perish but have everlasting life. God hath not sent His Son to judge the world, but that the world might be saved by Him. Can the mother (saith the prophet) forget the child of her womb? And though she be so unnatural, yet will I not be unmindful of thee. There shall be more joy in heaven for the repentance of one sinner than for ninety and nine just persons. I came not, saith Christ, to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. If any man sin we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous; He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins only but for the sins of the whole world. I write unto you, little children, because your sins be forgiven for His name's sake. Doth not Christ say that whatsoever we shall ask the Father in His name we shall obtain? Doth not God say, This is My beloved Son in Whom I am well pleased; hear Him?*

I have read of Themistocles<sup>1</sup> which, having offended Philip the king of Macedonia and could no way appease his anger, meeting his young son Alexander took him in his arms and met Philip in the face. Philip, seeing the smiling countenance of the child, was well pleased with Themistocles. Even so, if through thy manifold sins and heinous offences thou provoke the heavy displeasure of thy God, insomuch as thou shalt tremble for horror, take His only begotten and well-beloved Son Jesus in thine arms, and then He neither can nor will be angry with thee. If thou have denied thy God, yet if thou go out with Peter and weep bitterly, God will not deny thee. Though with the prodigal son thou wallow in thine own wilfulness, yet if thou return again sorrowful thou shalt be received. If thou be a grievous offender, yet if thou come unto Christ with the woman in Luke and wash His feet with thy tears, thou shalt obtain remission.

Consider with thyself the great love of Christ and the bitter torments that He endured for thy sake, which was enforced through the horror of death to cry with a loud voice, *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?* My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Me? And with a groaning spirit to say, *My soul is heavy even unto the death; tarry here and watch.* And again, *Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from Me.* Remember how He was crowned with thorns, crucified with thieves, scourged and hanged for thy salvation, how He sweat water and blood for thy remission, how He endured even the torments of the damned spirits for thy redemption, how He overcame death that thou

<sup>1</sup> *Themistocles.* The story is told by Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, 24, but told of another person, namely, Admetus. See Bond's note.



shouldst not die, how He conquered the devil that thou mightest not be damned. When thou shalt record what He hath done to purchase thy freedom, how canst thou dread bondage? When thou shalt behold the agonies and anguish of mind that He suffered for thy sake, how canst thou doubt of the release of thy soul? When thy Saviour shall be thy Judge, why shouldst thou tremble to hear of judgement? When thou hast a continual Mediator with God the Father, how canst thou distrust of His favour?

Turn, therefore, unto Christ with a willing heart and a wailing mind for thy offences, who hath promised that at what time soever a sinner repenteth him of his sins he shall be forgiven, who calleth all those that are heavy laden that they might be refreshed, who is the door to them that knock, the way to that them seek, the truth,<sup>(a)</sup> the rock, the corner-stone, the fulness of time; it is He that can and will pour oil into thy wounds. Who absolved Mary Magdalene from her sins but Christ? Who forgave the thief his robbery and manslaughter but Christ? Who made Matthew the publican and toll-gatherer an apostle and preacher but Christ? Who is that good Shepherd that fetcheth home the stray sheep so lovingly upon His shoulders but Christ? Who received home the lost son, was it not Christ? Who made of Saul a persecutor Paul an apostle, was it not Christ? I pass over divers other histories both of the Old and New Testament, which do abundantly declare what great comfort the faithful penitent sinners have always had in hearing the comfortable promises of God's mercy.

Canst thou then, Atheos, distrust thy Christ who rejoiceth at thy repentance? Assure thyself that through His passion and bloodshedding death hath lost his sting, the devil his victory, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against thee. Let not, therefore, the blood of Christ be shed in vain by thine obstinate and hard heart. Let this persuasion rest in thee that thou shalt receive absolution freely, and then shalt thou feel thy soul even as it were to hunger and thirst after righteousness.

*Atheos.* Well, Euphues, seeing the Holy Ghost hath made

(a) *the way to them that seek, the truth* I have retained the comma after *seek*, following the first edition; though 1579A, B, 1580, 1613-1636 print *seek the truth*. The matter of punctuation is, of course, uncertain in the early texts. But the balance of the sentence and the form of Luke xi. 9, 10 seem, on the whole, to favour the original arrangement.

thee the mean to make me a man (for before the taste of the gospel I was worse than a beast), I hope the same Spirit will also lighten my conscience with His word and confirm it to the end in constancy that I may not only confess my Christ faithfully but also preach Him fully, that I may not only be a minister of His word but also a martyr for it, if it be His pleasure.<sup>(a)</sup> O Euphues, how much am I bound to the goodness of Almighty God, which hath made me of an infidel a believer, of a castaway a Christian, of an heathenly pagan a heavenly Protestant! O how comfortable is the feeling and taste of grace, how joyful are the glad tidings of the gospel; the faithful promises of salvation, the free redemption of the soul! I will endeavour by all means to confute those damnable—I know not by what names to term them—but blasphemers I am sure; which if they be no more, certainly they can be no less. I see now the odds betwixt light and darkness, faith and frowardness, Christ and Belial. Be thou, Euphues, a witness of my faith, seeing thou hast been the instrument of my belief, and I will pray that I show it in my life. As for thee, I account myself so much in thy debt as I shall never be able with the loss of my life to render thee thy due; but God, which rewardeth the zeal of all men, will, I hope, bless thee, and I will pray for thee.

*Euphues.* O Atheos, little is the debt thou owest me, but great is the comfort that I have received by thee. Give the praise to God, whose goodness hath made thee a member of the mystical body of Christ, and not only a brother with His Son but also a coheritor with thy Saviour. There is no heart so hard, no heathen so obstinate, no miscreant or infidel so impious, that by grace is not made as supple as oil, as tractable as a sheep, as faithful as any. The adamant<sup>1</sup> though it be so hard that nothing can bruise it, yet if the warm blood of a goat be poured upon it, it bursteth. Even so, although the heart of the atheist and unbeliever be so hard that neither reward nor revenge can mollify it, so stout that no persuasion can break it, yet if the grace of God purchased by the blood of Christ do but once touch it, it renteth in sunder and is enforced to acknowledge an omnipotent and everlasting Jehovah. Let us, therefore, both (~~Atheos~~ I will not now call thee, but Theophilus) fly unto that Christ which hath through His mercy, not our merits, purchased for us the inheritance of everlasting life.

(a) if it be His pleasure So 1580, etc. 1578 omits it.

<sup>1</sup> The adamant [etc.]: see note on p. 46.

## CERTAIN LETTERS WRIT BY EUPHUES TO HIS FRIENDS<sup>1</sup>

### *Euphues to Philautus*<sup>2</sup>

IF the course of youth had any respect to the staff of age or the living man any regard to the dying mould, we would with greater care when we were young shun those things which should grieve us when we be old, and with more severity direct the sequel of our life for the fear of present death. But such is either the unhappiness of man's condition, or the untowardness of his crooked nature, or the wilfulness of his mind, or the blindness of his heart, that in youth he surfeiteth with delights preventing age<sup>3</sup> or, if he live, continueth in dotage forgetting death. It is a world to see how in our flourishing time, when we best may, we be worst willing to thrive; and how in the fading of our days, (a) when we most should, we have least desire to remember our end.

Thou wilt muse, Philautus, to hear Euphues to preach, who of late had more mind to serve his lady than to worship his Lord. Ah, Philautus, thou art now a courtier in Italy, I a scholar in Athens, and as hard it is for thee to follow good counsel as for me to enforce thee, seeing in thee there is little will to amend and in me less authority to command; yet will I exhort thee as a friend—I would I might compel thee as a father. But I have

<sup>1</sup> *Certain letters writ by Euphues* [etc.]. Guevara's *Libro Aureo* ends in the same way with *Certain Letters written by M. Aurelius* and reproduced with this title in North's *Diall of Princes*. As Landmann and Bond agree, this is probably a reason for Lyly's adopting the same form.

<sup>2</sup> *Euphues to Philautus*. The letter is one of the many Renaissance essays in dispraise of a courtly life. See Feuillerat, p. 260, n. 3, for a list of such works.

<sup>3</sup> *Preventing age*. Bond renders: 'Making him old before his time'; but it probably means 'preventing him from attaining old age,' 'such as to shorten his life.'

(a) *in the fading of our days* So 1579A, etc. (1581, etc. *vading*). 1578 *in fadinge of our dayes*.

heard that it is peculiar to an Italian to stand in his own conceit and to a courtier never to be controlled, which causeth me to fear that in thee which I lament in others : that is, that either thou seem too wise in thine own opinion, thinking scorn to be taught, or too wild in thine attempts in rejecting admonishment. The one proceedeth of self-love, and so thy name importeth, the other of mere folly, and that thy nature showeth. Thou lookest I should crave pardon for speaking so boldly. No, Philautus. I mean not to flatter thee, for then should I incur the suspicion of fraud ; neither am I determined to fall out with thee, for then might the wise convince me of folly.

But thou art in great credit in the court. And what then ? Shall thy credit with the Emperor<sup>1</sup> abate my courage to my God ? Or thy haughty looks quench my kindled love, or thy gallant show (a) aslake<sup>2</sup> my good will ? Hath the courtier any prerogative<sup>3</sup> above the clown why he should not be reprehended, doth his high calling not only give him a commission to sin but remission also if he offend, doth his pre-eminence in the court warrant him to oppress the poor by might and acquit him of punishment ? No, Philautus. By how much the more thou excellest others in honours, by so much the more thou oughtest to exceed them in honesty, and the higher thy calling is, the better ought thy conscience to be ; and as far it beseemeth a gentleman to be from pride as he is from poverty, and as near to gentleness in condition as he is in blood.

But I will descend with thee to particulars. It is reported here for a troth that Philautus hath given over himself to all deliciousness, desiring rather to be dandled in the laps of ladies than busied in the study of good letters. And I would this were all, which is too much, or the rest a lie, which is too mon-

<sup>1</sup> *The Emperor.* This mention and similar ones in the letter of Livia below are considered by Bond as proofs of Lyly's slavish and stupid transfer of terms from North's translation of Guevara. They may indicate imitation ; but the connection of Naples and Sicily with the German Empire under the common rulership of Charles V. and Philip II.'s possession of these states at the time Lyly was writing absolve him from the utter carelessness attributed to him. It is plain, too, that in these letters Lyly indirectly aims at conditions at Elizabeth's court, and to call *her* Emperor or Empress needed no apology.

(a) *or thy gallant show* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *the gallant shew.*

<sup>2</sup> *Aslake* : lessen, abate, cause to slacken : a word in constant use down to Lyly's time, but already obsolescent then.

<sup>3</sup> *Hath the courtier any prerogative* [etc.]. It is Ascham's doctrine that Lyly is preaching here (and Burleigh's also). See especially *Scholemaster*, ed. Camb., 1904, p. 222.

strous. It is now in every man's mouth that thou, yea, thou, Philautus, art so void of courtesy that thou hast almost forgotten common sense and humanity, having neither care of religion (a thing too common in a courtier), neither regard of honesty or any virtuous behaviour.

Oh Philautus, dost thou live as thou shouldst never die and laugh as thou shouldst never mourn; art thou so simple that thou dost not know from whence thou camest or so sinful that thou carest not whither thou goest? What is in thee that should make thee so secure, or what can there be in any that may cause him to glory? Milo,<sup>1</sup> that great wrestler, began to weep when he saw his arms brawnfallen and weak, saying, "Strength, strength is but vanity." Helen, in her new glass viewing her old face, with a smiling countenance cried, "Beauty where is thy blaze?<sup>2</sup>" Croesus with all his wealth, Aristotle with all his wit, all men with all their wisdom have and shall perish and turn to dust. But thou delightest to have the new fashion, the Spanish felt,<sup>3</sup> the French ruff, thy crew of ruffians, all thine attire misshapen to make thee a monster, and all thy time misspent to show thee unhappy. What should I go about to decipher thy life, seeing the beginning sheweth the end to be naught?

Art not thou one of those, Philautus, which seekest to win credit with thy superiors by flattery and wring out wealth from thy inferiors by force and undermine thy equals by fraud? Dost thou not make the court not only a cover to defend thyself from wrong, but a colour also to commit injury? Art not thou one of those that, having gotten on their sleeve the cognizance of a courtier, have shaken from thy skirts the regard of courtesy? I cannot but lament (I would I might remedy) the great abuses that reign in the eyes of the Emperor. I fear me the poet<sup>4</sup> saith too truly, (a)

*Exeat aula*

*Qui vult esse pius. Virtus et summa potestas  
Non coeunt.*

Is not piety turned all to policy, faith to foresight, justice to

<sup>1</sup> Milo: see note on p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Blaze: see note on p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Felt: i.e., a hat of felt. On the abuse of fashion in dress by courtiers of Elizabeth see Ascham, as above.

<sup>4</sup> The poet: namely Lucan in *Pharsalia*, 8, 493 ff.

(a) the poet saith too truly So 1581, etc. 1578 the Poet say to truly; 1580 the Poet says too truly; Bond conjectures to say truly. Say may have been subjunctive following I fear me.

rigour (a); doth not he best thrive that worst deserveth, and he rule all the country that hath no conscience? Doth not the Emperor's court grow to this insolent blindness, that all that see not their folly they account fools, and all that speak against it precise<sup>1</sup>; laughing at the simplicity of the one, and threatening the boldness of the other? Philautus, if thou wouldest with due consideration weigh how far a courtier's life is from a sound belief, thou wouldest either frame thyself to a new trade or else amend thine old manners; yea, thou wouldest with Crates<sup>2</sup> leave all thy possessions, taking thy books, and trudge to Athens, and with Anaxagoras<sup>3</sup> despise wealth to attain wisdom. If thou hadst as great respect to die well as thou hast care to live wantonly, thou wouldest with Socrates seek how thou mightest yield to death, rather than with Aristippus<sup>4</sup> search how to prolong thy life.

<sup>3</sup> Dost thou not know that where the tree falleth there it lieth<sup>5</sup>; and everyone's deathday is his doomsday; that the whole course of life is but a meditation of death, a pilgrimage, a warfare? Hast thou not read, or dost thou not regard what is written, that we all shall be cited before the tribunal seat of God to render a straight account of our stewardship? If then the reward be to be measured by thy merits, what boot canst thou look for but eternal pain, which here livest in continual pleasure? So shouldst thou live as thou mayest die, and then shalt thou die to live. Wert thou as strong as Samson, as wise as Solomon, as holy as David, as faithful as Abraham, as zealous as Moses,

(a) *justice to rigour* 1578-1597 print *rigour to justice*; emended in later editions.

<sup>1</sup> *All that speak against it precise*. 'Precisian' was of course a common name for persons of Puritan tendency, and it is probable that Lyly here alludes to certain conflicts as regards control of morals between the London County Council and Elizabeth's courtiers, such for instance as the one concerning dress which Ascham interestingly describes (*Scholemaster*, p. 221), or to the recent attacks of Stephen Gosson on the vices of courtiers and others in his *School of Abuses*, 1579, and his *Ephemerides of Phialo*, first printed in 1579. Gosson was commonly called a "precisian."

<sup>2</sup> *Crates*. Plutarch relates (*Against Usury*, at the end) that Crates the Theban, wearied with the cares of housekeeping, "took himself to his bag and wallet, to his simple robe and cloak of coarse cloth, and fled into the sanctuary and liberties of philosophy and poetry" (Holland's transl.).

<sup>3</sup> *Anaxagoras*. Plutarch speaks of him in connection with Crates immediately after the passage quoted above.

<sup>4</sup> *Aristippus*: see note on p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Where the tree falleth there it lieth*: one of a group of proverbs all expressing the idea "As a man lives so shall he die." See Düringsfeld, ii. 16\* (Suppl.).

as good as any that ever lived, yet shalt thou die as they have done ; but not rise again to life with them, unless thou live as they did.

But thou wilt say that no man ought to judge thy conscience but thyself, seeing thou knowest it better than any. O Philautus, if thou search thyself and see not sin, then is thy case almost cureless. The patient, if physicians are to be credited and common experience esteemed, is the nearest death when he thinketh himself past his disease, and the less grief he feeleth the greater fits he endureth ; the wound that is not searched because it a little smarteth is fullest of dead flesh, and the sooner it skinneth the sorer it festereth. It is said that thunder bruise the tree<sup>1</sup> but breaketh not the bark, and pierceth the blade and never hurteth the scabbard ; even so doth sin wound the heart but never hurt the eyes, and infect the soul though outwardly it nothing afflict the body.

Descend, therefore, into thine own conscience, confess thy sins, reform thy manners, contemn the world, embrace Christ, leave the court, follow thy study, prefer holiness before honour, honesty before promotion, religion and uprightness of life before the overlashings of the flesh. Resemble the bee<sup>2</sup> (a) which out of the driest and bitterest thyme sucketh moist and sweet honey, and, if thou canst, out of the court, a place of more pomp than piety, suck out the true juice of perfection. But if thou see in thyself a will rather to go forward in thy looseness than any mean to go backward, if the glittering faces of fair ladies or the glittering show of lusty gallants or courtly fare or any delicate thing seem to entice thee to further lewdness, come from the court to Athens ; and so in shunning the causes of evil, thou shalt soon escape the effect of thy misfortune. The more those things please thee the more thou displeasest God, and the greater pride thou takest in sin the greater pain thou heapest to thy soul. Examine thine own conscience and see whether thou hast done as is required ; if thou have, thank the

<sup>1</sup> *Thunder bruise the tree* [etc.]. Compare p. 280. Montuus, *De Admirandis Facultatibus* (ed. Lyons, 1566, Cent. i. no. 79), quotes a poem by Faber on lightning in which occur the lines :

*Intacto foculo ferrum consumitur intus,  
Carne quidem sana, ossa incinerata cadunt.*

Gascoigne imitated this in a passage quoted above (Introd., p. lii, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> *The bee . . . thyme . . . honey* : compare p. 41. So also Nashe, *Works*, i. 30, 2-5. The ultimate source is Plutarch, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, 5 ; but Lyly, like Nashe, probably used Erasmus' *Similia*, 590B. See note by M'Kerrow on the passage in Nashe.

(a) *Resemble the bee* So 1578. 1581, etc. *remember the bee*.

Lord and pray for increase of grace, if not, desire God to give thee a willing mind to attain faith and constancy to continue to the end.

*Euphues to Eubulus*<sup>1</sup> (a)

I salute thee in the Lord, etc. Although I was not so witty to follow thy grave advice when I first knew thee, yet do I not lack grace to give thee thanks since I tried thee. And if I were as able to persuade thee to patience as thou wert desirous to exhort me to piety, or as wise to comfort thee in thine age as thou willing to instruct me in my youth, thou shouldst now with less grief endure thy late loss and with little care lead thy aged life.

Thou weepest for the death of thy daughter, and I laugh at the folly of the father; for greater vanity is there in the mind of the mourner, than bitterness in the death of the deceased. But she was amiable—but yet sinful. But she was young and might have lived—but she was mortal and must have died. Aye, but her youth made thee often merry; aye, but thine age should once make thee wise. Aye, but her green years were unfit for death; aye, but thy hoary hairs should despise life. Knowest thou not, Eubulus, that life is the gift of God, death the due of nature; as we receive the one for a benefit, so must we abide the other of necessity? Wise men have found that by learning which old men should know by experience, that in life there is nothing sweet, in death nothing sour. The philosophers accounted it the chiefest felicity never to be born,<sup>2</sup> the second

<sup>1</sup> *Euphues to Eubulus*. "The letter to Eubulus," says Feuillerat, "is similar in tone to that of Seneca to Marullus (*Consolatoria in morte filii*: Epp. to Lucilius, 99); it also seems to contain some ideas borrowed from Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* on the death of his son, or again from his letter of consolation to his wife on the death of their daughter. But these are only vague echoes . . . and these indefinite resemblances are no more than traces of ideas preserved by a retentive memory" (*John Lyly*, p. 261).

(a) *Eubulus*. So 1579A, etc. 1578 *Ferardo*. The same change is made just below. This *Eubulus* of the second and later editions is doubtless the "old gentleman in Naples" (p. 13) of that name (p. 22); while the *Ferardo* of the first edition is the father of Lucilla, Lyly having probably forgotten at the time that *Ferardo* had already died "leaving Lucilla the only heir of his lands" (p. 89).

<sup>2</sup> *The chiefest felicity never to be born* [etc.]. Lyly might have had this saying from a variety of authors known to him. The nearest is Erasmus' *Adagia*, 503A (*Works*, ii. 3, 49), where it is quoted from Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.*



soon to die. And what hath death in it so hard that we should take it so heavily? Is it strange to see that cut off which by nature is made to be cut, or that melten which is fit to be melted, or that burnt which is apt to be burnt, or man to pass that is born to perish?

But thou grantest that she should<sup>1</sup> have died—and yet art thou grieved that she is dead. Is the death the better if the life be longer? No, truly. For as neither he that singeth most or prayeth longest or ruleth the stern<sup>2</sup> oftenest but he that doth it best deserveth greatest praise, so he, not that hath most years, but many virtues, nor he that hath grayest hairs, but greatest goodness, liveth longest. The chief beauty of life<sup>3</sup> consisteth not in the numbering of many days but in the using of virtuous doings. Amongst plants those be best esteemed that in shortest time bring forth much fruit. Be not the fairest flowers gathered when they be freshest, the youngest beasts killed for sacrifice because they be finest? The measure of life is not length but honesty, neither do we enter<sup>4</sup> into life to the end we should set down the day of our death, but therefore do we live that we may obey Him that made us and be willing to die when He shall call us.

But I will ask thee this question, whether thou wail the loss of thy daughter<sup>5</sup> for thine own sake or hers? If for thine own sake, because thou didst hope in thine age to recover comfort, then is thy love to her but for thy commodity, and therein thou art but an unkind father; if for hers, then dost thou mistrust her salvation, and therein thou showest thy unconstant faith. Thou shouldst not weep that she hath run fast, but that thou hast gone so slow, neither ought it to grieve thee that she is gone to her home with a few years, but that thou art to go with many.

But why go I about to use a long process to a little purpose? The bud is blasted as soon as the blown rose, the wind shaketh off the blossom as well as the fruit. Death spareth neither the

i. 38, 14) and its history in earlier authors elaborately traced. Bond and Feuillerat (p. 261) refer also to Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apol.* 23, and Bond adds Pliny, vii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> *Should*: would. See note (a), p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Ruleth the stern*: guides the rudder.

<sup>3</sup> *The chief beauty of life* [etc.]. Feuillerat cites, for the thought, Plutarch's *Consol. ad Apol.* 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Neither do we enter* [etc.]. Compare Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apol.* 16 (Feuillerat).

<sup>5</sup> *Whether thou wail . . . thy daughter* [etc.]. Compare Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apol.* 16 (Feuillerat).

golden locks nor the hoary head. I mean not to make a treatise in the praise of death, but to note the necessity ; neither to write what joys they receive that die, but to show what pains they endure that live. And thou which art even in the wane of thy life, whom nature hath nourished so long that now she beginneth to nod, mayest well know what griefs, what labours, what pains are in age ; and yet wouldest thou be either young to endure many or elder to bide more. But thou thinkest it honourable to go to the grave with a gray head ; but I deem it more glorious to be buried with an honest name. "Age," sayest thou, "is the blessing of God"—yet the messenger of death. Descend, therefore, into thine own conscience, consider the goodness that cometh by the end and the badness which was by the beginning, take the death of thy daughter patiently and look for thine own speedily ; so shalt thou perform both the office of an honest man, and the honour of an aged father. And so farewell.

*Euphues to Philautus.  
Touching the death of Lucilla*

I have received thy letters, and thou hast deceived mine expectations : for thou seemest to take more thought for the loss of an harlot than the life of an honest woman. Thou writest that she was shameful in her trade and shameless in her end. I believe thee. It is no marvel that she which living practised sin should dying be void of shame, neither could there be any great hope of repentance at the hour of death where there was no regard of honesty in time of life. She was stricken suddenly being troubled with no sickness. It may be, for it is commonly seen that a sinful life is rewarded with a sudden death, and a sweet beginning<sup>1</sup> with a sour end. Thou addest, moreover, that she being in great credit with the states,<sup>2</sup> died in great beggary in the streets ; certes it is an old saying that whoso liveth in the court shall die in the straw. She hoped there by delights to gain money, and by her deserts purchased misery ; they that seek to climb by privy sin shall fall with open shame, and they that covet to swim in vice shall sink in vanity to their own perils. Thou sayest that for beauty she was the Helen of Greece ; and I durst swear that for beastliness she might be the

<sup>1</sup> *A sweet beginning.* On the contrary, 'Good beginning maketh good ending,' according to Hendyng, Heywood, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *States :* 'people of rank and position.'—Landmann. Bond cites other examples from Lyly.

monster of Italy.<sup>1</sup> In my mind greater is the shame to be accounted an harlot than the praise to be esteemed amiable. But where thou art in the court there is more regard of beauty than honesty, and more are they lamented that die viciously than they loved that live virtuously ; for thou givest, as it were, a sigh, which (a) all thy companions in the court seem by thee to sound also, that Lucilla being one of so great perfection in all parts of the body and so little piety in the soul, should be, as it were, snatched out of the jaws of so many young gentlemen.

Well, Philautus, thou takest not so much care for the loss of her as I grief for thy lewdness, neither canst thou sorrow more to see her die suddenly than I to hear thee live shamefully. If thou mean to keep me as a friend, skake off those vain toys and dalliances with women ; believe me, Philautus—I speak it with salt tears trickling down my cheeks—the life thou livest in court is no less abhorred than the wicked death of Lucilla detested, and more art thou scorned for thy folly than she hated for her filthiness. The evil end of Lucilla should move thee to begin a good life. I have often warned thee to shun thy wonted trade<sup>2</sup> ; and if thou love me as thou protestest in thy letters, then leave all thy vices and show it in thy life. If thou mean not to amend thy manners I desire thee to write no more to me, for I will neither answer thee nor read them. The jennet<sup>3</sup> is broken as soon with a wand as with the spur, a gentleman as well allured with a word as with a sword.

Thou concludest in the end that Livia is sick. Truly I am sorry, for she is a maiden of no less comeliness than modesty, and hard it is to judge whether she deserves more praise for her beauty with the amorous or admiration for her honesty of the virtuous. If you love me embrace her, for she is able both to satisfy thine eye for choice and instruct thy heart with learning. Commend me unto her, and as I praise her to thee so will I pray for her to God, that either she may have patience to endure her trouble or deliverance to scape her peril.

Thou desirest me to send thee the sermons which were preached of late in Athens. I have fulfilled thy request ; but I fear me thou wilt use them as Saint George doth his horse,<sup>4</sup> who is ever

<sup>1</sup> *The monster of Italy.* The allusion is probably not definite. Euphues merely means 'the most horrible creature in Italy,' 'Italy's prodigy.'

(a) *a sigh, which* So 1579A, etc. 1578 *a sigh, with.*

<sup>2</sup> *Trade* : way of living, daily occupations. So also on preceding page.

<sup>3</sup> *The jennet* [etc.]. See note on p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> *As Saint George doth his horse.* See note on p. 112.

on his back but never rideth. But if thou wert as willing to read them as I was to send them, or as ready to follow them as desirous to have them, it shall not repent thee of thy labour nor me of my cost. And thus farewell.

*Euphues to Botonio,<sup>1</sup>  
to take his exile patiently*

If I were as wise to give thee counsel as I am willing to do thee good or as able to set thee at liberty as desirous to have thee free, thou shouldest neither want good advice to guide thee nor sufficient help to restore thee. Thou takest it heavily that thou shouldest be accused without colour and exiled without cause ; and I think thee happy to be so well rid of the court and to be so void of crime. Thou<sup>2</sup> sayest banishment is bitter to the free-born ; and I deem it the better, if thou be without blame. There be many meats which are sour in the mouth and sharp in the maw ; but if thou mingle them with sweet sauces, they yield both a pleasant taste and wholesome nourishment. Divers colours offend the eyes, yet having green among them whet the sight. I speak<sup>3</sup> this to this end, that though thy exile seem grievous to thee, yet guiding thyself with the rules of philosophy it shall be more tolerable. He that is cold doth not cover himself with care but with clothes, he that is washed in the rain drieth himself by

<sup>1</sup> *Euphues to Botonio*. Landmann and Bond think that "the idea of including such a letter is borrowed . . . from those on a similar subject addressed by Marcus Aurelius to Domicio and Torquado respectively, in *The Diall of Princes*, Bk. iii. chaps. xxxiv. and xli." Bond shows that Lyly's source, however, is Plutarch's *De Exilio*, and Feuillerat calls Lyly's letter "an abridged translation" of this work. On Lyly's method here see Feuillerat, pp. 262 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Here, omitting Plutarch's introduction, Lyly begins with his § 3. The part of this which he has imitated is thus rendered by Holland (Lyly omits six lines): "But set case that exile be a grievous calamity, as many men do both say and sing ; even so, among those meats which we eat there be many things bitter, sharp, hot, and biting in taste, howbeit, by mingling therewith somewhat which is sweet and pleasant, we take away that which disagreeeth with nature ; like as there be colours also offensive to the sight, in such sort as that the eyes be much dazzled and troubled therewith, by reason of their unpleasant hue or excessive and intolerable brightness. If then . . . we have devised means either to intermingle shadows withal, or turn away our eyes from them unto some green and delectable objects ; the semblable may we do in those sinister and cross accidents of fortune." Holland is as much more diffuse than Plutarch as Lyly is more condensed.

<sup>3</sup> *I speak . . . to the heavens* : Plutarch, § 4, at the beginning. Lyly omits the rest of the chapter.

the fire not by his fancy ; and thou which art banished oughtest not with tears to bewail thy hap, but with wisdom to heal thy hurt.

Nature<sup>1</sup> hath given no man a country, no more than she hath a house or lands or livings. Socrates would neither call himself an Athenian, neither a Grecian, but a citizen of the world. Plato would never account him banished that had the sun, fire, air, water, and earth that he had before, where he felt the winter's blast and the summer's blaze, where the same sun and the same moon shined ; whereby he noted that every place was a country to a wise man and all parts a palace to a quiet mind.<sup>2</sup>

But thou<sup>3</sup> art driven out of Naples ? That is nothing. All the Athenians dwell not in Collytus, nor every Corinthian in Graecia, nor all the Lacedaemonians in Pitane. [How can any part of the world be distant far from the other, whenas the mathematicians set down that the earth is but a point being compared to the heavens ?] Learn of the bee as well to gather honey of the weed as the flower, and out of far countries to live as well as in thine own. He is to be laughed at which thinketh the moon better at Athens than at Corinth, or the honey of the bee sweeter that is gathered in Hybla than that which is made in Mantua. When<sup>4</sup> it was cast in Diogenes' teeth that the Synoponetes<sup>5</sup> had banished him Pontus, "Yea," said he, "I them of Diogenes." I may say to thee as Stratonicus said to his guest, who demanded what fault was punished with exile ; and he answering, "Falsehood," "Why then," said Stratonicus, "dost not thou practise deceit to the end thou mayest avoid the mischiefs that follow (a) in thy country ?" And surely if conscience be the cause thou art banished the court, I account thee wise in being so precise that by the using of virtue thou

<sup>1</sup> *Nature . . . to a quiet mind* : after omitting a full page of Plutarch's 4 and 5, Lyly here renders parts of a passage in 5, ascribing to Plato a saying which is Plutarch's own (just above Plutarch had quoted a somewhat similar saying from Plato).

<sup>2</sup> *Every place . . . to a quiet mind*. In this passage, where Lyly's style is seen at its best, he expresses the idea of Plutarch, but in a different way. He has probably recalled the saying of Cicero, *Patria est ubicunque est bene* (*Tusc. Quaes.* v. 37), or perhaps other passages quoted by Erasmus in illustration of the adage (*Adagia*, ii. 2, 93 ; *Works*, ii. 481B). One of the commonest forms of it is : *solum omne forti patria*. Bond sees an imitation of Lyly in the well-known lines in *Rich. II.* (i. 3, 275).

<sup>3</sup> *But thou . . . made in Mantua* : *De Exilio*, 6, with certain geographical adaptations.

<sup>4</sup> *When it was cast . . . country* : *De Exilio*, 7, at the end.

<sup>5</sup> *Synoponetes* : the people of Sinope.

(a) *the mischiefs that follow* So 1578. 1579A, etc. *the mischiefs that flow*.

mayest be exiled the place of vice. Better it is for thee to live with honesty in the country than with honour in the court, and greater will thy praise be by flying vanity than thy pleasure in following trains.

Choose<sup>1</sup> that place for thy palace which is most quiet ; custom will make it thy country, and an honest life will cause it a pleasant living.(a) Philip falling in the dust and seeing the figure of his shape perfect in show, " Good God ! " said he ; " We desire the whole earth, and see how little serveth." Zeno,<sup>2</sup> hearing that this only bark wherein all his wealth was shipped to have perished, cried out, " Thou hast done well, Fortune, to thrust me into my gown again to embrace philosophy." Thou hast, therefore, in my mind, great cause to rejoice that God by punishment hath compelled thee to strictness of life, which by liberty might have been grown to lewdness.

When<sup>3</sup> thou hast not one place assigned thee wherein to live but one forbidden thee which thou must leave, then thou being denied but one. that excepted, thou mayest choose any. Moreover this dispute with thyself : I bear no office, whereby I should either for fear please the noble or for gain oppress the needy. I am no arbiter in doubtful cases, whereby I should either pervert justice or incur displeasure. I am free from the injuries of the strong and malice of the weak. I am out of the broils of the seditious, and have escaped the threats of the ambitious. But as he that having a fair orchard, seeing one tree blasted, recounteth the discommodity of that and passeth over in silence the fruitfulness of the other ; so he that is banished doth always lament the loss of his house and the shame of his exile, not rejoicing at the liberty, quietness, and pleasure that he enjoyeth by that sweet punishment. The kings of Persia were deemed happy that they kept their winter in Babylon,(b) in Media their summer, and their spring in Susa ; and certainly the exile may in this be as happy as any king in Persia, for he may at his leisure, being at his own pleasure, lead his winter in Athens, his summer in Naples, his spring at Argos. But if he have any business in hand, he may study without trouble,

<sup>1</sup> Choose that place . . . serveth : *De Exilio*, 8, much shortened.

(a) will cause it a pleasant living So 1578. 1581, etc. will make it.

<sup>2</sup> Zeno . . . philosophy : *De Exilio*, 11, at the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> When thou . . . an hungered. This paragraph, except the last sentence, translates part of *De Exilio*, 12.

(b) that they kept their winter in Babylon So 1578. 1579A, etc. in that they passed their winter in Babylon.

sleep without care, and wake at his will without controlment. Aristotle must dine when it pleaseth Philip, Diogenes when it listeth Diogenes ; the courtier suppeth when the king is satisfied, but Botonio may now eat when Botonio is an hungered.

But thou sayest <sup>1</sup> that banishment is shameful. No, truly ; no more than poverty to the content or gray hairs to the aged. It is the cause that maketh thee shame. If thou wert banished upon choler, greater is thy credit in sustaining wrong than thine enemies' (a) in committing injury, and less shame is it to thee to be oppressed by might than theirs that wrought it for malice.

But thou fearest thou shalt not thrive in a strange nation.<sup>2</sup> Certainly thou art more afraid than hurt.<sup>3</sup> The pine tree groweth as soon in Pharos as in Ida,<sup>4</sup> the nightingale singeth as sweetly in the deserts as in the woods of Crete, the wise man liveth as well in a far country as in his own home. It is not the nature of the place but the disposition of the person that maketh the life pleasant. Seeing therefore, Botonio, that all the sea is apt for any fish, that it is a bad ground where no flower will grow, that to a wise man all lands are as fertile as his own inheritance, I desire thee to temper the sharpness of thy banishment with the sweetness of the cause, and to measure the clearness of thine own conscience with the spite of thy enemies' quarrel ; so shalt thou revenge their malice with patience and endure thy banishment with pleasure.

*Euphues to a young gentleman in Athens (b) named Alcuius,  
who, leaving his study, followed all lightness and  
lived both shamefully and sinfully, to the  
grief of his friends and discredit  
of the university*

If I should talk in words of those things which I have to confer with thee in writings, certes thou wouldest blush for shame

<sup>1</sup> But thou sayest . . . gray hairs to the aged : *De Exilio*, 17, at the beginning. (a) than thine enemies' So editions after 1581. 1578-1581 than thy enuyes (1580 enuies).

<sup>2</sup> In his last chapter Plutarch rises to a height of philosophy and poetry whither Lyly cannot follow. The conclusion of the letter is, therefore, a sort of coda, repeating the original theme.

<sup>3</sup> More afraid than hurt : in same form, Heywood, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> In Pharos as in Ida : probably suggested by the passages in Pliny quoted in notes on pp. 100, 101.

(b) Athens So 1578. 1579A, etc. Naples.

and I weep for sorrow, neither could my tongue utter that with patience which my hand can scarce write with modesty, neither could thy ears hear that without glowing which thine eyes can hardly view without grief. (a) Ah, Alcuius, I can not tell whether I should most lament in thee, thy want of learning or thy wanton living ; in the one thou art inferior to all men, in the other superior to all beasts, insomuch as who seeth thy dull wit and marketh thy froward will may well say that he never saw smack of learning in thy doings nor spark of religion in thy life.

Thou only vauntest of thy gentry. Truly thou wast made a gentleman before thou knewest what honesty meant, and no more hast thou to boast of thy stock than he who being left rich by his father dieth a beggar by his folly. Nobility began in thy ancestors and ended in thee ; and the generosity<sup>1</sup> that they gained by virtue thou hast blotted with vice. If thou claim gentry by pedigree, practise gentleness by thine honesty, that as thou challengest to be noble in blood thou mayest also prove noble by knowledge ; otherwise shalt thou hang like a blast among the fair blossoms, and like a stain in a piece of white lawn. The rose that is eaten with the canker is not gathered because it groweth on that stalk that the sweet doth, neither was Helen<sup>2</sup> made a star because she came of that egg with Castor, nor thou a gentleman in that thy ancestors were of nobility. It is not the descent of birth but the consent of conditions that maketh gentlemen, neither great manors but good manners that express the true image of dignity. There is copper coin of the stamp that gold is, yet is it not current, there cometh poison of the fish as well as good oil, yet is it not wholesome, and of man may proceed an evil child and yet no gentleman. For as the wine that runneth on the lees is not therefore to be accounted neat because it was drawn of the same piece, or as the water that springeth from the fountain's head and floweth into the filthy channel is not to be called clear because it came of the same stream ; so neither is he that descendeth of noble parentage, if he desist from noble deeds, to be esteemed a gentleman in that he issued from the loins of a noble sire, for that he obscureth the parents he came of and discrediteth his own estate. There is no gentleman in Athens but sorroweth to see thy behaviour so far to disagree from thy birth ; for this say they all (which is

(a) *which thine eyes can hardly view without grief* So 1578. 1595, etc. *which mine eyes.*

<sup>1</sup> Generosity: nobility, rank.

<sup>2</sup> Helen, like Castor and Pollux, was a child of Leda. Compare p. 260.



the chiefest note of a gentleman) that thou shouldest as well desire honesty in thy life as honour by thy lineage, that thy nature should not swerve from thy name, that as thou by duty wouldest be regarded for thy progeny<sup>1</sup> so thou shouldst endeavour by deserts to be revered for thy piety.(a) The pure coral is chosen as well by his virtue<sup>2</sup> as his colour, a king is known better by his courage than his crown, a right gentleman is sooner seen by the trial of his virtue than blazing of his arms.

But I let pass thy birth, wishing thee rather with Ulysses to show it in works than with Ajax<sup>3</sup> to boast of it with words; thy stock shall not be the less but thy modesty the greater. Thou livest in Athens as the wasp doth among bees, rather to sting than to gain honey, and thou dealest with most of thy acquaintance as the dog doth in the manger, who neither suffereth the horse to eat hay nor will himself; for thou being idle, wilt not permit any (as far as in thee lieth) to be well employed. Thou art an heir to fair living: that is nothing if thou be disherited of learning, for better were it to thee to inherit righteousness than riches and far more seemly were it for thee to have thy study full of books than thy purse full of money. To get goods is the benefit of fortune, to keep them the gift of wisdom. As therefore thou art to possess them by thy father's will, so art thou to increase them by thine own wit. But, alas, why desirest thou to have the revenues of thy parent and nothing regardest to have his virtues? Seekest thou by succession to enjoy thy patrimony and by vice to obscure his piety? Wilt thou have the title of

<sup>1</sup> *Progeny*: lineage, ancestry. Compare *Hen. VI.*, First Part, III. 3, 61. In the preceding line, *by duty* means 'as is due or fitting,' 'in due respect to rank or position.' Compare p. 180.

(a) *as thou by duty wouldest be regarded for thy progeny so thou shouldst endeavour by deserts to be revered for thy piety* There is no single early text as authority for this reading. 1578 and the editions immediately following have . . . *wouldest* . . . *wouldest* . . . 1595 and later texts change the first *wouldest* to *shouldst*; 1597 and later texts change the second in the same way. I have arbitrarily followed the first edition in the first case and adopted the 1597 emendation in the second. Lyly's free use of would and should is not difficult to illustrate. Cf. (p. 156) "Such gross questions are to be answered with slender reasons and such idle heads would (so 1578; 1579, etc. should) be scoffed with addle answers." (p. 169) "But thou grantest that she should (i.e. would) have died—and yet art thou grieved that she is dead."

<sup>2</sup> *The pure coral . . . by his virtue.* Isidore of Seville says (*Orig.* xvi. 8, 1) that the Magi affirm that coral resists lightning.

<sup>3</sup> *Rather with Ulysses . . . than with Ajax*: referring to the dispute between these heroes related by Ovid in *Metam.* 13, a passage already used by Lyly (see note on p. 123).

his honour and no touch of his honesty? Ah, Alcious, remember that thou art born not to live (a) after thine own lust but to learn to die, whereby thou mayest live after thy death. I have often heard thy father say, and that with a deep sigh, the tears trickling down his gray hairs, that thy mother never longed more to have thee born when she was in travail than he to have thee dead to rid him of trouble. And not seldom hath thy mother wished that either her womb had been thy grave or the ground hers. Yea, all thy friends with open mouth desire either that God will send thee grace to amend thy life or grief to hasten thy death. Thou wilt demand of me in what thou dost offend; and I ask thee in what thou dost not sin. Thou swearest thou art not covetous; but I say thou art prodigal, and as much sinneth he that lavisheth without mean as he that hoardeth without measure. But canst thou excuse thyself of vice in that thou art not covetous? Certainly no more than the murderer would therefore be guiltless because he is no coiner.<sup>1</sup>

But why go I about to debate reason with thee when thou hast no regard of honesty? Though I leave here to persuade thee yet will I not cease to pray for thee. In the mean season, I desire thee, yea, and in God's name command thee, that if neither the care of thy parents whom thou shouldest comfort, nor the counsel of thy friends whom thou shouldest credit, nor the rigour of the law which thou oughtest to fear, nor the authority of the magistrate which thou shouldest reverence, can allure thee to grace, yet the law of thy Saviour, who hath redeemed thee, and the punishment of the Almighty, who continually threateneth thee, draw thee to amendment. Otherwise as thou livest now in sin, so shalt thou die with shame and remain with Satan—from whom He that made thee keep thee.

•  
*Livia, from the Emperor's court,  
to Euphues at Athens*

If sickness had not put me to silence and the weakness of my body hindered the willingness of my mind, thou shouldst have had a more speedy answer, and I no cause of excuse. I know it expedient to return an answer; but not necessary to write it in post,<sup>2</sup> for that in things of great importance we commonly look

(a) *thou art born not to live* So 1578. 1581, etc. *thou art not born to live.*

<sup>1</sup> *Coiner*: counterfeit.

<sup>2</sup> *In post*: 'post-haste.' The phrase is of Fr. or Ital. origin. See *NED.*, s.v. *post*, sb.<sup>1</sup>

before we leap, and where the heart droopeth through faintness the hand is enforced to shake through feebleness.

Thou sayest thou understandest how men live in the court, and of me thou desirest to know the estate of women. Certes to dissemble with thee were to deceive myself, and to cloak the vanities in court were to clog mine own conscience with vices. The Empress<sup>1</sup> keepeth her estate royal and her maidens will not leese<sup>2</sup> an inch of their honour; she endeavoureth to set down good laws and they to break them, she warneth them of excess and they study to exceed, she saith that decent attire is good though it be not costly and they swear unless it be dear it is not comely. She is here accounted a slut that cometh not in her silks, and she that hath not every fashion hath no man's favour. They that be most wanton are reputed most wise, and they that be the idlest livers are deemed the finest lovers. There is great quarrelling for beauty but no question of honesty. To conclude, both women and men have fallen here in court to such agreement that they never jar about matters of religion, because they never mean to reason of them. I have wished oftentimes rather in the country to spin than in the court to dance; and truly a distaff doth better become a maiden than a lute, and fitter it is with the needle to practise how to live than with the pen to learn how to love.

The Empress giveth example of virtue and the ladies have no leisure to follow her. I have nothing else to write. Here is no good news; as for bad I have told sufficient. Yet this I must add, that some there be which for their virtue deserve praise; but they are only commended for their beauty: for this think courtiers, that to be honest is a certain kind of country modesty, but to be amiable the courtly courtesy.

I mean shortly to sue to the Empress to be dismissed of the court; which if I obtain, I shall think it a good reward for my service to be so well rid from such severity, (a) for, believe me, there is scarce one in court that either feareth God or meaneth good. I thank thee for the book thou didst send me, and as occasion shall serve I will requite thee. (b) Philautus beginneth a little to listen to counsel. I wish him well, and thee too, of whom to hear so much good it doth me not a little good. Pray for me as I do for thee; and if opportunity be offered, write to me.

*Farewell.*

<sup>1</sup> *Empress.* There must be an allusion to Elizabeth here.

<sup>2</sup> *Leese* : lose.

(a) *from such severity* So 1578. 1581, etc. *from such security.*

(b) *I will requite thee* So 1578. 1595, etc. *I will write to thee.*

*Euphues to his friend Livia*

Dear Livia, I am as glad to hear of thy welfare, as sorrowful to understand thy news; and it doth me as much good that thou art recovered, as harm to think of those which are not to be recured. Thou hast satisfied my request and answered my expectation. For I longed to know the manners of women and looked to have them wanton. I like thee well that thou wilt not conceal their vanities, but I love thee the better that thou dost not follow them; to reprove sin is the sign of true honour, to renounce it the part of honesty. All good men will account thee wise for thy truth and happy for thy trial: for they say to abstain from pleasure is the chiefest piety; and I think in court to refrain from vice is no little virtue. Strange it is that the sound eye viewing the sore should not be dimmed, that they that handle pitch should not be defiled, that they that continue in court should not be infected. And yet it is no great marvel: for by experience we see that the adamant<sup>1</sup> cannot draw iron if the diamond lie by it, nor vice allure the courtier if virtue be retained.

Thou praisest the Empress for instituting good laws, and grieveest to see them violated by the ladies. I am sorry to think it should be so, and I sigh in that it cannot be otherwise. Where there is no heed taken of a commandment, there is small hope to be looked for of amendment. Where duty<sup>2</sup> can have no show, honesty can bear no sway. They that cannot be enforced to obedience by authority will never be won by favour; for being without fear they commonly are void of grace, and as far be they careless (a) from honour as they be from awe, and as ready to despise the good counsel of their peers as to condemn the good laws of their Prince. But the breaking of laws doth not accuse the Empress of vice, neither shall her making of them excuse the ladies of vanities. The Empress is no more to be suspected of erring than the carpenter that buildeth the house be accused because thieves have broken it,

<sup>1</sup> *The adamant* [etc.]. On p. 49 Lyly merely stated that the adamant (the magnet) attracts iron. For the additional fact here mentioned (see also p. 326) his source is either Pliny, xxxvii. 16, or Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 598b). Bond also gives references to Bartholomaeus Anglicus, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Duty*: see note on p. 177.

(a) *as far be they careless from honour as they be from awe* So 1578-1607. Later editions have *carried*.

or the mint-master condemned for his coin because the traitor hath clipped it. Certainly God will both reward the godly zeal of the Prince and revenge the godless doings of the people.

Moreover thou sayest that in the court all be sluts that swim not in silks and that the idlest livers are accounted the bravest lovers. I cannot tell whether I should rather laugh at their folly or lament their frenzy, neither do I know whether the sin be greater in apparel which moveth to pride, or in affection which enticeth to peevishness<sup>1</sup>; the one causeth them to forget themselves, the other to forgo their senses, each to deceive their soul.(a) They that think one cannot be cleanly without pride will quickly judge none to be honest without pleasure, which is as hard to confess as to say no mean to be without excess.

Thou wishest to be in the country with thy distaff rather than to continue in the court with thy delights. I cannot blame thee, for Greece is as much to be commended for learning as the court for bravery, and here mayest thou live with as good report for thine honesty as they with renown for their beauty. It is better to spin with Penelope all night than to sing with Helen all day. Housewifery in the country is as much praised as honour in the court. We think it as great mirth to sing psalms as you melody to chant sonnets,<sup>2</sup> and we account them as wise that keep their own lands with credit as you those that get others' livings by craft. Therefore if thou wilt follow my advice and prosecute thine own determination thou shalt come out of a warm sun into God's blessing.<sup>3</sup>

Thou addest (I fear me also thou errest) that in the court

<sup>1</sup> *Peevishness* : wantonness, folly, as elsewhere (see note on p. 18).

(a) *each to deceive their soul* So 1597, etc. 1578 *each do deceive their soul*.

<sup>2</sup> Of course *sonnet* had a general meaning, nearly equivalent to that of *song*, as well as a particular one.

<sup>3</sup> *Out of a warm sun into God's blessing*. This is one of the most picturesque of Elizabethan proverbial phrases, as well as one of the most difficult to explain. It is used again by Lyly, p. 303. Coleridge was pleased with it in one of Thomas Adams' sermons. Heywood has it (p. 67), and Shakespeare often uses it (*Lear*, II. 2, 169; *Hamlet*, I. 2, 67; *All's Well*, I. 3, 257; etc.); indeed, it is extremely common from the middle of the 16th century to the end of the 17th (see, for instance, Grindal, *Profitable Doctrine*, Pref.; Sir J. Harrington, *Epigrams*, II. 56; etc.). The meaning in its usual form is 'to go from better to worse'; in the form here used by Lyly, 'from worse to better': but the origin is not clear. Various uses show a consciousness of the old idea that the heat of the sun caused infection, and probably 'God's blessing' was originally a current expression for the shelter of church or cloister. The origin must be literary rather than popular.

there be some of great virtue, wisdom, and sobriety ; if it be so I like it, and in that thou sayest it is so, I believe it. It may be, and no doubt it is, in the court as in all rivers some fish, some frogs, and as in all gardens some flowers, some weeds, and as in all trees some blossoms, some blasts. Nylus breedeth the precious stone and the poisoned serpent.<sup>1</sup> The court may as well nourish virtuous matrons as the lewd minion. Yet this maketh me muse, that they should rather be commended for their beauty than for their virtue ; which is an infallible argument that the delights of the flesh are preferred before the holiness of the spirit.

Thou sayest thou wilt sue to leave thy service and I will pray for thy good success. When thou art come into the country I would have thee first learn to forget all those things which thou hast seen in the court.

I would Philautus were of thy mind to forsake his youthful course, but I am glad thou writest that he beginneth to amend his conditions ; he runneth far that never returneth and he sinneth deadly that never repenteth. I would have him end as Lucilla began, without vice, and not begin as she ended, without honesty. I love the man well but I cannot brook his manners. Yet I conceive a good hope that in his age he will be wise, for that in his youth I perceived him witty. He hath promised to come to Athens ; which if he do I will so handle the matter that either he shall abjure the court forever or absent himself for a year. If I bring the one to pass he shall forgo his old course, if the other forget his ill conditions. He that in court will thrive to reap wealth and live wary to get worship must gain by good conscience and climb by wisdom ; otherwise his thrift is but theft, where there is no regard of gathering, and his honour but ambition, where there is no care but of promotion. Philautus is too simple to understand the wiles in court, and too young to undermine any by craft. Yet hath he shown himself as far from honesty as he is from age, and as full of craft as he is of courage. If it were for thy preferment and his amendment I wish you were both married ; but if he should continue his folly, whereby thou shouldest fall from thy duty, I rather wish you both buried. Salute him in my name and hasten his journey, but forget not thine own.

<sup>1</sup> *The poisoned serpent.* Bond says, the crocodile. But Shakespeare has something else in mind : see *Ant. and Cleo.* II. 7, 31-2. Probably Plutarch's story of Antony and Cleopatra suggested both the precious stone and the serpent as characteristic of Egypt.

I have occasion to go to Naples that I may with more speed arrive in England, where I have heard of a woman<sup>1</sup> that in all qualities excelleth any man. Which if it be so, I shall think my labour as well bestowed as Saba<sup>2</sup> did hers when she travelled to see Solomon. At my going, if thou be in Naples I will visit thee; and at my return I will tell thee my judgement. If Philautus come this winter, he shall in this my pilgrimage be a partner; a pleasant companion is a bait in a journey. We shall there, as I hear, see a court both braver in show and better in substance, more gallant courtiers, more goodly consciences,<sup>3</sup> (a) as fair ladies, and fairer conditions. But I will not vaunt before the victory, nor swear it is so until I see it be so. Farewell unto whom above all I wish well.

I have finished the first part of Euphues, whom now I left ready to cross the seas to England. If the wind send him a short cut, you shall in the second part hear what news he bringeth; and I hope to have him returned within one summer. In the mean season I will stay for him in the country,<sup>4</sup> and as soon as he arriveth you shall know of his coming.

<sup>1</sup> *A woman*: Elizabeth.

<sup>2</sup> *Saba*: the Queen of Sheba.

<sup>3</sup> *Goodly consciences*. The reading of all the earliest editions is *Godly conscives*, and Landmann retained it, explaining *conscive* as 'fellow-citizen' (Ital. *concive*, Lat. *conciuis*). *NED.* enters this word, though it is found only in this passage. Later editions (1613 on) read *goodly consciences*, and Bond adopts this reading (changing *goodly* to *godly*), and stating (quite correctly) that it is supported by the serial antithesis running through the passage.

(a) *more goodly consciences*. See note 3, above.

<sup>4</sup> *I will stay for him in the country*: alluding, probably, to an actual temporary residence of Lyly in the country somewhere, in the summer or autumn of 1578, and his expectation of remaining there during the composition of the second part of his work, which finally appeared in 1580, probably in the spring. It was "entered," however, in July 1579, as a precautionary measure.

## TO MY VERY GOOD FRIENDS THE GENTLEMEN SCHOLARS OF OXFORD<sup>1</sup>(a)

THERE is no privilege that needeth a pardon, neither is there any remission to be asked where a commission is granted. I speak this, Gentlemen, (not to excuse the offence which is taken, but to offer a defence where I was mistaken.) A clear conscience is a sure card, truth hath the prerogative to speak with plainness and the modesty to bear with patience. It was reported by some and believed of many that in the education of Ephebus, where mention was made of universities, that Oxford was too much either defaced or defamed. I know not what the envious have picked out by malice or the curious by wit or the guilty by their own galled consciences; but this I say, that I was as far from thinking ill as I find them from judging well. But if I should now go about to make amends, I were then faulty in somewhat amiss, and should show myself like Apelles' prentice, who, coveting to mend the nose, marred the cheek; and not unlike the foolish dyer who never thought his cloth black until it was burned. If any fault be committed impute it to Euphues, who knew you not, not to Lyly, (b) who hates you not.

<sup>1</sup> *To my very good friends the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford.* This postscript first appeared in the second edition of the *Anat. of Wit*, which was issued in midsummer, 1579, about six months after the first. In later editions (see Bond's *Lyly*, i. p. 324, n.) it was transferred to the first part of the book, just before the beginning of the narrative. On the circumstances that called it forth see the passage in *Euphues and his Ephebus* (above, pp. 127-130) which gave offence at Oxford. As Feuillerat remarks (pp. 75-6), this pretended apology is really ironical and defiant, and was perhaps deliberately meant to more embroil the strife. Whether there is any significance in the fact that at about the time the second edition appeared Lyly was enrolled Master of Arts at the rival university we cannot say.

(a) *To my very good friends the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford.* Printed first in 1579A.

(b) *Lyly* So 1580-1581. 1579A *Lylly*; 1595 *Lylie* (1617 has *Lillie* in latter case).



Yet may I of all the rest most condemn Oxford of unkindness<sup>1</sup>—of vice I cannot—who seemed to wean me before she brought me forth, and to give me bones to gnaw before I could get the teat to suck; wherein she played the nice mother, in sending me into the country to nurse, where I tired<sup>2</sup> at a dry breast three years and was at the last enforced to wean myself. But it was destiny; for if I had not been gathered from the tree in the bud I should, being blown, have proved a blast, and as good it is to be an addle egg as an idle bird.

Euphues at his arrival I am assured will view Oxford, where he will either recant his sayings or renew his complaints. He is now on the seas, and how he hath been tossed I know not; but whereas I had thought to receive him at Dover, I must meet him at Hampton.<sup>3</sup> Nothing can hinder his coming but death, neither anything hasten his departure but unkindness.

Concerning myself, I have always thought so reverently of Oxford, of the scholars, of the manners, that I seemed to be rather an idolater than a blasphemer. They that invented this

<sup>1</sup> I . . . condemn Oxford of unkindness [etc.]. This paragraph has given much trouble to Lyly's biographers, and perhaps all that can be said is that it alludes to unknown facts in Lyly's life, which he refers to more obscurely than we should wish. Feuillerat and the Rev. H. A. Wilson (who placed helpful information in the hands of Bond) think that the metaphor expresses merely Lyly's disappointment with the dry and unfruitful studies offered him at the University. But most readers will agree with Bond (i. 11) in thinking that the language implies an actual absence from the University of three years. Wilson shows that this could not have been a period of "rustication," since that penalty was of later origin, and Bond's suggestion that he may have been sent somewhere as tutor or teacher seems to be favoured by Lyly's language. His last sentence, at least, seems to show that he was not idle during this absence. I suggest an explanation which has not yet occurred to the biographers, namely, that the period alluded to is not his undergraduate years, but the three years following the obtaining of his Bachelor degree, and that the premature weaning he speaks of is the refusal to grant him the Fellowship for which he applied. Concerning the three years immediately following his graduation we in fact know nothing except that in 1575 he received his Master of Arts degree (see Feuillerat, p. 523). This he could probably have won without continuous residence, and he may well during the period alluded to have been sent upon some tutoring or other teaching charge "in the country."

<sup>2</sup> Tired: sucked (Fr. *tirer*).

<sup>3</sup> Hampton: i.e., Southampton. Bond says that the change from Dover to Southampton is "a promise of expedition." It seems rather an announcement of delay. Lyly had promised in the first edition of the *Anatomy* that the sequel would come 'within one Summer' (see p. 183), but now on the publication of the second edition in July 1579, he sees that his new work cannot come out so soon. The travellers do in fact, in *Euphues and his England*, land at Dover.

toy were unwise, and they that reported it unkind ; and yet none of them can prove me dishonest.

But suppose I glanced at some abuses. Did not Jupiter's egg,<sup>1</sup> bring forth as well Helen, a light hūswife in earth, as Castor, a light star in heaven ? The estridge<sup>2</sup> that taketh the greatest pride in her feathers picketh some of the worst out and burneth them. There is no tree but hath some blast ; no countenance but hath some blemish. And shall Oxford then be blameless ? I wish it were so, yet I cannot think it is so. But as it is, it may be better ; and were it badder, it is not the worst. I think there are few universities that have less faults than Oxford, many that have more, none but hath some.

But I commit my cause to the consciences of those that either know what I am or can guess what I should be ; the one will answer themselves in construing friendly, the other, if I knew them, I would satisfy reasonably.

Thus loath to incur the suspicion of unkindness in not telling my mind, and not willing to make any excuse where there need no amends, I can neither crave pardon, lest I should confess a fault, nor conceal my meaning, lest I should be thought a fool. And so I end. Yours assured to use.

JOHN LYLY.(a)

<sup>1</sup> *Jupiter's egg . . . Helen . . . Castor* : see notes on pp. 176 and 260.

<sup>2</sup> *The estridge* [etc.]. This fact seems to be new with Lyly.

(a) *Lyly*. See note on p. 184.

# EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND



# EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND

Containing his voyage and adventures, mixed with  
sundry pretty discourses of honest  
Love, the description of the  
country, the Court, and  
the manners of that  
Isle

Delightful to  
be read, and nothing hurtful to be regar-  
ded ; wherein there is small offence  
by lightness given to the wise,  
and less occasion of loose-  
ness proffered to the  
wanton

By JOHN LYLY, Master of Art

*Commend it, or amend it*

Imprinted at London for Gabriel Cawood  
dwelling in Paul's Churchyard. 1580



## THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD  
AND MASTER EDWARD DE VERE, EARL OF  
OXFORD,<sup>1</sup> VISCOUNT BULBECK, LORD OF ESCALES  
AND BADLESMERE, AND LORD GREAT CHAMBER-  
LAIN OF ENGLAND, JOHN LYLY (*a*) WISHETH LONG  
LIFE WITH INCREASE OF HONOUR

THE first picture that Phidias,<sup>2</sup> the first painter, shadowed was the portraiture of his own person ; saying thus : " If it be well, I will paint many besides Phidias ; if ill, it shall offend none but Phidias."

In <sup>3</sup> the like manner fareth it with me, Right Honourable, who, never before handling the pencil, did for my first counterfeit colour mine own Euphues, being of this mind that if it were liked I would draw more besides Euphues, if loathed grieve none but Euphues.

Since that, some there have been that either dissembling the faults they saw, for fear to discourage me, or not examining them,

<sup>1</sup> *Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford*. On the character of this nobleman and Lyly's relations with him, see Feuillerat, pp. 77 ff., and the Introduction to the present volume, p. xix. The dedication of *Euphues and his England* to him is significant in connection with the change in tone which this work shows when compared with the *Anatomy of Wit*. As both Bond and Feuillerat point out, the psychology of love takes the place of moral edification in Lyly's appeal to his reader's interest.

(*a*) *Lyly* Here, as on pp. 198, 199, 202, 204, the earliest editions (1580A, B, C, 1581 at least) use the spelling of the text. In later editions are the variants *Lilly*, *Lily*, *Lyllie*, and *Lylie*.

<sup>2</sup> *The first picture that Phidias* [etc.]. Lyly shows his love of parallelism by using anecdotes of painters here as he had done in the dedication of the *Anatomy*. His statement that Phidias was the first painter is founded on Pliny, xxxv. 34 (Bond), but the story here told originates in a statement of Valerius Maximus (viii. ch. 14, § 6): *Qui [Phidias] clypeo Minervae effigiem suam inclusit, qua convulsa, tota operis colligatio solveretur*.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph implies that Euphues is Lyly himself, as does also the allusion to Narcissus just following.

for the love they bore me, that praised mine old work and urged me to make a new. Whose words I thus answered: "If I should coin a worse, it would be thought that the former was framed by chance, as Protogenes did the foam of his dog<sup>1</sup>; if a better, for flattery, as Narcissus did, who only was in love with his own face; if none at all, as froward as the musician, who, being entreated, will scarce sing *sol fa*,<sup>2</sup> but, not desired, strain above *E la*."<sup>3</sup>

But their importunity admitted no excuse, insomuch that I was enforced to prefer their friendship before mine own fame, being more careful to satisfy their requests than fearful of others' reports. So that at the last I was content to set another face to Euphues; but yet just behind the other, like the image of Janus, not running together, like the Hopplitides<sup>4</sup> of Parrhasius, lest they should seem so unlike brothers that they might be both thought bastards. The picture whereof I yield as common for all to view; (a) but the patronage only to your Lordship, as able to defend; knowing that the face of Alexander stamped in copper doth make it current, that the name of Caesar wrought in canvas is esteemed as cambric,<sup>5</sup> that the very feather of an eagle is of force to consume the beetle.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Protogenes . . . his dog*. He succeeded by chance in representing the foam at his dog's mouth by throwing his sponge, full of white paint, at the canvas on which he had made so many vain attempts. See Pliny, xxv. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Sol fa*: a scale or exercise sung to the syllables *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, each of which stands for one of the notes in the regular major scale. Hence 'to sing *sol fa*' often means to practise simple singing lessons, and is constantly used in the 16th and 17th centuries figuratively.

<sup>3</sup> *E la*: i.e., the note *E* (the highest note in Guido's tetrachord scale) as sung to the syllable 'la.' The opposite of it, that is, the lowest note, is *Gam ut*. In *Mother Bombie*, II. I, 132, Lyly uses both: "His knavery is beyond *E la*, and yet he says he knows not *Gam ut*." Compare Nashe, *Unfortunate Traveller*, p. 268, and M'Kerrow's note.

<sup>4</sup> *Hopplitides*: runners. Lyly seems to take the form as a plural of *hoplites*, though it is really a bad reading for the singular form. The allusion is to two pictures by Parrhasius of runners in full armour, of whom one is represented in the midst of the race, "so naturally depicted that he seems to be sweating," the other at the end of the race, taking off his armour, and seeming to pant for breath. See Pliny, xxxv. 36. Lyly again alludes to the two pictures, p. 330.

(a) *common for all to view* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *common all to view*.

<sup>5</sup> *Cambric*: a kind of fine white linen, here contrasted with canvas, an inferior material.

<sup>6</sup> *The feather of an eagle . . . the beetle*. Lyly here combines two fables concerning the eagle, one the story that its feathers have the power to con-



I have brought into the world two children. Of the first I was delivered before my friends thought me conceived ; of the second <sup>1</sup> I went a whole year big, and yet when everyone thought me ready to lie down I did then quicken. But good housewives shall make my excuse, who know that hens do not lay eggs when they cluck, but when they cackle, nor men set forth books when they promise, but when they perform. And in this I resemble the lapwing,<sup>2</sup> who, fearing her young ones to be destroyed by passengers, flieth with a false cry far from their nests, making those that look for them seek where they are not. So I, suspecting that Euphues would be carped of some curious reader, thought by some false show to bring them in hope of that which then I meant not, leading them with a longing of a second part that they might speak well of the first, being never farther from my study than when they thought me hovering over it.

My first burden coming before his time must needs be a blind whelp<sup>3</sup> ; the second brought forth after his time must needs be a monster. The one I sent to a noble man to nurse, who with great love brought him up for a year ; so that wheresoever he wander he hath his nurse's name in his forehead, where, sucking his first milk he cannot forget his first master. The other, Right Honourable, being but yet in his swathe clouts, I commit most humbly to your Lordship's protection, that in his infancy he may be kept by your good care from falls, and in his youth by your great countenance shielded from blows, and in his age by your gracious continuance defended from contempt. He is my youngest and my last, and the pain that I sustained for him in travail hath made me past teeming ; yet do I think myself very fertile in that I was not altogether barren.

sume other birds' feathers, which he had used in p. 40 (see note on this passage), the other the feud between the eagle and the beetle, which he uses in the passage on Queen Elizabeth below, p. 446 (see note there also). North's translation called *The Moral Philosophy of Doni* (1570) seems to imply the same combination : it says that the eagle did not weigh the beetle "one of the worst and least feathers on her back" (ed. Jacobs, 114 f.).

<sup>1</sup> *Of the second* [etc.]. On the delay in the appearance of *Euphues and his England*, see note on p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> *The lapwing* [etc.]. This custom of the lapwing had become proverbial. See *Com. of Errors*, IV. 2, 27 ; also Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (*Works*, III. 58, 1). The ultimate source is probably Plutarch, *De Sollertia Anim.*

<sup>3</sup> *Must needs be a blind whelp*. Compare Erasmus' *Adagia* (*Works*, II. 459B) : *Canis festinans caecos parit catulos*. Erasmus says that it is quoted by Galen as a proverb in Greek.

Glad I was to send them both abroad lest, making a wanton of my first with a blind conceit,<sup>1</sup> I should resemble the ape<sup>2</sup> and kill it by culling<sup>3</sup> it, and not able to rule the second, I should with the viper<sup>4</sup> lose my blood with mine own brood. Twins they are not, but yet brothers; the one nothing resembling the other, and yet (as all children are nowadays) both like the father. Wherein I am not unlike unto the unskilful painter who, having drawn the twins of Hippocrates<sup>5</sup> (who were as like as one pease is to another), and being told of his friends that they were no more like than Saturn and Apollo, he had no other shift to manifest what his work was than over their heads to write, "The Twins of Hippocrates." So may it be that had I not named Euphues, few would have thought it had been Euphues; not that in goodness the one so far excelleth the other, but that both being so bad, it is hard to judge which is the worst.

This unskilfulness is no ways to be covered, but as Accius did his shortness,<sup>6</sup> who being a little poet framed for himself a great picture. And I being a naughty painter have gotten a most noble patron; being of Ulysses' mind,<sup>7</sup> who thought himself safe under the shield of Ajax.

<sup>1</sup> Making a wanton . . . by my blind conceit: i.e., spoil it by too much fondness.

<sup>2</sup> Resemble the ape [etc.]. From Erasmus' *Similia*, 612F: *Simia catulos fere complexu necat*, or from Erasmus' source, Pliny, viii. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Culling: embracing. The verb is more commonly *coll*: from Fr. *coler*, for *accoler*.

<sup>4</sup> I should with the viper [etc.]. The belief that vipers force their own birth by eating through their mother's belly is related by Aristotle, *Histor. Animal.* v. 34, Plutarch, *De Garrulitate*, § 12, Pliny, x. 82, etc.; and Erasmus borrows a simile from one of these sources (see note on p. 401).

<sup>5</sup> The twins of Hippocrates. On p. 277 Hippocrates appears as a painter, on p. 282 as the painter (or perhaps father) of twins. Nothing is known in classical history of a painter of this name. In the present passage Hippocrates the physician may be meant (he had two sons, both physicians), and Lyly in introducing him as a painter in the later passages may merely have misread and garbled his own earlier passage.

<sup>6</sup> As Accius did his shortness. Erasmus (*Similia*, 601E, drawing on Pliny, xxxiv. 10) says: *Accius poeta cum esset ipse admodum brevis, tamen in aede Camoenarum maxima forma statuam sibi posuit*. Accius (or Attius), an early Roman poet (2nd cent. B.C.), fragments of whose tragedies remain. Nashe, in *Four Letters Confuted* (*Works*, i. 322, 6) seems to combine this passage of Lyly's with another (see below, pp. 453-4).

<sup>7</sup> Of Ulysses' mind . . . under the shield of Ajax. Bond refers to the incident, *Iliad*, xi. 485, of the rescue of Ulysses by Ajax and Menelaus; but it is more probable that Lyly has in mind various details of the boasting of Ajax in the dispute between him and Ulysses recorded by Ovid, *Met.* xiii.

I have now finished both my labours, the one being hatched in the hard winter with the halcyon,<sup>1</sup> the other not daring to bud till the cold were past like the mulberry.<sup>2</sup> In either of the which, or in both, if I seem to glean after another's cart for a few ears of corn, or of the tailor's shreds to make me a livery, I will not deny but that I am one of those poets which the painters feign to come unto Homer's basin, there to lap up that he doth cast up.

In that I have written I desire no praise of others but patience, altogether unwilling, because every way unworthy, to be accounted a workman. It sufficeth me to be a water bough,<sup>3</sup> no bud, so I may be of the same root; to be the iron, not steel, so I be in the same blade; to be vinegar, not wine, so I be in the same cask; to grind colours for Apelles, though I cannot garnish, so I be of the same shop. What I have done was only to keep myself from sleep, as the crane doth the stone in her foot<sup>4</sup>; and I would also, with the same crane, I had been silent holding a stone in my mouth.

<sup>1</sup> *Hatched in the hard winter with the halcyon.* Bond quotes Pliny, *l.* 47: *Foetificans bruma, qui dies halcyonides vocantur.* *Bruma* here means the time about the winter solstice. The *Anatomy of Wit* had come out at Christmas, 1578.

<sup>2</sup> *Not daring to bud . . . the mulberry.* De Vocht quotes Erasmus, *Similia*, 618F, but Lyly seems here to follow Pliny directly (*xvi.* 41), as quoted by Bond. Compare p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> *Water bough.* *Eng. Dial. Dict.* quotes the word as meaning, in Hampshire, 'a small branch growing out of the bole of a hedgerow tree.' It may mean the same here, since such a branch would naturally not bear flower or fruit.

<sup>4</sup> *As the crane doth the stone in her foot.* The two customs of the crane here mentioned are also mentioned together by Erasmus, *Adagia*, *ii.* 6, 68 (*Works*, *ii.* 861D). The one placed first by Lyly he quotes from Pliny, *x.* 30: *Excubias habent nocturnis temporibus lapillum pede sustinentes, qui laxatus somno et decidens indiligentiam coarguat.* The second (carrying a stone in the mouth) he cites as quoted by Suidas from the *Birds* of Aristophanes (*l.* 1136), but the purpose of the birds, according to his account, is not to keep themselves silent, but to drop the stone when they have soared to a great height, and to discover whether they are flying over land or water by the sound it makes when it falls. The source, therefore, of Lyly's second simile is not this passage, but another of Erasmus, namely, *Similia* (*Works*, *i.* 570E): "When cranes are flying from Cilicia, they fly safely across Mt. Taurus, which is full of eagles, by going at night and carrying stones in their mouths, so that no sound may proceed from them: So silence is always safest." Erasmus has here quoted from memory a passage in Plutarch (*De Garrulitate*, § 14) in which the fact is mentioned, but is told of geese, not cranes. It is clear, then, as De Vocht, who cites the passages, says, that Erasmus is Lyly's source. See also p. 400, where Lyly repeats the simile.

But it falleth out with me as with the young wrestler that came to the games of Olympia, who, having taken a foil, thought scorn to leave till he had received a fall ; or him that being pricked in the finger with a bramble, thrusteth his whole arm among the thorns for anger. For I, seeing myself not able to stand on the ice, did nevertheless adventure to run ; and being with my first book stricken into disgrace, could not cease until I was brought into contempt by the second ; wherein I resemble those that having once wet their feet<sup>1</sup> care not how deep they wade. In the which my wading, Right Honourable, if the envious shall clap lead to my heels to make me sink, yet if your Lordship with your little finger do but hold me up by the chin I shall swim,<sup>2</sup> and be so far from being drowned that I shall scarce be ducked.

When Bucephalus was painted,<sup>3</sup> Apelles craved the judgement of none but Zeuxis ; when Jupiter was carved, Prisius<sup>4</sup> asked the censure of none but Lysippus.<sup>5</sup> Now Euphues is shadowed, only I appeal to your honour ; not meaning thereby to be careless what others think, but knowing that if your Lordship allow it there is none but will like it, and if there be any so nice whom nothing can please, if he will not commend it, let him amend it. And here, Right Honourable, although the History seem imperfect, I hope your Lordship will pardon it.

Apelles died not before<sup>6</sup> he could finish Venus, but before he durst, Nicomachus left Tyndarides rawly for fear of anger, not

<sup>1</sup> *Having once wet their feet* [etc.]. Bond says that the proverb, which Lyly uses again, p. 318, is in Pettie, but gives no reference.

<sup>2</sup> *Do but hold me up by the chin I shall swim* : Heywood, p. 12. Heywood's editor refers to *Scogin's Jests* (1565). In this paragraph Lyly seems to mingle current proverbs with illustrations from common experience in the manner of proverbs.

<sup>3</sup> *When Bucephalus was painted*. Bond refers to Pliny, xxxv. 36, where Apelles is said to have painted a great horse.

<sup>4</sup> *Prisius*. Nothing is known of such a sculptor.

<sup>5</sup> *Lysippus* : his work is spoken of by Pliny, xxxiv. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Apelles died not before* [etc.]. In this paragraph Lyly is apparently trying to pique the curiosity of courtly readers by suggesting hidden meanings and identifications in his work. All these innuendoes lend colour to the opinion that real persons are represented in the *Anatomy of Wit*, and that Euphues is Lyly himself in both parts of the work. Pliny (xxxv. 36) relates that Apelles died while he was working on his Aphrodite of Cos, but Lyly's source is ch. li. of the same book, where all the three cases cited by him are mentioned together. Pliny says nothing, however, of the mysterious reasons for the interruption of their labours hinted at by Lyly.

for want of art, Timomachus <sup>1</sup> broke off Medea scarce half coloured, not that he was not willing to end it but that he was threatened. I have not made Euphues to stand without legs for that I want matter to make them, but might to maintain them. So that I am enforced with the old painters to colour my picture but to the middle, or as he that drew Cyclops, who in a little table <sup>2</sup> made him to lie behind an oak where one might perceive but a piece yet conceive that all the rest lay behind the tree; or as he that painted an horse in the river with half legs, leaving the pasterns for the viewer to imagine as in the water. For he that vieweth Euphues will say that he is drawn but to the waist, that he peepeth as it were behind some screen, that his feet are yet in the water; which maketh me present your Lordship with the mangled body of Hector, as it appeared to Andromache, and with half a face, as the painter did him that had but one eye <sup>3</sup>; for I am compelled to draw a hose on before I can finish the leg, and instead of a foot to set down a shoe. So that whereas I had thought to show the cunning of a chirurgeon by mine anatomy with a knife, I must play the tailor on the shop-board with a pair of shears. But whether Euphues limp with Vulcan as born lame, or go on stilts with Amphionax <sup>4</sup> for lack of legs, I trust I may say that his feet should have been old Helena.<sup>5</sup> For the poor fisherman that was warned he should not fish did yet at his door make nets, and the old vintner of Venice that was forbidden to sell wine did, notwithstanding, hang out an ivy bush.<sup>6</sup>

This pamphlet, Right Honourable, containing the estate of England, I know none more fit to defend it than one of the nobility of England, nor any of the nobility more ancient or more honourable than your Lordship. Besides that describing the conditions of the English Court and the majesty of our dread

<sup>1</sup> *Timomachus . . . Medea*: Pliny, xxxv. 40. His Medea is described in an epigram in the Anthology, Book iv., and in another by Ausonius (Epigram 22).

<sup>2</sup> *A little table*: i.e., a small 'canvas' or working-surface.

<sup>3</sup> *The painter . . . him that had but one eye*. Pliny (xxxv. 36) says that Apelles painted King Antigonus in profile so as to conceal the fact that he was blind in one eye.

<sup>4</sup> *Go on stilts with Amphionax*. This is a very mysterious allusion.

<sup>5</sup> *Old Helena*. Bond renders it 'absolutely beautiful,' and on the colloquial use of 'old' in the sense 'fine,' 'grand,' etc., quotes the Porter's speech in *Macbeth*, II. 3, 2. There is no exact parallel, however, for Lyly's phrase, though 'old-excellent' and one or two other phrases are common (see M'Kerrow's *Nashe*, II. 327, 7-8 and note).

<sup>6</sup> *Ivy bush*: the sign of wine for sale. See note on p. 6.

Sovereign, I could not find one more noble in court than your Honour, who is or should be, under Her Majesty, chiefest in court, by birth born to the greatest office; and therefore methought by right to be placed in great authority. For whoso compareth the honour of your Lordship's (a) noble house with the fidelity of your ancestors may well say, which no other can truly gainsay, *Vero nihil verius*.<sup>1</sup> So that I commit the end of all my pains unto your most honourable protection, assuring myself that the little cock-boat is safe when it is hoisted into a tall ship, that the cat dare not fetch the mouse out of the lion's den, that Euphues shall be without danger by your Lordship's (a) patronage; otherwise I cannot see where I might find succour in any noble personage. Thus praying continually for the increase of your Lordship's honour, with all other things that either you would wish or God will grant, I end.

Your Lordship's most dutifully to command.

JOHN I.YLY.

(a) *Lordship's* So 1597, etc. Earlier editions have *L*.

<sup>1</sup> *Vero nihil verius*: "the Vere motto, as inscribed under their coat of arms, which occupies the verso of title-page of the first edition" (Bond).

## TO THE LADIES AND GENTLE- WOMEN OF ENGLAND JOHN LYLY WISHETH WHAT THEY WOULD

ARACHNE having woven in cloth of arras a rainbow<sup>1</sup> of sundry silks, it was objected unto her by a lady, more captious than cunning, that in her work there wanted some colours: for that in a rainbow there should be all. Unto whom she replied, "If the colours lack thou lookest for, thou must imagine that they are on the other side of the cloth. For in the sky we can discern but one side of the rainbow, and what colours are in the other see we can not, guess we may."

In the like manner, Ladies and Gentlewomen,<sup>2</sup> am I to shape an answer in the behalf of Euphues, who framing divers questions and quirks of love, if by some, more curious than needeth, it shall be told him that some sleights are wanting, I must say they are noted on the backside of the book. When Venus is painted we cannot see her back but her face; so that all other things that are to be recounted in love, Euphues thinketh them to hang at Venus's back in a budget,<sup>3</sup> which because he cannot see he will not set down.

These discourses<sup>4</sup> I have not clapt in a cluster, thinking with myself that Ladies had rather be sprinkled with sweet water than washed; so that I have sowed them here and there like strawberries, not in heaps like hops, knowing that you take more delight to gather flowers one by one in a garden than to snatch them by handfuls from a garland.

<sup>1</sup> *Arachne having woven . . . a rainbow.* Bond says that there is no classical source for the story.

<sup>2</sup> *Ladies and Gentlewomen*; see note on p. 410.

<sup>3</sup> *Budget*: wallet.

<sup>4</sup> *These discourses*: probably, the discourses on love spoken or written here and there by characters in the story.

It resteth, Ladies, that you take the pains to read it,<sup>1</sup> but at such times as you spend in playing with your little dogs. And yet will I not pinch you of that pastime. For I am content that your dogs lie in your laps, so Euphues may be in your hands; that when you shall be weary in reading of the one, you may be ready to sport with the other. Or handle him as you do your junkets,<sup>2</sup> that when you can eat no more you tie some in your napkin for children; for if you be filled with the first part, put the second in your pocket for your waiting maids. Euphues had rather be shut in a lady's casket than open in a scholar's study. Yet after dinner you may overlook him to keep you from sleep, or, if you be heavy, to bring you a sleep; for to work upon a full stomach is against Physic, and therefore better it were to hold Euphues in your hands, though you let him fall, when you be willing to wink, than to sew in a clout<sup>3</sup> and prick your fingers, when you begin to nod.

Whatsoever he hath written it is not to flatter, for he never reaped any reward by your sex but repentance; neither can it be to mock you, for he never knew anything by your sex but righteousness.

But I fear no anger for saying well when there is none but thinketh she deserveth better. She that hath no glass to dress her head will use a bowl of water, she that wanteth a sleek-stone<sup>4</sup> to smooth her linen will take a pebble, the country dame girdeth herself as straight in the waist with a coarse caddis<sup>5</sup> as the madame of the court with a silk ribbon; so that seeing everyone so willing to be pranked, I could not think anyone unwilling to be praised.

One hand washeth another,<sup>6</sup> but they both wash the face; one foot goeth by another, but they both carry the body; Euphues

<sup>1</sup> *It resteth, Ladies, that you take the pains to read it* [etc.]. Feuillerat has certainly not exaggerated the contrast between the kind of appeal that Lyly made to his readers in the *Anatomy of Wit* and in this work. These sentences are a fair illustration of the courtly frivolity against which he had inveighed warmly in the *Anatomy*.

<sup>2</sup> *Junkets*: candies, sweetmeats.

<sup>3</sup> *Sew in a clout*: stitch at a sampler or other needlework.

<sup>4</sup> *Sleek-stone*: see note on p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Caddis*: see note on p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> *One hand washeth another*. This proverb is quoted by *NED.* from Fynes Morison's *Itinerary*, and by Hazlitt (*Eng. Prov.*, p. 320) from *Booke of Merry Riddles* (1629). Compare Spenser, *F. Q.*, iv. i, 40: "Myself will for you fight, As ye have done for me; the left hand rubs the right." Erasmus, *Adagia*. i. 1, 33 (*Works*, ii. 40c) has *manus manum fricat (lavat, abluit)*. For the classical origins see Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, p. 210.



and Philautus praise one another, but they both extol women. Therefore in my mind you are more beholding to gentlemen that make the colours than to the painters that draw your counterfeits; for that Apelles' cunning is nothing if he paint with water, and the beauty of women not much if they go unpraised.

If you think this love dreamed, not done, yet methinketh you may as well like that love which is penned and not practised as that flower that is wrought with the needle and groweth not by nature; the one you wear in your heads for the fair sight, though it have no savour,<sup>1</sup> the other you may read for to pass the time, though it bring small pastime. You choose cloth that will wear whitest, not that will last longest, colours that look freshest, not that endure soundest, and I would you would read books that have more show of pleasure, than ground of profit. Then should Euphues be as often in your hands, being but a toy, as lawn on your heads, being but trash; the one will be scarce liked after once reading, and the other is worn out after the first washing.

There is nothing lighter than a feather, yet is it set aloft in a woman's hat, nothing slighter than hair, yet is it most frizzled in a lady's head; so that I am in good hope, though there be nothing (a) of less account than Euphues, yet he shall be marked with ladies' eyes and liked sometimes in their ears. For this I have diligently observed that there shall be nothing found that may offend the chaste mind with unseemly terms or uncleanly talk.

Then, Ladies, I commit myself to your courtesies, craving this only, that having read you conceal your censure, writing your judgements as you do the posies in your rings, which are always next to the finger, not to be seen of him that holdeth you by the hands, and yet known to you that wear them on your hands. If you be wrung (which cannot be done without wrong), it were better to cut the shoe<sup>2</sup> than burn the last. If a tailor make your gown too little, you cover his fault with a broad stomacher, if too great, with a number of plights,<sup>3</sup> if too short, with a fair guard,<sup>4</sup> if too long, with a false gathering. My trust

<sup>1</sup> Though all the editions (and Bond) seem to have *favour*, the word must be *savour*. Both sense and alliteration demand it.

(a) *though there be nothing* So 1581, etc. 1580A *though their be nothing*.

<sup>2</sup> *To cut the shoe*: i.e., to alter your conduct rather than blame your censor.

<sup>3</sup> *Plights*: pleats.

<sup>4</sup> *Guard*: an ornamental binding or border.

is that you will deal in the like manner with Euphues : that if he have not fed your humour yet you will excuse him more than the tailor ; for could Euphues take the measure of a woman's mind as the tailor doth of her body, he would go as near to fit them for a fancy as the other doth for a fashion. He that weighs wind <sup>1</sup> must have a steady hand to hold the balance, and he that searcheth a woman's thoughts must have his own stayed.

But lest I make my Epistle, as you do your new-found bracelets, endless, I will frame it like a bullet, which is no sooner in the mould but it is made ; committing your Ladyships to the Almighty, who grant you all you would have and should have, so your wishes stand with His will. And so humbly I bid you farewell.

Your Ladyships to command.

JOHN LYLY.

<sup>1</sup> *Weighs the wind.* Compare p. 156.

## TO THE GENTLEMEN READERS

GENTLEMEN, Euphues is come at the length, though too late. For whose absence I hope three bad excuses shall stand instead of one good reason.

First, in his travel you must think he loitered, tarrying many a month in Italy viewing the ladies in a painter's shop,<sup>1</sup> when he should have been on the seas in a merchant's ship ; not unlike unto an idle huswife who is catching of flies when she should sweep down copwebs.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, being a great start<sup>3</sup> from Athens to England, he thought to stay for the advantage of a leap-year; and had not this year<sup>4</sup> leaped with him, I think he had not yet leaped hither.

Thirdly, being arrived, he was as long in viewing of London as he was in coming to it ; not far differing from gentlewomen who are longer a dressing their heads than their whole bodies.

But now he is come, Gentlemen, my request is only to bid him welcome. For divers there are, not that they mislike the matter but that they hate the man, that will not stick to tear Euphues because they do envy Lyly. Wherein they resemble angry dogs, which bite the stone<sup>5</sup> not him that throweth it, or the cholerick horse-rider who, being cast from a young colt, and not daring to kill the horse, went into the stable to cut the saddle. These be they that thought Euphues to be drowned, and yet were never troubled with drying of his clothes, but they guessed as they wished—and I would it had happened<sup>6</sup> as they desired.

<sup>1</sup> *Ladies in a painter's shop*. Does this mean 'sitters,' or models? Probably. The phrase is repeated below, p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> *Copwebs*. *Cop* is short for *attercop*, spider; in the form *cobweb* it has undergone modification.

<sup>3</sup> *A great start*: a long run, a big jump.

<sup>4</sup> *This year*: the year 1580, when the book appeared in print.

<sup>5</sup> *Angry dogs which bite the stone*. Erasmus quotes this saying from Plato, *De Repub.*, v., in his *Adagia*, i. 10, *sub adag.* 34 (*Works*, ii. 377D) and turns it into a simile (*Similia*, 571A). In Alciati's *Emblems* (no. 70) the saying is pictured.

<sup>6</sup> *I would it had happened* [etc.]. There is an allusion here to something in Lyly's career which cannot now be known.

They that loathe the fountain's head will never drink of the little brooks ; they that seek to poison the fish will never eat the spawn ; they that like not me will not allow anything that is mine.

But as the serpent Porphirius <sup>1</sup> though he be full of poison, yet having no teeth hurteth none but himself ; so the envious though they swell with malice till they burst, yet having no teeth to bite, I have no cause to fear.

Only my suit is to you, Gentlemen, that if anything be amiss you pardon it ; if well you defend it (a) ; and howsoever it be you accept it. Faults escaped in the printing, correct with your pens ; omitted by my negligence, overslip with patience ; committed by ignorance, remit with favour.

If in every part it seem not alike, <sup>2</sup> you know that it is not for him that fashioneth the shoe to make the grain of the leather. The old hermit will have his talk savour of his cell ; the old courtier, his love taste of Saturn <sup>3</sup> ; yet the last lover may haply come somewhat near Jupiter. Lovers when they come into a garden, some gather nettles, some roses ; one thyme, another sage ; and everyone that, for his lady's favour, that she favoureth ; insomuch as there is no weed almost but it is worn. If you Gentlemen do the like in reading I shall be sure all my discourses shall be regarded, some for the smell, some for the smart, all for a kind of a loving smack. Let everyone follow his fancy and say that is best which he liketh best. And so I commit every man's delight to his own choice, and myself to all your courtesies.

Yours to use.

JOHN LYLY.

<sup>1</sup> *The serpent Porphirius* : again, p. 358. Lyly has it from Erasmus' *Similia*, 607D ; Erasmus from Aelian, *De Nat. Anim.* iv. 36.

(a) *if well you defend it* So 1580c, etc. 1580A & B misprint *de-defende*.

<sup>2</sup> *If in every part it seem not alike* : probably Lyly's apology for the strange mixture of light and amorous discourses with high moralizing in his work.

<sup>3</sup> *Saturn . . . Jupiter*. The influence of the planet Saturn is to make the spirits dull, leaden, the philosophy Stoical ; of Jupiter to give life, joy, zest.

## EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND

EUPHUES, having gotten all things necessary for his voyage into England, accompanied only with Philautus, took shipping the first of December, 1579, by our English computation.<sup>1</sup> Who, as one resolved to see that with his eyes which he had oftentimes heard with his ears, began to use this persuasion to his friend Philautus, as well to counsel him how he should behave himself in England, as to comfort him being now on the seas.

"As I have found thee willing to be a fellow in my travel, so would I have thee ready to be a follower of my counsel; in the one shalt thou show thy good will, in the other manifest thy wisdom. We are now sailing into an island of small compass, as I guess by their maps, but of great civility, as I hear by their manners; which if it be so it behoveth us to be more inquisitive of their conditions than of their country, and more careful to mark the natures of their men than curious to note the situation of the place. And surely methinketh we cannot better bestow our time on the sea than in advice how to behave ourselves when we come to the shore; for greater danger is there to arrive in a strange country where the inhabitants be politic,<sup>2</sup> than to be tossed with the troublesome waves where the mariners be unskilful. Fortune guideth men in the rough sea, but wisdom ruleth them in a strange land.

<sup>1</sup> *By our English computation.* See Bond's note. If this alludes to the rectification of the Calendar by the bull of Gregory XIII. issued in 1582, it is strange that this should already have been, as Bond supposes, matter of common talk in England in 1580. As regards the statement of Bond that Lyly's date here is inconsistent with the date (Feb., 1579) assigned by him to the letter written by Philautus at the end of the work (see p. 455, below), Bond must have forgotten that the year 1579 ran, by the common Calendar-use of the time, to March, 1580 (of our Calendar). The 1st of February, 1579, is therefore two months later than the 1st of December, 1579. The allusion to the leap-year 1580, a page or two back, shows that Lyly was not unobservant in assigning these dates.

<sup>2</sup> *Politic*: sagacious, shrewd.

" If travellers in this age were as wary of their conditions as they be venturous of their bodies, or as willing to reap profit by their pains as they are to endure peril for their pleasure, they would either prefer their soil before a strange land, or good counsel before their own conceit. But as the young scholar <sup>1</sup> in Athens went to hear Demosthenes' eloquence at Corinth and was entangled with Lais's beauty, so most of our travellers which pretend to get a smack of strange language to sharpen their wits are infected with vanity by following their wills. Danger and delight grow both upon one stalk, the rose and the canker in one bud, white and black are commonly in one border. Seeing then, my good Philautus, that we are not to conquer wild beasts by fight but to confer with wise men by policy, we ought to take greater heed that we be not entrapped in folly than fear to be subdued by force.

" And here by the way it shall not be amiss, as well to drive away the tediousness of time as to delight ourselves with talk, to rehearse an old treatise of an ancient hermit, who meeting with a pilgrim at his cell uttered a strange and delightful tale. Which if thou, Philautus, art disposed to hear, and these present attentive to have, I will spend some time about it, knowing it both fit for us that be travellers to learn wit, and not unfit for these that be merchants to get wealth."

Philautus, although the stumps of love so stick'd in his mind that he rather wished to hear an elegy in Ovid than a tale of an hermit, yet was he willing to lend his ear to his friend who <sup>2</sup> had left his heart with his lady—for you shall understand that Philautus, having read the "Cooling Card" which Euphues sent him, sought rather to answer it than allow it. And I doubt not but if Philautus fall into his old vein in England, you shall hear of his new device in Italy. And although some shall think it impertinent to the history, they shall not find it repugnant, no more than in one nosegay to set two flowers or in one counterfeit two colours, which bringeth more delight than disliking.

Philautus answered Euphues in this manner: "My good Euphues, I am as willing to hear thy tale as I am to be partaker

<sup>1</sup> *As the young scholar . . . Demosthenes . . . Lais.* It is strange to find Demosthenes at Corinth and a contemporary of Lais. But Bond shows that these changes of history had already been perpetrated in Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure* (i. 15) and Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses*, fol. 149 rect. (Tudor Transl. ed., vol. ii. p. 23). Probably there is a source of the story earlier than these.

<sup>2</sup> *Who* : Philautus.

of thy travel. Yet I know not how it cometh to pass that my eyes are either heavy against foul weather, or my head so drowsy against some ill news, that this tale shall come in good time to bring me asleep; and then shall I get no harm by the hermit, though I get no good."

The other that were then in the ship flocked about Euphues, who began in this manner:—

There dwelt sometimes<sup>1</sup> in the island Scyrum<sup>2</sup> an ancient gentleman called Cassander who, as well by his being a long gatherer as his trade being a lewd usurer, waxed so wealthy that he was thought to have almost all the money in that country in his own coffers, being both aged and sickly, found (a) such weakness in himself that he thought nature would yield to death and physic to his diseases. This gentleman had one only son who nothing resembled the father either in fancy or favour, which the old man perceiving dissembled with him both in nature and honesty; whom he caused to be called unto his bedside and, the chamber being voided, he brake with him<sup>3</sup> in these terms:—

"Callimachus" (for so he was called), "thou art too young to die and I too old to live. Yet as nature must of necessity pay her debt to death, so must she also show her devotion to thee, whom I alive had to be the comfort of mine age, and whom alone I must leave behind me for to be the only maintainer of all mine honour. If thou couldest as well conceive the care of a father as I can level at the nature of a child, or were I as able to utter my affection towards a son as thou oughtest to show thy duty to thy sire, then wouldest thou desire my life to enjoy my counsel, and I should correct thy

<sup>1</sup> *There dwelt sometimes* [etc.]. No source for the story of Cassander and Callimachus has been suggested by Bond or Feuillerat; but Feuillerat remarks that it has many traits of the *Romans d'Aventure*, such as the story within a story, the description of a strange and romantic landscape (the hermit's cave, 348, 19 ff.), and some of the incidents. The finding of the message, instead of money, in the chest could be matched in the *Gesta Romanorum* and in Greek Romances, such as *Baarlaam and Josaphat*. But no definite source has yet been found.

<sup>2</sup> *Scyrum*: i.e., Scyros, in the Aegean Sea.

(a) The rambling and difficult sentence could be brought into accord with modern syntactical proprieties by introducing *but* before *being both*, and *he* before *found*.

<sup>3</sup> *Brake with him*: revealed to him what was in his mind. Compare *Two Gent. of V.*, III. 1, 59.

life to amend thy conditions ; yet so tempered as neither rigour might detract anything from affection in me, or fear any whit from thee in duty. But seeing myself so feeble that I cannot live to be thy guide, I am resolved to give thee such counsel as may do thee good ; wherein I shall show my care and discharge my duty.

" My good son, thou art to receive by my death wealth, and by my counsel wisdom ; and I would thou wert as willing to imprint the one in thy heart, as thou wilt be ready to bear the other in thy purse. To be rich is the gift of fortune, to be wise the grace of God. Have more mind on thy books than my bags,<sup>(a)</sup> more desire of godliness than gold, greater affection to die well than to live wantonly.

" But as the cypress tree<sup>1</sup> the more it is watered the more it withereth, and the oftener it is lopped the sooner it dieth, so unbridled youth the more it is also by grave advice counselled or due correction controlled the sooner it falleth to confusion, hating all reasons that would bring it from folly, as that tree doth all remedies that should make it fertile.

" Alas, Callimachus, when wealth cometh into the hands of youth before they can use it, then fall they to all disorder that may be, tedding<sup>2</sup> that with a fork in one year which was not gathered together with a rake in twenty.

" But why discourse I with thee of worldly affairs, being myself going to heaven ? Here, Callimachus, take the key of yonder great barred chest, where thou shalt find such store of wealth that if thou use it with discretion thou shalt become the only rich man of the world." Thus turning him on his left side, with a deep sigh and pitiful groan, gave up the ghost.

Callimachus, having more mind to look to the lock than for a shrouding-sheet, the breath being scarce out of his father's mouth, and his body yet panting with heat, opened the chest ; where he found nothing but a letter written very fair, sealed up with his signet of arms, with this superscription : *In finding nothing thou shalt gain all things*. Callimachus, although he were abashed at sight of the empty chest, yet hoping this letter

(a) *Have more mind on thy books than my bags* So 1580A. 1580B, etc. thy bags ; 1597, etc. on thy bags.

<sup>1</sup> *The cypress tree . . . that should make it fertile*. The hard character given to the cypress in this paragraph is probably due to the facts that Pliny gathers in xvi. 60, to account for its being sacred to Pluto : " It is naturally of a stubborn disposition ; " " its fruit is useless ; " " the female is for a long time barren ; " etc. See note on p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Tedding* : spreading the new-cut grass for drying.



would direct him to the golden mine, he boldly opened it. The contents whereof follow in these terms :—

“Wisdom is great wealth. Sparing is good getting. Thrift consisteth not in gold but grace. It is better to die without money than to live without modesty. Put no more clothes on thy back than will expel cold, neither any more meat in thy belly than may quench hunger. Use not change in attire, nor variety in thy diet; the one bringeth pride, the other surfeits. Each vain, void of piety; both costly, wide of profit.

“Go to bed with the lamb and rise with the lark. Late watching in the night breedeth unquiet, and long sleeping in the day ungodliness. Fly both; this as unwholesome, that as dishonest.

“Enter not into bands, no not for thy best friends; he that payeth another man's debt seeketh his own decay. It is as rare to see a rich surety<sup>1</sup> as a black swan<sup>2</sup>; and he that lendeth to all that will borrow showeth great good will but little wit. Lend not a penny without a pawn, for that will be a good gage to borrow.

“Be not hasty to marry. It is better to have one plough going than two cradles; and more profit to have a barn filled than a bed. But if thou canst not live chastely, choose such an one as may be more commended for humility than beauty. A good housewife is a great patrimony; and she is most honourable that is most honest.

“If thou desire to be old, beware of too much wine; if to be healthy, take heed of many women; if to be rich, shun playing at all games. Long quaffing maketh a short life; fond lust causeth dry bones; and lewd pastimes naked purses. Let the cook be thy physician and the shambles<sup>3</sup> thy apothecary shop. He that for every qualm will take a recipe, and cannot make two meals unless Galen be his God's good,<sup>4</sup> shall be sure

<sup>1</sup> *Surety*: one who gives security for another.

<sup>2</sup> *As a black swan*. Lean quotes the proverbial simile from D. Rogers, *Naaman the Syrian* (1642).

<sup>3</sup> *Shambles*: meat-stalls, meat-market. The modern sense was comparatively recent in Lyly's time.

<sup>4</sup> *His God's good*. *God's good* (see *NED.*) meant any possession or comfort which is regarded as coming by God's gift, especially food, and in a special application in many parts of England, yeast or barm. *NED.* thinks that in this passage it means 'grace or blessing after meat,' but there is no objection to taking it in the sense of 'yeast.' Lyly uses it thus in *Mother Bombye*, II. 1, 117.

to make the physician rich and himself a beggar; his body will never be without diseases, and his purse ever without money.

"Be not too lavish in giving alms. The charity of this country<sup>1</sup> is, 'God help thee,' and the courtesy, 'I have the best wine in town for you.'

"Live in the country, not in the court, where neither grass will grow nor moss cleave to thy heels.<sup>2</sup>

"Thus hast thou, if thou canst use it, the whole wealth of the world. And he that cannot follow good counsel never can get commodity. I leave thee more than my father left me: for he dying gave me great wealth without care how I might keep it; and I give thee good counsel with all means how to get riches. And no doubt whatso is gotten with wit will be kept with wariness and increased with wisdom.

"God bless thee, and I bless thee; and as I tender thy safety so God deal with my soul."

Callimachus was stricken into such a maze at this his father's last will that he had almost lost his former wit. And being in an extreme rage, renting his clothes and tearing his hair, began to utter these words:

"Is this the nature of a father, to deceive his son, or the part of crabbed age, to delude credulous youth? Is the death-bed which ought to be the end of devotion become the beginning of deceit? Ah Cassander—friend I cannot term thee, seeing thee so unkind, and father I will not call thee, whom I find so unnatural—, whoso shall hear of this ungratefulness will rather lament thy dealing than thy death, and marvel that a man affected outwardly with such great gravity should inwardly be infected with so great guile. Shall I then show the duty of a child when thou hast forgotten the nature of a father? No, no! For as the torch turned downward<sup>3</sup> is extinguished with the self-same

<sup>1</sup> *The charity of this country.* In this passage Lyly means to contrast the niggardliness of charity with the prodigal generosity of social entertainment.

<sup>2</sup> *Moss cleave to thy heels.* Moss was occasionally used as slang for money (see *NED.*), in allusion to the well-known proverb. Lyly may mean this here, and he may also mean to combine with it an allusion to the phrase 'cool one's heels,' used of a courtier waiting in a great man's anteroom, though *NED.* does not quote this phrase before the 17th century. 'Letting grass grow on one's heels' was also proverbial. See Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*, III. 3, 48. Compare the similar passage, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *The torch turned downward.* W. L. Rushton, *Shakespeare's Euphuism*, London, 1871, quotes the description of the fourth knight in *Pericles*, II. 2, 32: "A burning torch that's turned upside down; the word, *Quod me alit*,

wax which was the cause of his light, so nature turned to unkindness is quenched by those means it should be kindled, leaving no branch of love where it found no root of humanity.

"Thou hast carried to thy grave more gray hairs than years and yet more years than virtues. Couldst thou under the image of so precise holiness harbour the express pattern of barbarous cruelty? I see now that as the canker soonest entereth into the white rose, so corruption doth easiliest creep into the white head. Would Callimachus could as well digest thy malice with patience, as thou didst disguise it with craft; or would I might either bury my care with thy carcass, or that thou hadst ended thy defame with thy death. But as the herb Moly hath a flower<sup>1</sup> as white as snow and a root as black as ink, so age hath a white head showing piety but a black heart swelling with mischief. Whereby I see that old men are not unlike unto old trees, whose barks seem to be sound (*a*) when their bodies are rotten.

"I will mourn not that thou art now dead, but because thou hast lived so long: neither do I weep to see thee without breath, but to find thee without money.

"Instead of coin thou hast left me counsel. O politic old man! Didst thou learn by experience that an edge can be any thing worth if it have nothing to cut, or that miners could work without metals, or wisdom thrive without wherewith. What availeth it to be a cunning lapidary and have no stones? Or a skilful pilot and have no ship? Or a thrifty man and have no money? Wisdom hath no mint; counsel is no coiner. He that in these days seeketh to get wealth by wit, without friends, is like unto him that thinketh to buy meat in the market for honesty, without money; which thriveth on either side so well that the one hath a witty head and an empty purse, the other a godly mind and an empty belly.

*me extinguit.*" Malone says that Shakespeare may have had this from Daniel's translation of Paulus Jovius (in Daniel's *Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. v. [etc.] p. 304), where it occurs, Sign. H. 7. b., and Steevens notes the same idea of the reversed torch in *Hen. VI.*, Part I., ii. 5, 122.

<sup>1</sup> *The herb Moly hath a flower* [etc.]. Farther on, p. 283, Lyly calls it *Homer's Moly*. Bond gives the source, *Odyssey*, x. 360-2; it is "the herb given by Hermes to Odysseus as an antidote against Circe's spells." Ascham, *Scholemaster* (ed. 1904, p. 225), speaks of "the sweet herb Moly with the black and white flower," in the midst of a famous passage against travel of which Lyly shows many reminiscences in the pages following.

(*a*) *whose barks seem to be sound* So 1606, etc. 1580A *whose barkes seemeth to be sound*.

" Yea, such a world it is that gods can do nothing without gold, and who of more might ? Nor princes anything without gifts, and who of more majesty ? Nor philosophers anything without gilt,<sup>1</sup> and who of more wisdom ? For as among the Egyptians there was no man esteemed happy that had not a beast full of spots,<sup>2</sup> so amongst us there is none accounted wise that hath not a purse full of gold. And hadst thou not loved money so well, thou wouldest never have lived so warily and died so wickedly ; who either burying thy treasure dost hope to meet it in hell, or borrowing it of the devil hast rendered him the whole, the interest whereof I fear me cometh to no less than the price of thy soul.

" But whither art thou carried, Callimachus ? Rage can neither reduce thy father's life nor recover his treasure. Let it suffice thee that he was unkind and thou unfortunate, that he is dead and heareth thee not, that thou art alive and profitest nothing.

" But what did my father think ? That too much wealth would make me proud—and feared not too great misery would make me desperate ? "

Whilst he was beginning afresh to renew his complaints and revile his parents, his kinsfolk assembled, who caused him to bridle his lavish tongue, although they marvelled at his piteous tale. For it was well known to them all that Cassander had more money than half the country and loved Callimachus better than his own self.

Callimachus by the importunity of his allies repressed his rage, setting order for all things requisite for his father's funerals<sup>3</sup> ; who being brought with due reverence to the grave, he returned home, making a short inventory to his father's long will. And having made ready money of such movables as were in his house, put both them and his house into his purse ; resolving now with himself in this extremity either with the hazard of his labour to gain wealth, or by misfortune to seek death, accounting it as great shame to live without travel as grief to be left without

<sup>1</sup> *Gilt* : money. This is eighteen years earlier than the earliest use quoted by *NED.* ; this meaning of the word is probably due to confusion with *geld* or *gelt*.

<sup>2</sup> *No man esteemed happy that had not a beast full of spots.* The beast of course is an Apis, a bull with particular markings, as a triangle on the forehead or a half-moon on the breast. On the custom of keeping in the household this or other kinds of animals worshipped, Bond quotes Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* vii. 4, and for a description of the Apis at Memphis, Pliny, viii. 71. See below, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> *Funerals.* The plural form, as in French, was common in England until the end of the 17th century.

treasure.(a) And although he were earnestly entreated, as well by good proffers as gentle persuasions,(b) to wean himself from so désolate or rather desperate life, he would not hearken either to his own commodities or their counsels. "For seeing," (c) said he, "I am left heir to all the world, I mean to execute my authority and claim my lands in all places of the world." Who now so rich as Callimachus, who had as many revenues everywhere as in his own country !

Thus being in a readiness to depart, apparelled in all colours as one fit for all companies and willing to see all countries, journeyed three or four days very devoutly like a pilgrim. Who, straying out of his pathway and somewhat weary, not used to such day labours, rested himself upon the side of a silver stream, even almost in the grisping<sup>1</sup> of the evening ; where thinking to steal a nap, began to close his eyes.<sup>2</sup>

As he was thus between slumbering and waking, he heard one cough piteously, which caused him to start. And seeing no creature, he searched diligently in every bush and under every shrub. At the last he lighted on a little cave where, thrusting in his head more bold than wise, he espied an old man clad all in gray, with a head as white as alabaster, his hoary beard hanging down well near to his knees ; with him no earthly creature saving only a mouse sleeping in a cat's ear.<sup>3</sup> Over the fire this good old man sat, leaning his head to look into a little earthen vessel which stood by him.

(a) *accounting it as great shame to live without travel as grief to be left without treasure* So 1581, etc. 1580A omits the first *as*.

(b) *as well by good proffers as gentle persuasions* So 1606, etc. 1580A *as well by good proffers of gentle persuasions*.

(c) "*For seeing,*" said he, . . . *in his own country* ! This passage appears in the first edition as follows : . . . *counsellers : For seeing (sayd hee) I am left heyre to all the worlde, I meane to execute my authoritie, and clayme my lands in all places of the world. Who now so rich as Callimachus ? Who had as many reuenues euery where as in his owne countrey ?* It seems fairly clear from the context and from the colon before *For seeing* (*for seeing* in some texts) that the quotation ends at *world*. My interpretation of the rest of the passage was suggested by the punctuation of the later editions (1630, 1636) which have a period after *his own country* instead of a mark of interrogation.

<sup>1</sup> *Grisping* : twilight. But one other quotation of the word is given by NED., and that of about the same date, 1581. NED. does not authorize an association with the Northern (Scotch) word *greking*, *greyking*, *grygyng*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The omission of the subject (*he*?) at two places in this paragraph is a deliberate device of style. Perhaps the *who* in preceding clauses is meant to carry over.

<sup>3</sup> *A mouse sleeping in a cat's ear*. Lyly here turns proverbial into real animals. See note on p. 46.

Callimachus, delighted more than abashed at this strange sight, thought to see the manner of his host before he would be his guest.

This old man immediately took out of his pot certain roots on which he fed hungerly, having no other drink than fair water. But that which was most of all to be considered and noted, the mouse and the cat fell to their victuals, being such relics as the old man had left; yea and that so lovingly as one would have thought them both married, judging the mouse to be very wild,<sup>1</sup> or the cat very tame.

Callimachus could not refrain laughter to behold the solemn feast; at the voice whereof the old man arose and demanded who was there. Unto whom Callimachus answered, "Father, one that wisheth thee both greater cheer and better servants."

Unto whom he replied, shoring up<sup>2</sup> his eyes, "By Gis,<sup>3</sup> son,(a) I account the cheer good which maintaineth health and the servants honest whom I find faithful. And if thou neither think scorn of my company nor my cell, enter and welcome." The which offer Callimachus accepted with great thanks, who thought his lodging would be better than his supper.

The next morning the old man being very inquisitive of Callimachus what he was, where he dwelt, and whither he would, Callimachus discoursed with him in particulars as before, touching his father's death and despite; against whom he uttered so many bitter and burning words as the old hermit's ears glowed to hear them and my tongue would blister if I should utter them. Moreover he added that he was determined to seek adventures in strange lands, and either to fetch the golden fleece by travel or sustain the force of fortune by his own wilful folly.

Now, Philautus, thou shalt understand that this old hermit, which was named also Cassander, was brother to Callimachus's father and uncle to Callimachus; unto whom Cassander had before his death conveyed the sum of ten thousand pounds to the use of his son in his most extremity and necessity, knowing, or at the least foreseeing, that his young colt will never bear a white

<sup>1</sup> *Wild*: apparently, as Bond says, in the sense of *bold*.

<sup>2</sup> *Shoring up*: raising. *NED.* gives several other instances, of about this date, of the use in connection with the eyes.

<sup>3</sup> *By Gis*: an oath, also in the form 'by *Jis, Iis*' (as in the present passage in the early editions), which was originally *By Jesu*. Compare *Hamlet*, iv. 5, 58: "By Gis and by Saint Charity, Alack, and fie for shame."

(a) *By Gis, son* The early texts read *by Iis sonne* (or *son*) The emendation suggested by Mr. Bond, "by *Isis*, son," or "by *Isis*' son" is evidently unnecessary: see explanatory note above.

mouth<sup>1</sup> without a hard bridle. Also he assured himself that his brother so little tendered money, being a professed hermit, and so much tendered and esteemed Callimachus, being his near kinsman, as he put no doubt to stand to his devotion.<sup>2</sup>

Cassander, this old hermit, hearing it to be Callimachus his nephew and understanding of the death of his brother, dissembled his grief, although he were glad to see things happen out so well; and determined with himself to make a cousin of<sup>3</sup> his young nephew, until he had bought wit with the price of woe. Wherefore he assayed first to stay him from travel and to take some other course more fit for a gentleman. "And to the intent," said he, "that I may persuade thee, give ear unto my tale." And this is the tale, Philautus, that I promised thee, which the hermit, sitting now in the sun,<sup>4</sup> began to utter to Callimachus.

"When I was young as thou now art, I never thought to be old as now I am; which caused lusty blood to attempt those things in youth which aching bones have repented in age. I had one only brother, which also bore my name,<sup>(a)</sup> being both born at one time as twins; but so far disagreeing in nature as had not as well the respect of the just time,<sup>5</sup> as also the certainty and assurance of our mother's fidelity, persuaded the world we had one father, it would very hardly have been thought that such contrary dispositions could well have been bred in one womb or issued from one's loins. Yet as out of one and the selfsame root cometh as well the wild olive as the sweet, and as the palm Persian fig-tree<sup>6</sup> beareth as well apples as figs, so our mother thrust into the world at one time the blossom of gravity and lightness.

"We were nursed both with one teat, where my brother

<sup>1</sup> *His young colt will never bear a white mouth* [etc.]. See note on p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *To stand to his devotion*: to remain loyal to his service, be at his command.

<sup>3</sup> *Make a cousin of*: beguile, deceive, cozen. See *NED.*, s.v. *cousin*, sb. Of course, punningly here.

<sup>4</sup> *Sitting . . . in the sun*. The phrase probably has some figurative sense, such as 'being pleased,' 'having things go well,' but no parallels have yet come to hand.

<sup>(a)</sup> *which also bore my name* So 1580B, etc. 1580A misprints *mame*.

<sup>5</sup> *The respect of the just time*: i.e., the consideration that they were born at exactly the same time.

<sup>6</sup> *The palm Persian fig-tree*. Bond conjectures that *palm* should be omitted as a mere error of writing. "The statement about figs and apples has probably no better origin than the opening words of Pliny, xv. 19, 'E reliquo genere pomorum ficus amplissima est.'"—Bond.

sucked a desire of thrift,<sup>(a)</sup> and I of theft. Which evidently sheweth that as the breath of the lion engendereth <sup>1</sup> as well the serpent as the ant, and as the selfsame dew forceth the earth to yield both the darnel and wheat, or as the easterly wind maketh the blossoms to blast and the buds to blow, so one womb nourished (b) contrary wits and one milk divers manners; which argueth something in nature, I know not what, to be marvellous, I dare not say monstrous.

"As we grew old in years so began we to be more opposite in opinions: he grave, I gamesome; he studious, I careless; he without mirth, and I without modesty. And verily had we resembled each other as little in favour as we did in fancy, or disagreed as much in shape as we did in sense, I know not what Daedalus would have made a labyrinth for such monsters, or what Apelles could have coloured such misshapes. But as the painter Timanthes <sup>2</sup> could no way express the grief of Agamemnon, who saw his only daughter sacrificed, and therefore drew him with a veil over his face, whereby one might better conceive his anguish than he colour it; so some Timanthes seeing us would be constrained with a curtain to shadow that deformity which no counterfeiter could portray lively.

"But nature recompensed the dissimilitude of minds with a sympathy of bodies. For we were in all parts one so like the other that it was hard to distinguish, either in speech, countenance, or height, one from the other; saving that either carried the motion of his mind in his manners, and that the affects <sup>3</sup> of the heart were bewrayed by the eyes, which made us known manifestly. For as two rubies be they never so like, yet if they be brought together one staineth the other; so we being close one to the other, it was easily to imagine by the face whose virtue deserved most favour. For I could never see my brother but his gravity would make me blush, which caused me to resemble the thrush who never singeth in the company of the nightingale. For whilst my brother was in presence, I durst not presume to

(a) *a desire of thrift* So 1582, etc. 1580A, B, C, 1581 *a desire of thirst*.

<sup>1</sup> *As the breath of the lion engendereth* [etc.]. Not in Pliny, Albertus Magnus, Isidore, or any versions of the *Physiologus*. Compare p. 447, where Lyly says that *elephants* engender serpents by their breath. In xi. 115, it is true, Pliny says that the breath of lions is fetid.

(b) *so one womb nourished* Thus 1580A. 1580B, etc. *so one womb nourisheth*.

<sup>2</sup> *The painter Timanthes*. Compare p. 402 (also p. 235). The account of his painting here given occurs in Pliny, xxxv. 36, and is thence copied by Erasmus, *Similia* (*Works*, i. 601B).

<sup>3</sup> *Affects*: affections.



talk, lest his wisdom might have checked my wildness ; much like to Roscius, who was always dumb when he dined with Cato.<sup>1</sup>

" Our father, being on his death-bed, knew not whom to ordain his heir, being both of one age. To make both would breed, as he thought, unquiet ; to appoint but one were, as he knew, injury ; to divide equally were to have no heir ; to impart more to one than to the other were partiality ; to disherit me of his wealth, whom nature had disinherited of wisdom, were against reason ; to bar my brother from gold, whom God seemed to endue with grace, were flat impiety ; yet calling us before him, he uttered, with watery eyes, these words :—

" ' Were it not, my sons, that nature worketh more in me than justice, I should disherit the one of you who promiseth by his folly to spend all and leave the other nothing whose wisdom seemeth to purchase all things. But I well know that a bitter root is amended with a sweet graft, and crooked trees prove good cammocks,<sup>2</sup> and wild grapes make pleasant wine. Which persuadeth me that thou ' (pointing to me) ' wilt in age repent thy youthly affections and learn to die as well as thou hast lived wantonly. As for thee ' (laying his hand on my brother's head) ' although I see more than commonly in any of thy years, yet knowing that those that give themselves to be bookish are oftentimes so blockish that they forget thrift (whereby the old saw is verified that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men,<sup>3</sup> who dig still at the root while others gather the fruit), I am determined to help thee forward, lest having nothing thou desire nothing and so be accounted as nobody.'

" He, having thus said, called for two bags, the one full of gold, the other stuffed with writings ; and casting them both unto us, said this : ' There, my sons, divide all as between you it shall be best agreed '—and so rendered up his ghost with a pitiful groan.

<sup>1</sup> *Roscius . . . Cato.* Why Bond should think that Cato the Elder rather than his great-grandson, a contemporary of Roscius, is meant, is not clear. The younger Cato might have had the effect upon Roscius here described, whether by virtue of his sterling character or of his eloquence. It is not unlikely that they were acquainted, though where Lyly has his story is not known.

<sup>2</sup> *Crooked trees . . . cammocks* : see notes on p. 26 and p. 409. *Cammock* here means a crook for some use, as by shepherds, or in games.

<sup>3</sup> *Greatest clerks are not the wisest men* : compare note on p. 50. The proverb here, however, is different. It occurs in the same form in Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, A4054 (*Reve's Tale*, 134) ; Caxton, *Hist. of Reynard the Fox*, ch. xxvii. ; Heywood, p. 67 and p. 211. See Skeat, *Early Eng. Proverbs*, no. 233, and Düringsfeld, i., no. 574.

"My brother, as one that knew his own good and my humour, gave me leave to choose which bag I liked. At the choice I made no great curiosity but snatching the gold let go the writings, which were, as I knew, evidences for land,<sup>1</sup> obligations for debt, too heavy for me to carry, who determined (as now thou dost, Callimachus) to seek adventures.

"My purse now swelling with a tympany,<sup>2</sup> I thought to search all countries for a remedy, and sent many gold angels into every quarter of the world; which never brought news again to their master, being either soared into heaven where I cannot fetch them, or sunk into hell for pride where I mean not to follow them. This life I continued the space of fourteen years, until I had visited and viewed every country and was a stranger in mine own. But finding no treasure to be wrapped in travel, I returned with more vices than I went forth with pence; yet with so good a grace as I was able to sin both by experience and authority, use framing me to the one, and the countries to the other. There was no crime so barbarous, no murder so bloody, no oath so blasphemous, no vice so execrable, but that I could readily recite where I learned it, and by rote repeat the peculiar crime of every particular country, city, town, village, house, or chamber. If I met with one of Crete<sup>3</sup> I was ready to lie with him for the whetstone. If with a Grecian I could dissemble with Sinon. I could court it with the Italian, carouse it with the Dutchman. I learned all kind of poisons, yea, and such as were fit for the Pope's holiness. In Egypt I worshipped their spotted god at Memphis<sup>4</sup>; in Turkey their Mahomet; in Rome their Mass, which gave me not only a remission for my sins past without penance, but also a commission to sin ever after without prejudice. There was no fashion but fitted my back, no fancy but served my turn.

"But now my barrel of gold, which pride set abroad, love began to set atilt; which in short time ran so on the lees that the devil danced in the bottom, where he found never a cross."

<sup>1</sup> *Evidences for land*: documents proving ownership, title-deeds.

<sup>2</sup> *A tympany*: a dropsy. See note in Bond.

<sup>3</sup> *With one of Crete . . . for the whetstone*. On the reputation of Cretans, see note on p. 13. The whetstone is "a proverbial prize for lying" (M'Kerrow, *Nashe's Works*, iv. 319, 6). For examples, see Nares' *Glossary*, Bond's note on this passage, and M'Kerrow (as above, and iv. p. 424).

<sup>4</sup> *Spotted god at Memphis*: see note on p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> The devil's aversion to the sign of the cross is of course familiar. Here there is also an allusion to the cross which appeared on the reverse side of many coins. That is, there were few coins left, and even though there

It were too tedious to utter my whole life in this my pilgrimage, the remembrance whereof doth nothing but double my repentance.

"Then to grow to an end, I, seeing my money wasted, my apparel worn, my mind infected with as many vices as my body with diseases, and my body with more maladies than the leopard hath marks, having nothing for amends but a few broken languages, which served me in no more stead than to see one meat served in divers dishes, I thought it best to return to my native soil. Where finding my brother as far now to exceed others in wealth as he did me in wit, and that he had gained more by thrift than I could spend by pride, I neither envied his estate nor pitied mine own; but opened the whole course of my youth, not thinking thereby to recover that of him by request which I had lost myself by riot. For casting in my mind the misery of the world with the mischiefs of my life, I determined from that unto my life's end to lead a solitary life in this cave, which I have done the term of full forty winters; from whence neither the earnest entreaty of my brother nor the vain pleasures of the world could draw me, neither shall anything but death.

"Then, my good Callimachus, record with thyself the inconveniences that come by travelling: when on the seas every storm shall threaten death and every calm a danger, when either thou shalt be compelled to board others as a pirate or fear to be boarded of others as a merchant, when at all times thou must have the back of an ass to bear all and the snout of a swine to say nothing, thy hand on thy cap to show reverence (a) to every rascal, thy purse open to be prodigal to every boor, thy sword in thy sheath not once daring either to strike or ward—which maketh me think that travellers are not only framed not to commit injuries but also to take them.

"Learn Callimachus of the bird *Acanthis*<sup>1</sup> who being bred in the thistles will live in the thistles, and of the grasshopper who being sprung of the grass will rather die than depart from the grass. I am of this mind with Homer, that as the snail that crept

were a few yet they were dedicated to such evil purpose that the devil would not fear them.

(a) to show reverence So 1580B, etc. 1580A misprints *re-reverence*.

<sup>1</sup> The bird *Acanthis*. Bond's conjecture, to explain Lyly's statement, is unnecessary. The goldfinch *does* live in thistles and is sometimes known as the 'thistle-finch.' Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus*, xxiii., no. 2, says: *Achantis avis est parva . . . in spinis nidificans*,

out of her shell <sup>1</sup> was turned eftsoons into a toad and thereby was forced to make a stool to sit on, disdaining her own house ; so the traveller that straggleth from his own country is in short time transformed into so monstrous a shape that he is fain to alter his mansion with his manners, and to live where he can, not where he would. What did Ulysses <sup>2</sup> wish in the midst of his travelling but only to see the smoke of his own chimney ? Did not all the Romans say that he that wandered did nothing else but heap sorrows to his friends and shame to himself, and resembled those that seeking to light a link quenched a lamp ; imitating the barbarous Goths who thought the roots in Alexandria sweeter than the raisins in Barbary.<sup>3</sup>

" But he that leaveth his own home is worthy no home.(a) In my opinion it is a homely kind of dealing to prefer the courtesy of those he never knew before the honesty of those among whom he was born ; he that cannot live with a groat in his own country shall never enjoy a penny in another nation. Little dost thou know, Callimachus, with what wood travellers are warmed, who must sleep with their eyes open lest they be slain in their beds, and wake with their eyes shut lest they be suspected by their looks, and eat with their mouths close lest they be poisoned with their meats. Where if they wax wealthy, they(b) shall be envied not loved ; if poor, punished not pitied ; if wise, accounted espials ; if foolish, made drudges. Every gentleman will be

<sup>1</sup> *The snail that crept out of her shell.* This kind of deliberate nonsense is one of the tricks that Lyly turned to good advantage in the comic prose of his dramas and taught to Shakespeare. It is possible to trace a gradual change in Lyly's style, as well as in his subject-matter, in the course of the *Euphues and his England*. It becomes more mechanical, more brilliant and varied.

<sup>2</sup> *Ulysses . . . the smoke of his own chimney.* Bond quotes *Odyssey*, i. 58 : "Odysseus yearning to see if it were but the smoke leap upwards from his own land, hath a desire to die " (Butcher and Lang's transl.).

<sup>3</sup> *Barbary* : i.e., the parts of Europe occupied by the barbarians. The word has "from the first been treated as identical with *L. barbaria*, . . . land of barbarians " (*NED.*). There are instances, in this general sense, from the 13th century to the 17th.

(a) *But he that leaveth his own home is worthy no home.* This sentence appears in 1580A only.

(b) In the following passage the use of pronouns is not uniform in the earliest editions (1580A, B, C, 1581). I have adopted two emendations which appear in 1582 and later texts. *Where if they wax wealthy, they shall* (so 1582, etc. ; 1580-1581 *thou shalt*) *be envied not loved ; if poor, punished not pitied ; if wise, accounted espials ; if foolish, made drudges. Every gentleman will be their* (so 1582, etc. ; 1580-1581 *thy*) *peer, though they be noble, and every peasant their* (so 1580A, etc., in this case) *lord, if they* (so 1580A ; 1582 alone prints *he*) *be gentle.*

their peer, though they be noble, and every peasant their lord, if they be gentle. He, therefore, that leaveth his own house to seek adventures is like the quail that forsaketh the mallows to eat hemlock,<sup>1</sup> or the fly that shunneth the rose to light in a cow-shard.

"No, Callimachus, there will no moss stick<sup>2</sup> to the stone of Sisyphus, no grass hang on the heels of Mercury, no butter cleave on the bread<sup>3</sup> of a traveller. For as the eagle at every flight loseth a feather,<sup>4</sup> which maketh her bald in her age, so the traveller in every country loseth some fleece, which maketh him a beggar in his youth; buying that with a pound<sup>5</sup> which he cannot sell again for a penny—repentance.

"But why go I about to dissuade thee from that which I myself followed, or to persuade thee to that which thou thyself fliest? My gray hairs are like unto a white frost, thy red blood not unlike unto a hot fire; so that it cannot be that either thou shouldst follow my counsel or I allow thy conditions. Such a quarrel hath there always been between the grave and the cradle, that he that is young thinketh the old man fond and the old knoweth the young man to be a fool.

"But, Callimachus, for the towardness I see in thee I must needs love thee, and for thy frowardness of force counsel thee; and do in the same sort as Phoebus did that daring boy Phaethon. Thou goest about a great matter, neither fit for thy years, being very young, nor thy profit, being left so poor; thou desirest that (a) which thou knowest not, neither can any perform that which thou seemest to promise. If thou covet to travel strange countries search the maps,<sup>6</sup> there shalt thou see much with great pleasure and small pains; if to be conversant in all courts read

<sup>1</sup> *Hemlock*. On its poisonous properties see note on p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *No moss stick* [etc.]: Lyly's adornment of the common proverb. Compare p. 210, where the same proverbs are combined as here.

<sup>3</sup> *No butter cleave on the bread* [etc.]: Heywood, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *The eagle . . . loseth a feather*. The loss of the feathers, along with the dimming of the sight, in old age is a feature of the Eagle's history in the *Physiologus*. He renews them by burning them out in the fire of the sun and afterward dropping into a clear spring, where they return as good as ever. See Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Phys.*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Buying that with a pound* [etc.]: probably proverbial. Compare Jonson, *Poetaster*, v. 1: "They buy repentance too dear."

(a) *thou desirest that* So 1580B, and several editions following. 1580A *y<sup>u</sup> desirest y<sup>t</sup>*; 1597, etc. *that desirest that*. See note (a), p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> *Search the maps . . . read histories*. De Vocht, p. 117, quotes a passage from Erasmus' *Colloq. Famil.* (*Works*, i. 735A), which probably suggested these substitutes for travel, and indeed Lyly's whole sentence. It is a conversation of old men on the ways in which they prefer to lead their lives.

histories, where thou shalt understand both what the men have been and what their manners are ; and methinketh there must be much delight when there is no danger. And if thou have any care either of the green bud which springeth out of the tender stalk, or the timely fruit which is to grow of so good a root, seek not to kill the one or hasten the other ; but let time so work that grafts may be gathered off the tree rather than sticks to burn. And so I leave thee, not to thyself, but to Him that made thee ; Who guide thee with His grace, whether thou go as thou wouldst or tarry at home as thou shouldst."

Callimachus, obstinate in his fond conceit, was so far from being persuaded by this hermit that he rather made it a greater occasion of his pilgrimage, and with an answer between scorning and reasoning he replied thus :—

• " Father or friend (I know not very well how to term you), I have been as attentive to hear your good discourse as you were willing to utter it. Yet methinketh you deal marvellously with youth in seeking by sage counsel to put gray hairs on their chins before nature hath given them almost any hairs on their heads. Wherein you have gone so far that in my opinion your labour had been better spent in travelling where you have not lived, than in talking where you cannot be believed.

" You have been a traveller and tasted nothing but sour ; therefore whosoever travelleth shall eat of the same sauce. An argument it is that your fortune was ill, not that others should be as bad, and a warning to make you wise, not a warning to prove others unfortunate. Shall a soldier that hath received a scar in the battle give out that all warriors shall be maimed ? Or the merchant that hath lost by the seas be a cause that no other should venture, or a traveller that hath sustained harm by sinister fortune, or been infected by his own folly, dissuade all gentlemen to rest at their own home till they come to their long home ? Why then let all men abstain from wine because it made Alexander tipsy, let no man love a woman for that Tarquin was banished, let not a wise man play at all for that a fool hath lost all ? Which in my mind would make such medley that we should be enforced to leave things that were best for fear they may be bad ; and that were as fond as not to cut one's meat with that knife that another hath cut his finger. Things are not to be judged by the event,<sup>1</sup> but by the end ; nor travelling to be con-

<sup>1</sup>Not . . . by the event : probably, not by the accident that may occur along the way. *Event* is used in a similar sense by Nashe, *Works*, i. 42, 16 (*Anat. of Absurdity*).

demned by yours or many's unlucky success, but by the common and most approved wisdom of those that can better show what it is than I, and will better speak of it than you do.

"Where you allege Ulysses,<sup>1</sup> that he desired nothing so much as to see the smoke of Ithaca, it was not because he loved not to travel but that he longed to see his wife after his travel. And greater commendation brought his travel to him than his wit: the one taught but to speak, the other what he should speak. And in this you turn the point of your own bodkin<sup>2</sup> into your own bosom. Ulysses was no less esteemed for knowledge he had of other countries than for the revenues he had in his own.

"And where in the end you seem to refer me to that viewing of maps, I was never of that mind to make my ship in a painter's shop; which is like those who have great skill in a wooden globe, but never behold the sky. And he that seeketh to be a cunning traveller by seeing the maps, and an expert astronomer by turning the globe, may be an apprentice for Apelles but no page for Ulysses.

"Another reason you bring that travelling is costly. I speak for myself. He that hath little to spend hath not much to lose, and he that hath nothing in his own country cannot have less in any.

"Would you have me spend the flower of my youth as you do the withered race<sup>3</sup> of your age? Can the fair blood of youth<sup>4</sup> creep into the ground as it were frost-bitten? (a) No, Father Hermit, I am of Alexander's mind<sup>5</sup>: if there were as many worlds as there be cities in the world, I would never leave until I had seen all the worlds and each city in every world. Therefore, to be short, nothing shall alter my mind, neither penny nor paternoster."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Where you allege Ulysses*: This passage is evidently Euphues' answer to Ascham, *Scholemaster*, pp. 224-6. The statement that Ulysses won more commendation by his travel than his wit is a direct contravention of Ascham's words, p. 225, top.

<sup>2</sup> *Bodkin*: dagger.

<sup>3</sup> *Race*: possibly, course, allotted space of time; but it is probable that the word is rather *race*, sb.<sup>6</sup>, in *NED.*, 'a root,' though this word is only quoted in *NED.* in the special sense 'root of ginger.' If *bud* is the right reading for *blood* (see next note), *flower*, *race*, and *bud* are all parts of the same metaphor.

(a) *Can the fair blood of youth creep into the ground as it were frost-bitten?* So 1580a. 1606, etc. have the attractive emendation *the fair bud of youth*.

<sup>5</sup> *Of Alexander's mind*. Bond quotes Plutarch, *De Tranquil. Animi.*, ch. iv.

<sup>6</sup> *Neither penny nor paternoster*. There are two proverbial sayings: (1) 'No penny, no paternoster,' i.e., no pay, no prayer (see Heywood, p. 96);

This old man seeing him so resolute resolved to let him depart and gave him this farewell :—

“ My good son, though thou wilt not suffer me to persuade thee, yet shalt thou not let me to pity thee, yea, and to pray for thee. But the time will come when, coming home by weeping cross,<sup>1</sup> thou shalt confess that it is better to be at home in the cave of an hermit than abroad in the court of an emperor, and that a crust with quietness<sup>2</sup> shall be better than quails with unrest. And to the end thou mayest prove my sayings as true as I know thyself to be wilful, take the pains to return by this poor cell, where thy fare shall be amended if thou amend thy fault. And so farewell.”

Callimachus courteously took his leave and went his way. But we will not leave him till we have him again at the cell where we found him.

Now Philautus and gentlemen all, suppose that Callimachus had as ill fortune as ever had any ; his mind infected with his body, his time consumed with his treasure, nothing won but what he cannot lose though he would—misery. You must imagine (because it were too long to tell all his journey) that he was seasick (as thou beginnest to be, Philautus), that he hardly escaped death, that he endured hunger and cold, heat without drink, that he was entangled with women, entrapped, deceived, that every stool he sat on was penniless bench,<sup>3</sup> that his robes were rags, that he had as much need of a chirurgion as a physician, and that thus he came home to the cell and with shame and sorrow began to say as followeth :—

“ I find too late, yet at length, that in age there is a certain foresight which youth cannot search, and a kind of experience (*a*) unto which unripened years cannot come ; so that I must of

(2) ‘Neither penny nor paternoster’ (as here), i.e., neither for love nor for money. Gascoigne, *Supposes*, i. 1, has: “Pity nor pension, penny nor paternoster.”

<sup>1</sup> *Coming home by weeping cross* : suffering remorse. Bond quotes Nares’ *Glossary* to the effect that three Crosses in England still bear the name of Weeping-crosses. Nares also cites other instances of the proverbial saying here used by Lyly.

<sup>2</sup> *A crust with quietness* : Prov. xvii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Penniless bench* : apparently a reminiscence of Oxford. A covered bench kept by the city of Oxford at the end of Carfax Church was so called. Proverbial uses of it as here were common in the half-century following *Euphues and his England*. See NED., s.v. *penniless*.

(*a*) *and a kind of experience* 1580A–1597 have *and of a kind of experience* ; of before *a* is omitted in later editions.



necessity confess that youth never reineth well but when age holdeth the bridle. You see, my good father, what I would say by outward show, and I need not tell what I have tried, because before you told me I should find it. This I say, that whatsoever misery happened either to you or any, the same hath chanced to me alone. I can say no more, I have tried no less."

The old hermit, glad to see this ragged colt returned,<sup>1</sup> yet grieved to see him so tormented, thought not to add sour words to augment his sharp woes. But taking him by the hand and sitting down, began after a solemn manner from the beginning to the end to discourse with him of his father's affairs, even after the sort that before I rehearsed, and delivered unto him his money, thinking now that misery would make him thrifty; desiring also that as well for the honour of his father's house as his own credit, he would return again to the island, and there be a comfort to his friends and a relief to his poor neighbours. Which would be more worth than his wealth and the fulfilling of his father's last will.

Callimachus, not a little pleased with this tale and, I think, not much displeased with the gold, gave such thanks as to such a friend appertained. And following the counsel of his uncle, which ever after he obeyed as a commandment, he came to his own house, lived long with great wealth, and as much worship as any one in Scyrum. And whether he be now living I know not; but whether he be or no it skilleth not.<sup>2</sup>

"Now, Philautus, I have told this tale to this end, not that I think travelling to be ill if it be used well, but that such advice be taken that the horse carry not his own bridle, nor youth rule himself in his own conceits. Besides that such places are to be chosen wherein to inhabit as are as commendable for virtue as buildings, where the manners are more to be marked than the men seen. And this was my whole drift, either never to travel, or so to travel as although the purse be weakened the mind may be strengthened. For not he that hath seen most countries is most to be esteemed, but he that learned best conditions; for not so much is the situation of the places to be noted(a) as the virtues of the persons. ✕

<sup>1</sup> *This ragged colt returned*: with allusion to the proverb (Heywood, p. 33), 'Of a ragged colt there cometh a good horse.' Master Touchstone uses the proverb (he is a notable master of such things) in the last scene of *Eastward Hoe*.

<sup>2</sup> *It skilleth not*: it makes no matter, is of no importance.

(a) *not so much is the situation of the places to be noted* 1580A *not so much are y<sup>e</sup> scituation of the places to be noted*. The emendation of *is* for *are* appears in 1631, 1636.

" Which is contrary to the common practice of our travellers, who go either for gain and return without knowledge, or for fashion sake and come home without piety ; whose estates are as much to be lamented as their follies are to be laughed at. This causeth youth to spend their golden time without either praise or profit, pretending a desire of learning when they only follow loitering.

" But I hope our travel shall be better employed, seeing virtue is the white we shoot at,<sup>1</sup> not vanity ; neither the English tongue (which as I have heard is almost barbarous), but the English manners, which as I think are most precise. And to thee, Philautus, I begin to address my speech, having made an end of mine hermit's tale ; and if these few precepts I give thee be observed, then doubt not but we both shall learn that we best like. And these they are.

" At thy coming into England be not too inquisitive of news. neither curious in matters of state ; in assemblies ask no questions, either concerning manners or men. Be not lavish of thy tongue either in causes of weight, lest thou show thyself an espial, or in wanton talk, lest thou prove thyself a fool.

" It is the nature of that country to sift strangers. Everyone that shaketh thee by the hand is not joined to thee in heart. They think Italians wanton and Grecians subtle ; they will trust neither, they are so incredulous, but undermine both, they are so wise. Be not quarrelous for every light occasion. They are impatient in their anger of any equal, ready to revenge an injury, but never wont to proffer any ; they never fight without provoking, and once provoked they never cease. Beware thou fall not into the snares of love. The women there are wise, the men crafty ; they will gather love by thy looks and pick thy mind out of thy hands. It shall be there better to hear what they say, than to speak what thou thinkest. They have long ears and short tongues, quick to hear and slow to utter ; broad eyes and light fingers, ready to espy and apt to strike. Every stranger is a mark for them to shoot at. Yet this must I say, which in no country I can tell the like, that it is as seldom to see a stranger abused there as it is rare to see any well used elsewhere. Yet presume not too much of the courtesies of those, for they differ in natures ; some are hot, some cold, one simple, another wily.(a) Yet if thou use few words and fair speeches thou shalt command anything thou standest in need of.

<sup>1</sup> *The white we shoot at* : the white centre of the target in archery. The figurative use was very common.

(a) *one simple, another wily*. So 1580B, etc. 1580A *one simple, and other wily*.

" Touching the situation of the soil I have read in my study, which I partly believe (having no worse author than Caesar); yet at my coming, when I shall confer the things I see with those I have read, I will judge accordingly. And this have I heard,<sup>1</sup> that the inner part of Britain is inhabited by such as were born and bred in the isle, and the sea-coast by such as have passed thither out of Belgia to search booties and to make war. The country is marvellously replenished with people, and there be many buildings almost alike in fashion to the buildings of Gallia. There is great store of cattle; the coin they use is either of brass or else rings of iron, sized<sup>2</sup> at a certain weight instead of money. In the inner parts of the realm groweth tin and in the sea-coast groweth iron. The brass that they occupy<sup>3</sup> is brought in from beyond sea. The air is more temperate in those places than in France, and the cold lesser.

" The island is in fashion three-cornered, whereof one side is toward France. The one corner of this side,<sup>4</sup> which is in Kent,<sup>(a)</sup> where for the most part ships arrive out of France, is in the east, and the other nethermore is towards the south. This side containeth about five hundred miles. Another side lieth toward Spain and the sun going down. On the which side is Ireland, less than Britain, as is supposed, by the one half; but the cut between them is like the distance that is between France and Britain. In the midst of this course<sup>5</sup> is an island called Man. The length of this side is, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, seven hundred miles. The third side is northward, and against it lieth no land; but the point of that side butteth most upon Germany. This they esteem to be eight hundred miles long, and so the circuit of the whole island is two thousand miles.

<sup>1</sup> *And this have I heard.* In this obscure way Lyly introduces the quotation from Caesar (*De Bell. Gall.* v. 12-14) which he had announced a few lines above. The quotation begins in the following line, 'The inner part of Britain . . .,' and extends to ' . . . the upper lip' (p. 228).

<sup>2</sup> *Sized*: regulated or controlled, with reference to a fixed standard: formerly used of any kinds of measure, and especially of weights.

<sup>3</sup> *Occupy*: use.

<sup>4</sup> *The one corner of this side*: that is, the angle in which it meets the side which faces Germany. Lyly is speaking of the southern coast of England, and he means that the actual south-eastern corner of the island faces the east, its actual south-western corner south. This false geography is due to Caesar, who had a mistaken idea of the way England lies. The same explanation applies to the following statement, that the western side and Ireland face Spain.

*(a) which is in Kent* So 1580A. 1580B, etc. *which is Kent.*

<sup>5</sup> *Course*: appar., 'channel,' though the word is not quoted by NED. in this sense at so early a date.

"Of all the inhabitants of this isle the Kentish men are most civillest; the which country marcheth altogether upon the sea, and differeth not greatly from the manner of France. They that dwell more in the heart of the realm sow corn,<sup>1</sup> but live by milk and flesh, and clothe themselves in leather. All the Britains do dye themselves with woad, which setteth a bluish colour upon them, and it maketh them more terrible to behold in battle. They wear their hair long and shave all parts of their bodies, saving the head and the upper lip.

"Divers other uses and customs are among them(a) as I have read, Philautus. But whether these be true or no, I will not say; for methinketh an island so well governed in peace then, and so famous in victories, so fertile in all respects, so wholesome and populous, must needs in the term of a thousand years be much better, and I believe we shall find it such as we never read the like of any; and until we arrive there we will suspend our judgements. Yet do I mean at my return<sup>2</sup> from thence to draw the whole description of the land, the customs, the nature of the people, the state, the government, and whatsoever deserveth either marvel or commendation."

Philautus, not accustomed to these narrow seas, was more ready to tell what wood the ship was made of,<sup>3</sup> than to answer to Euphues' discourse. Yet between waking and winking<sup>4</sup> as,(b) one half sick and somewhat sleepy, it came into his brains, answered thus:—

"In faith, Euphues, thou hast told a long tale. The beginning I have forgotten,<sup>5</sup> the middle I understand not, and the end

<sup>1</sup> Sow corn. As Bond points out, Lyly uses the reading *conserunt* instead of the better reading *non serunt*.

(a) *are among them* 1580A-1597 omit *are*. It is possible that the omission was a deliberate device of style. A similar omission of the predicate is often found in Hooker's *Eccl. Polity* and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *I mean at my return* [etc.]: a reference to *Euphues' Glass for Europe*, with which *Euphues and his England* ends.

<sup>3</sup> *Tell what wood the ship was made of*: a common periphrasis at the time for sea-sickness. Bond refers to P. A. Daniel, *Trans. New Shak. Soc.*, 1887-92, ii. 268.

(b) *Yet between waking and winking as, one half sick and somewhat sleepy, it came into his brains, answered thus* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *Yet between waking and winking, as one half sick and somewhat sleepy, as came into his brains answered thus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Between waking and winking*: again, p. 376.

<sup>5</sup> *The beginning I have forgotten* [etc.]. Plutarch, in his *Apophth. Lacon.*, *Cleomenis*, vii., relates a story of Cleomenes' answer to certain Sarnian envoys, which Erasmus repeats in his *Apophth.*, *Cleomenis* (*Works*, iv. 120D). This reply is here repeated by Lyly (slightly altered). It was rather frequently

hangeth not together. Therefore I cannot repeat it as I would, nor delight in it as I ought ; yet if at our arrival thou wilt renew thy tale, I will rub my memory. In the mean season, would I were either again in Italy or now in England. I cannot brook these seas, which provoke my stomach sore. I have an appetite <sup>1</sup> it were best for me to take a nap, for every word is brought forth with a nod."

Euphues replied : "I cannot tell, Philautus, whether the sea make thee sick or she that was born of the sea ; if the first thou hast a queasy stomach, if the latter a wanton desire. I well believe thou rememberest nothing that may do thee good nor forgettest anything which can do thee harm, making more of a sore than a plaster and wishing rather to be cursed than cured. Wherein thou agreest with those which having taken a surfeit seek the means rather to sleep than purge, and those that having the green sickness and are brought to death's door follow their own humour and refuse the physician's remedy. And such, Philautus, is thy disease ; who pining in thine own follies, chooseth rather to perish in love than to live in wisdom. But whatsoever be the cause, I wish the effect may answer my friendly care ; then doubtless thou (a) shalt neither die being seasick or dote being lovesick. I would the sea could as well purge thy mind of fond conceits as thy body of gross humours."

Thus ending, Philautus began again to urge : "Without doubt, Euphues, thou dost (b) me great wrong in seeking a scar in a smooth skin, thinking to stop a vein where none opened, (c) and to cast love in my teeth which I have already spit out of my mouth. Which I must needs think proceedeth rather for lack of matter than any good meaning ; else wouldest thou never harp on that string which is burst in my heart and yet ever sounding in thy ears. Thou art like those that procure one to take physic before he be sick, and to apply a cerecloth <sup>2</sup>

quoted in the 16th century and appears in *Mery Tales and Quick Answers* (1567), ed. Hazlitt (*Shakespeare Jest-books*), p. 47.

<sup>1</sup> *An appetite* [etc.]. *NED.* does not quote 'appetite' in the construction here used. Bond renders it 'sense' or 'instinct.'

(a) *thou* 1580A *y*<sup>u</sup>. Altered to *thou* in later editions. The same change occurs below (note (b)), on p. 221 (note (a)), and in many other places. It illustrates the rapid disappearance at this time of the symbol *y* for *th* in pronominal forms. Its use in documents and inscriptions continued longer.

(b) *thou dost* See note above.

(c) *thinking to stop a vein where none opened* So 1580A 1580B, etc. *where none is opened.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cerecloth.* The word does not here mean a shroud, as Bond takes it, but

to his body when he feeleth no ache, or a vomit for a surfeit when his stomach is empty. If ever I fall to mine old bias I must put thee in the fault that talks of it, seeing thou didst put me in the mind to think of it; whereby thou seemest to blow the coal which thou wouldest quench,<sup>1</sup> setting a teen<sup>2</sup> edge where thou desirest to have a sharp point, imping a feather<sup>3</sup> to make me fly when thou oughtest rather to cut my wing for fear of soaring.

"Lucilla is dead, and she upon whom I guess thou harpest is forgotten; the one not to be redeemed, the other not to be thought on. Then good Euphues, wring not a horse on the withers with a false saddle,<sup>4</sup> neither imagine what I am by thy thoughts but by mine own doings; so shalt thou have me both willing to follow good counsel and able hereafter to give thee comfort. And so I rest, half sleepy with the seas."

With this answer Euphues held himself content; but as much wearied with talk as the other was with travel, made a pillow of his hand. And there let them both sleep their fill and dream with their fancies, until either a storm cause them to wake, on their hard beds, or their journey's end.

Thus for the space of eight weeks Euphues and Philautus sailed on the seas, from their first shipping. Between whom divers speeches were uttered, which to recite were nothing necessary in this place and, weighing the circumstances, scarce expedient. What tempests they endured, what strange sights in the element,<sup>5</sup> what monstrous fishes were seen, how often they were in danger of drowning, in fear of boarding, how weary, how sick, how angry, it were tedious to write; for that whoso-

'a cloth smeared or impregnated with wax or some glutinous matter' and 'used as a plaster in surgery' (NED.). Such a cloth was also called a 'cerate.'

<sup>1</sup> *To blow the coal which thou wouldest quench.* Compare p. 94. 'To blow the coal' was a proverbial expression, usually meaning 'to excite discord' (see NED., s.v. *blow*, v.), but sometimes 'to inflame passion,' 'stir up enthusiasm,' etc.; and there was also a proverb already current in Lyly's time something like the one given by Ray (Hazlitt, p. 403): "The wind that blows out candles kindles the fire." Both here and on p. 255, and on p. 319, Lyly implies this proverb, which he may have known from Ovid's *Rem. Am.* i. 804.

<sup>2</sup> *Teen*: see note on p. 11. The word here seems to describe what is commonly called a 'wire' edge, an edge turned by being ground too fine.

<sup>3</sup> *Imping a feather*: in falconry, engrafting a feather so as to strengthen a bird's flight. The figurative use was extremely common in Lyly's time. See the quotations in NED.

<sup>4</sup> *A false saddle.* I do not find the expression in any technical use. The meaning is plain enough.

<sup>5</sup> *The element*: the air.

ever hath either read of travelling, or himself used it, can sufficiently guess what is to be said. And this I leave to the judgement of those that in the like journey have spent their time from Naples to England; for if I should feign more than others have tried I might be thought too poetical, if less, partial. Therefore I omit the wonders, the rocks, the marks, the gulfs, and whatsoever they passed or saw, lest I should trouble divers with things they know, or may shame myself with things I know not. Let this suffice, that they are safely come within a ken<sup>1</sup> of Dover; which the master espying, with a cheerful voice waking them, began to utter these words unto them:—

“Gentlemen and friends, the longest summer’s day hath his evening, Ulysses arriveth at last, and rough winds in time bring the ship to safe road. We are now within four hours’ sailing of our haven and, as you will think, of an earthly heaven. Yonder white cliffs which easily you may perceive are Dover hills; whereunto is adjoining a strong and famous castle<sup>2</sup> unto the which Julius Caesar did enter, where you shall view many goodly monuments both strange and ancient. Therefore pull up your hearts. This merry wind will immediately bring us to an easy bait.”<sup>3</sup>

Philautus was glad he slept so long and was awaked in so good time, being as weary of the seas as he that never used them. Euphues, not sorrowful of this good news, began to shake his ears<sup>4</sup> and was soon apparelled. To make short, the winds were so favourable, the mariners so skilful, the way so short, that I fear me they will land before I can describe the manner how—and therefore suppose them now in Dover town in the noble isle of England, somewhat benighted, and more apt to sleep than sup. Yet for manners’ sake they entertained their master and the rest of the merchants and mariners; where having in due time both recorded their travels past and ended their repast, everyone went to his lodging, where I will leave them soundly sleeping until the next day.

The next day they spent in viewing the Castle of Dover, the pier, the cliffs, the road, and town; receiving as much

<sup>1</sup> *A ken*: a distance of about 20 (18 to 25) miles at sea; properly, the distance that one can see. Compare *Cymbeline*, III. 6, 6. *Kenning* was also used in this sense.

<sup>2</sup> *A strong and famous castle*: Dover Castle, which tradition declares to have been built by Caesar.

<sup>3</sup> *Bait*: a baiting-place, a place to stop for rest and refreshment.

<sup>4</sup> *To shake his ears*: to awaken and bestir himself. The phrase was semi-proverbial in a number of figurative applications.

pleasure by the sight of ancient monuments as by their courteous entertainment, no less praising the persons for their good minds than the place for the goodly buildings. And in this way they refreshed themselves three or four days, until they had digested the seas and recovered again their healths. Yet so warily they behaved themselves, as they were never heard either to inquire of any news or point to any fortress; beholding the bulwarks with a slight and careless regard, but the other places of peace with admiration. Folly it were to show what they saw, seeing hereafter in the description of England it shall most manifestly appear. But I will set them forward in their journey, where now within this two hours we shall find them in Canterbury.<sup>1</sup>

Travelling thus like two pilgrims, they thought it most necessary to direct their steps toward London, which they heard was the most royal seat of the Queen of England. But first they came to Canterbury, an old city somewhat decayed yet beautiful to behold; most famous for a Cathedral Church, the very majesty whereof struck them into a maze; where they saw many monuments and heard tell of greater than either they ever saw or easily would believe.

After they had gone long, seeing themselves almost benighted determined<sup>2</sup> to make the next house their inn, and espying in their way, even at hand, a very pleasant garden, drew near; where they saw a comely old man as busy as a bee among his bees, whose countenance bewrayed his conditions.<sup>3</sup> This ancient father Euphues greeted in this manner:—

“Father, if the courtesy of England be answerable to the custom of pilgrims, then will the nature of the country excuse the boldness of strangers. Our request is to have such entertainment, being almost tired<sup>4</sup> with travel, not as divers have for acquaintance, but as all men have for their money; which courtesy if you grant, we will ever remain in your debt, although everyway discharge our due. And rather we are importunate for that we are no less delighted with the pleasures of your garden than the sight of your gravity.”

<sup>1</sup> *Canterbury*. Feuillerat has shown that the traditions of Lyly's family clung to the towers and cloisters of Canterbury.

<sup>2</sup> *Determined*. Elizabethan syntax is still experimental as regards some uses of pronouns. Frequently, as here, a pronoun-subject in a subordinate clause is made to carry over into the principal clause.

<sup>3</sup> *Conditions*: character, disposition, habits of thought and conduct.

<sup>4</sup> *Tired*. The word has a stronger sense than merely ‘fatigued,’ ‘weary.’



Unto whom the old man said : " Gentlemen,—you are no less I perceive by your manners, and you can be no more, being but men,—I am neither so uncourteous to dislike your request, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths ; although it be no less perilous to be secure than peevish to be curious. I keep no victualling, yet is my house an inn, and I an host to every honest man, so far as they with courtesy will and I may with ability. Your entertainment shall be as small for cheer as your acquaintance is for time, yet in my house ye may haply find some one thing cleanly, nothing courtly ; for that wisdom provideth things necessary, not superfluous, and age seeketh rather a modicum for sustenance than feasts for surfeits. But until something may be made ready, might I be so bold as inquire your names, countries, and the cause of your pilgrimage ? Wherein if I shall be more inquisitive than I ought, let my rude birth excuse my bold request ; which I will not urge as one importunate, I might say impudent."

Euphues, seeing this fatherly and friendly sire (whom we will name Fidus) to have no less inward courtesy than outward comeliness, conjectured (as well he might) that the proffer of his bounty noted the nobleness of his birth, being well assured that as no Thersites could be transformed into Ulysses, so no Alexander could be couched in Damocles.<sup>1</sup> Thinking therefore now with more care and advisedness to temper his talk, lest either he might seem foolish or curious, he answered him in these terms :—

" Good sir, you have bound us unto you with a double chain : the one in pardoning our presumption, the other in granting our petition. Which great and undeserved kindness though we cannot requite with the like, yet if occasion shall serve, you shall find us hereafter as willing to make amends as we are now ready to give thanks.

" Touching your demands, we are not so unwise to dislike them or so ungrateful to deny them, lest in concealing our names it might be thought for some trespass, and covering our pretence we might be suspected of treason. Know you then, sir, that this gentleman my fellow is called Philautus, I Euphues ; ~~he an Italian, I a Grecian ; both sworn friends by just trial, both pilgrims by free will.~~

" Concerning the cause of our coming into this island, it was only to glue our eyes to our ears, that we might justify those things by sight which we have oftentimes with incredible ad-

<sup>1</sup> *Damocles* : see note on p. 4.

miration understood by hearing : to wit, the rare qualities, as well of the body as the mind, of your most dread Sovereign and Queen ; the bruit of the which hath filled every corner of the world, insomuch as there is nothing that moveth either more matter or more marvel than her excellent majesty. Which fame when we saw (a) without comparison and almost above credit, we determined to spend some part of our time and treasure in the English court, where if we could find the report but to be true in half, we should not only think our money and travel well employed but returned with interest more than infinite. This is the only end of our coming, which we are nothing fearful to utter, trusting as well to the courtesy of your country as the equity of our cause.

" Touching the court, if you can give us any instructions we shall think the evening well spent ; which procuring our delight, can no way work your disliking."

" Gentlemen," answered this old man, " if because I entertain you you seek to undermine me, you offer me great discourtesy. You must needs think me very simple, or yourselves very subtle, if upon so small acquaintance I should answer to such demands as are neither for me to utter, being a subject, nor for you to know, being strangers. I keep hives for bees, not houses for busybodies (pardon me, gentlemen,(b) you have moved my patience) ; and more welcome shall a wasp be to my honey than a privy enemy to my house !

" If the rare report of my most gracious Lady have brought you hither, methinketh you have done very ill to choose such a house to confirm your minds as seemeth more like a prison than a palace. Whereby in my opinion you mean to derogate from the worthiness of the person by the vileness of the place ; which argueth your pretences to savour of malice more than honest meaning. They use to consult of Jove in the Capitol, of Caesar in the Senate, or of our noble Queen in her own Court. Besides that Alexander must be painted of none but Apelles,<sup>1</sup> nor engraven of any but Lysippus ; nor our Elizabeth set forth of

(a) *Which fame when we saw* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *with fame when we saw*.

(b) *pardon me, gentlemen* So 1580B, etc. 1580A misprints *Genentle-men*.

<sup>1</sup> *Alexander . . . painted of none but Apelles*. Following Pliny, vii. 38, Erasmus says in his *Similia* (597D) : *Alexander Magnus vetuit ne quis se pingeret praeter unum Apellem, aut ne quis se fingeret aere praeter Lysippum, aut gemma sculperet praeter Pyrgotelem, summos videlicet artifices*. Lyly uses the same passage in three other places (pp. 277, 282, 432), and in such a way as to show that Erasmus, not Pliny, is his immediate source.

everyone that would in duty, which are all, but of those that can in skill, which are few. So far hath nature overcome art and grace eloquence that the painter draweth a veil<sup>1</sup> over that he cannot shadow, and the orator holdeth a paper in his hand for that he cannot utter.

"But whither am I wandering, rapt farther by devotion than I can wade through with discretion. Cease then, gentlemen, and know this, that an Englishman learneth to speak of men and to hold his peace of the gods. Inquire no farther than beseemeth you, lest you hear that which cannot like you. But if you think the time long before your repast, I will find some talk which shall breed your delight touching my bees."

And here Euphues brake him off and replied, though not as bitterly as he would yet as roundly as he durst, in this manner:—

"We are not a little sorry, sir, not that we have opened our minds but that we are taken amiss, and where we meant so well, to be entreated so ill; having talked of no one thing unless it be of good will towards you, whom we revered for age,<sup>(a)</sup> and of duty towards your Sovereign, whom we marvelled at for virtue. Which good meaning of ours, misconstrued by you, hath bred such a distemperature in our heads that we are fearful to praise her, whom all the world extolleth, and suspicious to trust you, whom above any in the world we loved.

"And whereas your greatest argument is the baseness of your house, methinketh that maketh most against you. Caesar never rejoiced more than when he heard that they talked of his valiant exploits in simple cottages, alleging this, that a bright sun<sup>2</sup> shineth in every corner, which maketh not the beams worse but the place better. When (as I remember) Agesilaus' son was set at the lower end of the table<sup>3</sup> and one cast it in his teeth as a shame, he answered, 'This is the upper end where I sit, for it is not the place that maketh the person but the person

<sup>1</sup> *The painter draweth a veil* [etc.]: see passage on the painter Timanthes on p. 216.

(a) *whom we revered for age* 1580A omits *we*; supplied by later texts. 1580A has *reverenced*, 1580B, etc. *reverence*.

<sup>2</sup> *A bright sun . . . the place better*. The same idea is in a proverb used by Lyly (see p. 22): "The sun is not fouled by shining on a dunghill." Skeat (*Early Eng. Proverbs*, no. 295) quotes it from Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, 1911, Rob. of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, 2299, Shakespeare, *Merry Wives*, i. 3, 70; etc. Hazlitt, p. 399, says that Diogenes Laertius attributes the saying to Diogenes the cynic, but it does not occur in the place he cites.

<sup>3</sup> *Agesilaus' son was set at the lower end of the table*. The story is told by Plutarch in *Apophth. Laconica*, *Agesilai*, vi, but of another person, namely,

that maketh the place honourable.' When it was told Alexander that he was much praised of a miller, 'I am glad,' quoth he, 'that there is not so much as a miller but loveth Alexander.' Among other fables I call to my remembrance one not long but apt and, as simple as it is, so fit it is that I cannot omit it for the opportunity of the time,<sup>(a)</sup> though I might overleap it for the baseness of the matter. When all the birds were appointed to meet to talk of the eagle, there was great contention at whose nest they should assemble, everyone willing to have it at his own home; one preferring the nobility of his birth, another the stateliness of his building; some would have it for one quality, some for another; at the last the swallow said they should come to his nest (being commonly of filth). Which all the birds disdainingly said, 'Why, thy house is nothing else but dirt.'

" 'And therefore,' answered the swallow, 'would I have talk there of the eagle; for being the basest, the name of an eagle will make it the bravest.' And so, good father, may I say of thy cottage, which thou seemest to account of so homely, that moving but speech of thy sovereign it will be more like a court than a cabin, and of a prison the name of Elizabeth will make it a palace. The image of a Prince stamped in copper goeth as current, and a crow may cry, *Ave, Caesar*,<sup>1</sup> without any rebuke. The name of a Prince is like the sweet dew which falleth as well upon low shrubs as high trees, and resemblenth a true glass wherein the poor may see their faces with the rich,

Damonidas. It is Erasmus, in his *Apophth.* (*Works*, iv. 94D) that assigns it to Agesilaus, and perhaps Lyly changed it to Agesilaus' son through a misreading of Erasmus' words, *Quum adhuc puer esset*, etc.

(a) for the opportunity of the time So 1580B, etc. 1580A for *y<sup>e</sup> opportunitie of the time*.

<sup>1</sup> A crow may cry, *Ave, Caesar*. A crow was trained to say, *Ave Caesar victor, Imperator*, and presented to Augustus after his victory over Antony. A cobbler, observing the favour won by this present, attempted to sell to Augustus at a high price another crow which he had trained in the same way. But Augustus had enough, and the cobbler was about to withdraw, when the crow began to repeat the sentence, *Opera et impensa perii*, a sentence which it had learned from hearing the cobbler say it repeatedly in moments of discouragement while he was training it. Augustus was pleased and bought the crow. Macrobius tells the story (*Saturn.* ii. 4, 29 f.), and Erasmus repeats it, in Macrobius' words, in his *Adagia*, i. 4, 62 (*Works*, ii. 171E f.). It is also in Erasmus' *Apophtheg.* iv. 43 (*Works*, iv. 210F.), and in Udall's transl. of the same (1542), Book ii., no. 42. Nashe alludes to the story in *Pierce Penniless* (*Works*, i. 174, 12-13), and M'Kerrow's note has furnished the information above.

or a clear stream wherein all may drink that are dry, not they only that are wealthy.

"Where you add that we should fear to move any occasion touching talk of so noble a Prince, truly our reverence taketh away the fear of suspicion. The lamb feareth not the lion but the wolf, the partridge dreadeth not the eagle but the hawk, a true and faithful heart standeth more in awe of his superior whom he loveth for fear, than of his Prince whom he feareth for love. A clear conscience needeth no excuse, nor feareth any accusation.

"Lastly, you conclude that neither art nor heart can so set forth your noble Queen as she deserveth. I grant it, and rejoice at it, and that is the cause of our coming to see her whom none can sufficiently commend. And yet doth it not follow that because we cannot give her as much as she is worthy of, therefore we should not owe her any. And in this we will imitate the old painters in Greece<sup>1</sup> who, drawing in their tables the portraiture of Jupiter, were every hour mending it but durst never finish it. And being demanded why they began that which they could not end, they answered, 'In that we show him to be Jupiter, whom everyone may begin to paint but none can perfect.' In the like manner mean we to draw in part the praises of her whom we cannot thoroughly portray, and in that we signify her to be Elizabeth; who enforceth every man to do as much as he can, when, in respect of her perfection, it is nothing. For as he that beholdeth the sun steadfastly, thinking thereby to describe it more perfectly, hath his eyes so dazzled that he can discern nothing; so fareth it with those that seek marvellously to praise those that are without the compass of their judgements and all comparison, that the more they desire the less they discern, and the nearer they think themselves (a) in good will the farther they find themselves off in wisdom, thinking to measure that by the inch which they cannot reach with the ell.<sup>2</sup>

"And yet, father, it can be neither hurtful to you nor hateful to your Prince to hear the commendation of a stranger, or to answer his honest request who will wish in heart no less glory

<sup>1</sup> *Old painters in Greece . . . portraiture of Jupiter.* The passage in Pliny cited by Bond could not have suggested this simile to Lyly.

(a) *they think themselves* So 1580B, etc. 1580A misprints *they think the elues.*

<sup>2</sup> *The inch . . . the ell.* A variation of a well-known proverb, which appears in Heywood, p. 95.

to her than you do, although they<sup>1</sup> can wish no more. And, therefore, methinketh you have offered a little discourtesy not to answer us, and to suspect us great injury ; having neither might to attempt anything which may do you harm, nor malice to revenge where we find help. For mine own part this I say, and for my friend present the like I dare swear, how boldly I cannot tell, how truly I know : that there is not anyone, whether he be bound by benefit or duty or both, whether linked by zeal or time or blood or all, that more humbly reverenceth her Majesty, or marvelleth at her wisdom, or prayeth for her long, prosperous, and glorious reign, than we ; than whom we acknowledge none more simple, and yet dare avow none more faithful. Which we speak not to get service by flattery, but to acquit ourselves of suspicion by faith ; which is all that either a Prince can require of his subject or a vassal yield to his Sovereign, and that which we owe to your Queen, and all others should offer, that either for fear of punishment dare not offend or for love of virtue will not."

Here old Fidus interrupted young Euphues, being almost induced by his talk to answer his request. Yet, as one neither too credulous nor altogether mistrustful, he replied as a friend, and so wisely as he glanced from the mark Euphues shot at and hit at last the white which Philautus set up, as shall appear hereafter. And thus he began :—

" My sons (mine age giveth me the privilege of that term and your honesties cannot refuse it), you are too young to understand matters of state, and were you elder to know them it were not for your estates. And therefore methinketh the time were but lost in pulling Hercules' shoe upon an infant's foot, or in setting Atlas's burthen on a child's shoulder, or to bruise your backs with the burthen of a whole kingdom. Which I speak not that either I mistrust you (for your reply hath fully resolved that fear), or that I malice you (for my good will may clear me of that fault), or that I dread your might (for your small power cannot bring me into such a folly), but that I have learned by experience that to reason of kings or princes hath ever been much disliked of the wise, though much desired of fools, especially where old men which should be at their beads be too busy with the court, and young men which should follow their books be too inquisitive in the affairs of princes. We should not look at that we cannot reach, nor long for that we should not have. Things above us

<sup>1</sup> *They*. The antecedent of this pronoun is in the singular number.

are not for us,<sup>1</sup> and therefore are princes placed under the gods,<sup>2</sup> that they should not see what they do, and we under princes, that we might not inquire what they do. But as the foolish eagle that seeing the sun coveteth to build her nest in the sun,<sup>3</sup> so fond youth which viewing the glory and gorgeousness of the court longeth to know the secrets in the court. But as the eagle burneth out her eyes with that proud lust, so doth youth break his heart with that peevish conceit. And as Satyrus,<sup>4</sup> not knowing what fire was, would needs embrace it and was burned, so these fond Satyri, not understanding what a Prince is, run boldly to meddle in those matters which they know not and so feel worthily the heat they would not. And therefore, good Euphues and Philautus, content yourselves (a) with this, that, to be curious in things you should not inquire of, if you know them they appertain not unto you, if you knew them not they cannot hinder you.

"And let Apelles' answer to Alexander<sup>5</sup> be an excuse for me. When Alexander would needs come to Apelles' shop and paint, Apelles placed him at his back; who going to his own work, did not so much as cast an eye back to see Alexander's devices. Which being well marked, Alexander said thus unto him: "Art not thou a cunning painter and wilt thou not overlook my picture and tell me wherein I have done well and wherein ill?"

<sup>1</sup> *Things above us are not for us*: see note on p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Therefore are princes placed under the gods* [etc.]. It is interesting to find this favourite statement of the contemporary theory of "Divine Right" repeated in honour of Elizabeth. James I. made much of it. It appears in the political theory of the Protestant monarchists of the Reformation, who used it to oppose the doctrine of the temporal power of the Pope. See Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius*, passim.

<sup>3</sup> *The foolish eagle that . . . coveteth to build her nest in the sun*. According to the *Physiologus* the eagle renews her sight and her feathers by burning out her old age in the fire of the sun. See note on p. 72 and p. 84. There is no classical source for this myth. See Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Phys.*, p. 9 *et passim*.

<sup>4</sup> *Satyrus, not knowing what fire was* [etc.]. The allusion is to an Aesop fable. Bond quotes the ed. Lyons 1571, no. 403.

(a) *content yourselves . . . hinder you* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *content yourselves in this*. Conjecture by Bond *this, not to be curious*. 1630-1636 *if you know them not they cannot hinder you*. The kind of *anacoluthon* that appears in this sentence is not infrequent in Lyly, and very frequent in other writers. In some forms it was almost a regularized feature of Elizabethan syntax.

<sup>5</sup> *Apelles' answer to Alexander*. Pliny relates (xxxv. 36, about the middle of the chap.) that Alexander used to visit Apelles in his studio and gives an instance of the freedom that Apelles used in conversing with and criticizing the conqueror; but the incident here related is probably invented by Lyly *ad hoc*.

"Whom he answered wisely yet merrily: 'In faith, O King, it is not for Apelles to inquire what Alexander hath done, neither if he show it me to judge how it is done. And therefore did I set your Majesty at my back, that I might not glance towards a king's work, and that you looking over my head might see mine. For Apelles' shadows are to be seen of Alexander, but not Alexander's of Apelles.' So ought we, Euphues, to frame ourselves in all our actions and devices as though the King stood over us to behold us, and not to look what the King doth behind us. For whatsoever he painteth it is for his pleasure and we must think for our profit; for Apelles had his reward though he saw not the work.

"I have heard of a magnifico in Milan (and I think, Philautus, you being an Italian do remember it), who hearing his son inquisitive of the Emperor's life and demeanour, reprehended him sharply, saying that it beseemed not one of his house to inquire how an Emperor lived, unless he himself were an Emperor; for that the behaviour and usage of so honourable personages are not to be called in question of everyone that doubteth, but of such as are their equals.

"Alexander,<sup>1</sup> being commanded of Philip his father to wrestle in the games of Olympia, answered he would if there were a king to strive with him. Whereby I have noted (that others seem to enforce) that as kings' pastimes are no plays for everyone, so their secrets, their counsels, their dealings are not to be either scanned or inquired of any way, unless of those that are in the like place or serve the like person.

"I cannot tell whether it be a Canterbury tale<sup>2</sup> or a fable in Aesop (but pretty it is and true in my mind), that the Fox and the Wolf, going both a-filching for food, thought it best to see whether the Lion were asleep or awake, lest being too bold they should speed too bad. The Fox entering into the King's den (a King I call the Lion) brought word to the Wolf that he was asleep, and went himself to his own kennel. The Wolf, desirous to search in the Lion's den, that he might espy some fault, or steal some prey, entered boldly. Whom the Lion caught in his

<sup>1</sup> Alexander . . . in the games of Olympia [etc.]. Plutarch in his *Regum et Imperat. Apophtheg.*, *Alexandri*, 2, and after him Erasmus in his *Apophtheg.* (*Works*, iv. 196D) relate the incident, but both say that it had to do with running, not wrestling.

<sup>2</sup> A *Canterbury tale*. This phrase was in use through the 16th century to indicate a fabricated story. *NED.* quotes, for instance, Turberville's *Book of Falconry* (1575), p. 260, 'A very old woman's fable or Canterbury tale.' Such apparently is Lyly's story, for, as Bond points out, it is not in Aesop.



paws and asked what he would. The silly Wolf (an unapt term for a Wolf, yet fit being in a Lion's hands) answered that understanding by the Fox he was asleep, he thought he might be at liberty to survey his lodging. Unto whom the princely Lion, with great disdain though little despite (for that there can be no envy in a King), said thus: 'Dost thou think that a Lion, thy Prince and Governor, can sleep though he wink; or darest thou inquire whether he wink or wake? The Fox had more craft than thou, and thou more courage,—courage I will not say, but boldness,—and boldness is too good, I may say desperateness; but you shall both well know, and to your griefs feel, that neither the wiliness of the Fox nor the wildness<sup>1</sup> of the Wolf ought either to see or to ask whether the Lion either sleep or wake, be at home or abroad, dead or alive. For this is sufficient for you to know, that there is a Lion, not where he is or what he doth.'

"In like manner, Euphues, is the government of a Monarchy (though homely be the comparison yet apt it is): that it is neither the wise Fox nor the malicious Wolf should venture so far as to learn whether the Lion sleep or wake in his den, whether the Prince fast or feast in his court. But this should be their order, to understand there is a King; but what he doth is for the gods to examine, whose ordinance he is, not for men, whose overseer he is. Then how vain is it, Euphues (too mild a word for so mad a mind), that the foot should neglect his office to correct the face, or that subjects should seek more to know what their Princes do than what they are. Wherein they show themselves as bad as beasts, and much worse than my bees, who in my conceit, though I may seem partial, observe more order than they and (if I might say so (a) of my good bees<sup>2</sup>) more honesty. Honesty my old grandfather called that when men lived by law not list (b); observing in all things the mean which

<sup>1</sup> *Wildness*: rashness, daring.

(a) *and (if I might say so* So 1630, 1636. 1580A (*and if I might say so*).

<sup>2</sup> *My good bees*. The commonwealth of the bees as a symbol of the order of a well-governed state was of course already a commonplace. The parallels are almost countless, usually based on information derived from Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* ix. (as, for instance, Richard Rolle, Horstmann ed., vol. i., p. 193 f.), or on Pliny, xi. 4–22. The latter is, as Bond shows, Lyly's chief source in the passage that follows, though he adds a number of particulars which are due to his desire to please or attract patrons rather than to his observation of beehives, e.g., the passage about Parliament, and the circumstance of the suicide of the disobedient subjects.

(b) *when men lived by law not list* 1580A *lyst*; 1581 *list*; 1597, etc. *lust*.

we name virtue; and virtue we account nothing else but to deal justly and temperately.

"And if I might crave pardon I would a little acquaint you with the commonwealth of my bees, which is neither impertinent to the matter we have now in hand nor tedious to make you weary."

Euphues, delighted with the discourses of old Fidus, was content to hear any thing so he might hear him speak some thing; and consenting willingly he desired Fidus to go forward. Who now, removing himself nearer to the hives, began as followeth:—

"Gentlemen, I have for the space of this twenty years<sup>1</sup> dwelt in this place, taking no delight in anything but only in keeping my bees and marking them. And this I find, which had I not seen I should hardly have believed: that they use as great wit by induction<sup>2</sup> (a) and art by workmanship as ever man hath or can, using between themselves no less justice than wisdom, and yet not so much wisdom as majesty. Insomuch as thou wouldest think that they were a kind of people, a commonwealth for Plato, where they all labour, all gather honey, fly all together in a swarm, eat in a swarm, and sleep in a swarm, so neat and finely that they abhor nothing so much as uncleanness, drinking pure and clear water, delighting in sweet and sound music, which if they hear but once out of tune they fly out of sight; and therefore are they called the muses' birds, because they follow not the sound so much as the consent.<sup>3</sup>

"They live under a law, using great reverence to their elder as to the wiser. They choose a King, whose palace they frame both braver in show and stronger in substance. Whom if they find to fall, they establish again in his throne with no less duty than devotion, guarding him continually as it were for fear he should miscarry and for love he should not; whom they tender with such faith and favour that whithersoever he flieth they follow him, and if he cannot fly they carry him; whose life they so love that they will not for his safety stick to die, such care have they for his health on whom they build all their hope. If

<sup>1</sup> *Twenty years*: i.e., since the accession of Elizabeth, when the life of scholars and ecclesiastics was re-established in a regular course after the disturbances of Mary's reign.

<sup>2</sup> *Induction*: see the textual notes. The word is very doubtful, and is not quoted elsewhere in *NED*. If correct, it means 'natural endowment.'

(a) *that they use as great wit by induction* So 1580A and several editions following. 1595, etc., and Bond *induction*. Query Bond *intuition*.

(<sup>3</sup> *The consent*: i.e., the harmony of different sounds.) Lyly does not have these particulars from Pliny.

their Prince die they know not how to live, they languish, weep, sigh, neither intending their work, nor keeping their old society. And that which is most marvellous and almost incredible: if there be any that hath disobeyed his commandments, either of purpose or unwittingly, he killeth himself with his own sting, as executioner of his own stubbornness. The King himself hath his sting,<sup>1</sup> which he useth rather for honour than punishment.

"And yet, Euphues, albeit they live under a Prince, they have their privilege and as great liberties as strait laws. They call a Parliament wherein they consult for laws, statutes, penalties; choosing officers and creating their King, not by affection but reason, not by the greater part but the better. And if such a one by chance be chosen (for among men sometimes the worst speed best) as is bad, then is there such civil war and dissension that until he be plucked down there can be no friendship; and, overthrown, there is no enmity, not fighting for quarrels but quietness.

"Everyone hath his office, some trimming the honey, some working the wax, one framing hives, another the combs, and that so artificially that Daedalus could not with greater art or excellency better dispose the orders, measures, proportions, distinctions, joints, and circles. Divers hew, others polish, all are careful to do their work so strongly as they may resist the craft of such drones as seek to live by their labours; which maketh them to keep watch and ward as living in a camp to others, and as in a court to themselves. Such a care of chastity that they never engender,<sup>2</sup> such a desire of cleanness that there is not so much as meat in all their hives.<sup>3</sup> When they go forth to work they mark the wind, the clouds, and whatsoever doth threaten either their ruin or reign.<sup>4</sup> And having gathered out of every flower honey they return laden in their mouths, thighs, wings, and all the body; whom they that tarried at home receive readily, as easing their backs of so great burthens. The King, himself, not idle, goeth up and down, entreating, threatening, commanding, using the counsel of a sequel<sup>5</sup> but not losing the dignity

<sup>1</sup> *The King . . . hath his sting* [etc.]: Pliny, xi. 17, '*Illud constat imperatorem aculeo non uti.*'

<sup>2</sup> *They never engender*: Pliny, xi. 16, but see also Vergil, *Georgics*, iv. 197 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *So much as meat in all their hives*. Perhaps *meat* here means 'a meal,' 'eating.' More likely there is a corruption of the text, however.

<sup>4</sup> *Reign*. Bond comments on the forced ingenuity of the antithesis. Possibly, however, *reign* of the early editions is meant for 'rain,' not 'reign.'

<sup>5</sup> *Sequel*: either a train of attendants and servants (the usual sense in Lyly's time), or (as rarely) a single follower and servant.

of a Prince, preferring those that labour to greater authority and punishing those that loiter with due severity.

"All which things being much admirable, yet this is most that they are so profitable, bringing unto man both honey and wax, each so wholesome that we all desire it, both so necessary that we cannot miss them. Here, Euphues, is a commonwealth which, oftentimes calling to my mind, I cannot choose but commend above any that either I have heard or read of; where the King is not for everyone to talk of, where there is such homage, such love, such labour, that I have wished oftentimes rather be a bee than not be as I should be, *(a)*

"In this little garden with these hives, in this house, have I spent the better part of my life, yea, and the best. I was never busy in matters of state, but referring all my cares unto the wisdom of grave counsellors, and my confidence <sup>1</sup> in the noble mind of my dread Sovereign and Queen; never asking what she did but always praying she may do well, not inquiring whether she might do what she would but thinking she would do nothing but what she might. Thus contented with a mean estate, and never curious of the high estate, I found such quiet that methinketh he which knoweth least liveth longest <sup>2</sup>; insomuch that I choose rather to be an hermit in a cave *(b)* than a counsellor in the court."

Euphues perceiving old Fidus to speak what he thought, answered him in these short words:—

"He is very obstinate whom neither reason nor experience can persuade; and truly seeing you have alleged both I must needs allow both. And if my former request have bred any offence, let my latter repentance make amends. And yet this I know, that I inquired nothing that might bring you into danger or me into trouble; for as young as I am this have I learned that one may point at a star <sup>3</sup> but not pull at it, and see a Prince but not search him. And for mine own part I never mean to put my hand between the bark and the tree, <sup>4</sup> or in matters which are not for me to be over-curious.

*(a) rather be a bee than not be as I should be* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *rather be a Bee, then not be as I should be.*

<sup>1</sup> *My confidence* [etc.]: an instance of loose correlation of clauses. Supply *placing* before *my*.

<sup>2</sup> *He which knoweth least liveth longest*: probably a current proverb.

*(b) an hermit in a cave* So 1580B, etc. 1580A misprints *in in*.

<sup>3</sup> *Point at a star*. There may be an allusion to the popular notion that it is irreverent or unwise to point at stars, the moon, etc. See Lean, *Collectanea*, ii. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *To put my hand between the bark and the tree*: Heywood, p. 57. The

"The commonwealth of your bees did so delight me that I was not a little sorry that either their estate have not been longer, or your leisure more; for in my simple judgement there was such an orderly government that men may not be ashamed to imitate them, nor you weary to keep them."

They having spent much time in these discourses were called in to supper. Philautus, more willing to eat than hear their tales, was not the last that went in. Where being all set down, they were served all in earthen dishes, all things so neat and cleanly that they perceived a kind of courtly majesty in the mind of their host, though he wanted matter to show it in his house. Philautus, I know not whether of nature melancholy, or feeling love in his bosom, spake scarce ten words since his coming into the house of Fidus. Which the old man well noting, began merrily thus to parle<sup>1</sup> with him.

"I marvel, gentleman, that all this time you have been tongue-tied, either thinking not yourself welcome or disdaining so homely entertainment. In the one you do me wrong, for I think I have not showed myself strange; for the other you must pardon me for that I have not to do as I would but as I may. And though England be no grange,<sup>2</sup> but yieldeth everything, yet is it here as in every place, all for money. And if you will but accept a willing mind instead of a costly repast, I shall think myself beholding unto you, and if time serve or my bees prosper, I will make you part of amends with a better breakfast."

Philautus thus replied: "I know, good father, my welcome greater than any ways I can requite and my cheer more bountiful than ever I shall deserve; and though I seem silent for matters that trouble me, yet I would not have you think me so foolish that I should either disdain your company or mislike your cheer. Of both the which I think so well that if time might answer my true meaning I would exceed in cost, though in courtesy I know not how to compare with you; for (without flattery be it spoken) if the common courtesy of England be no worse than this toward strangers, I must needs think them happy that travel into these coasts and the inhabitants the most courteous of all countries."

Here began Euphues to take the tale out of Philautus's

meaning is as indicated by Lyly's context, not, as one might suppose, to draw fine distinctions. Compare note 3, p. 294.

<sup>1</sup> *Parle*. *Parley* and *parle* were equally common in Lyly's time.

<sup>2</sup> *Grange*: a storehouse or repository for grain, here used in contrast with a *market*, where grain is dispensed.

mouth and to play with him in his melancholic mood, beginning thus: "No, father, I durst swear for my friend that both he thinketh himself welcome and his fare good. But you must pardon a young courtier who in the absence of his lady thinketh himself forlorn. And this vile dog Love will so rankle where he biteth that I fear my friend's sore will breed to a fistula.<sup>1</sup> For you may perceive that he is not where he lives but where he loves,<sup>2</sup> and more thoughts hath he in his head than you bees in your hives; and better it were for him to be naked among your wasps, though his body were all blistered, than to have his heart stung so with affection, whereby he is so blinded. But believe me, Fidus, he taketh as great delight to course<sup>3</sup> a cogitation of love as you do to use your time with honey. In this plight hath he been ever since his coming out of Naples, and so hath it wrought with him (which I had thought impossible) that pure love did make him seasick; insomuch as in all my travel with him I seemed to everyone to bear with me the picture of a proper man but no living person; the more pity, and yet—no force."

Philautus, taking Euphues' tale by the end and the old man by the arm, between grief and game, jest and earnest, answered him thus:—

"Euphues would die if he should not talk of love once in a day; and therefore you must give him leave after every meal to close his stomach with love as with marmalade. And I have heard not those that say nothing but they that kick oftenest against love are ever in love; yet doth he use me as the mean to move the matter, and as the man to make his mirror, he himself knowing best the price of corn<sup>4</sup> not by the market-folks but his own footsteps. But if he use this speech either to make you merry or to put me out of conceit, he doth well; you must thank him for the one, and I will think on him for the other. I have oftentimes sworn that I am as far from love as he, yet will

<sup>1</sup> *Fistula*: 'an abscess' (Bond).

<sup>2</sup> *He is not where he lives but where he loves.* De Vocht cites Erasmus' Colloquium Proci et Puellae (Works, i. 593c): *Concedes et illud, quod a gravissimis auctoribus dictum, . . . animam hominis non illic esse ubi animat, sed ubi amat.* He sees at the end of the paragraph a further allusion to what immediately follows in Erasmus: *Illud consequitur, et me esse mortuum* [etc.].

<sup>3</sup> *Course*: literally, to exercise (an animal) by running, to put (him) to his paces. NED. gives an example of a figurative use like Lyly's from Holland's *Livy*.

<sup>4</sup> *The price of corn* [etc.]. Child (p. 55) cites the use of *corn* and *footsteps* here as a pun.

he not believe me ; (as incredulous as those who think none bald till they see his brains.)

As Euphues was making answer, Fidus prevented him in this manner :—

“ There is no harm done, Philautus, for whether you love or Euphues jest this shall breed no jar. It may be when I was as young as you, I was as idle as you (though in my opinion there is none less idle than a lover). For to tell the truth I myself was once a courtier, in the days of that most noble King of famous memory, Henry the Eighth, father to our most gracious Lady Elizabeth.”

Where, and with that, he paused, as though the remembrance of his old life had stopped his new speech. But Philautus, itching to hear what he would say, desired him to go forward. Unto whom Fidus, fetching a great sigh, said, “ I will ”—and there again made a full point. Philautus, burning as it were in desire of this discourse, urged him again with great entreaty. Then the old man commanded the board to be uncovered, grace being said, called for stools, and sitting by the fire (*a*) uttered the whole discourse of his love ; which brought Philautus abed and Euphues asleep.

And now, gentlemen, if you will give ear to the tale of Fidus it may be some will be as watchful as Philautus, though many as drowsy as Euphues. And thus he began, with a heavy countenance (as though his pains were present, not past), to frame his tale :—

I was born in the Weald of Kent,<sup>1</sup> of honest parents and worshipful, whose tender cares (if the fondness of parents may be so termed) provided all things even from my very cradle

(*a*) and sitting by the fire So 1580c, etc. 1580A and sitting al by the fire.

<sup>1</sup> *I was born in the Weald of Kent* [etc.]. Both Bond (i. p. 2) and Feuillerat (p. 23, n.) consider that some details of this story are autobiographical, Lyly identifying himself with the old Fidus. Of course the identification is far from complete, and hence, as Feuillerat observes, we must be cautious. It seems to me probable that some reminiscences of his father may have been used by Lyly rather than, or in addition to, fragments of his own experience. On the career of Peter Lyly see Feuillerat, pp. 14 ff. He died in 1569, but during the ten years after Elizabeth's accession, and when his son John was growing up in his house, his life was much of the sort probably which might be represented poetically under the image of the plain-living, high-thinking, and eminently loyal hermit Fidus ; like Fidus, he had played a part at Henry VIII.'s court, and of course his father, William Lyly, the great grammarian and humanist, deserves the title ‘ worshipful.’

until their graves that might either bring me up in good letters or make me heir to great livings. I (without arrogancy be it spoken) was not inferior in wit to many ; which finding in myself I flattered myself, but in the end deceived myself. For being of the age of twenty years, there was no trade or kind of life that either fitted my humour or served my turn but the Court ; thinking that place the only means to climb high and sit sure. Wherein I followed the vein of young soldiers, who judge nothing sweeter than war till they feel the weight.

I was there entertained as well by the great friends my father made as by mine own forwardness. Where, it being now but honeymoon,<sup>1</sup> I endeavoured to court it with a grace (almost past grace), laying more on my back<sup>2</sup> than my friends could well bear, having many times a brave cloak and a threadbare purse.<sup>3</sup> Who so conversant with the ladies as I ? Who so pleasant ? Who more prodigal ? Insomuch as I thought the time lost which was not spent either in their company with delight, or for their company in letters.

Among all the troupe of gallant gentlemen, I singled out one (in whom I misliked nothing but his gravity) that above all I meant to trust. Who, as well for the good qualities he saw in me as the little government he feared in me, began one night to utter these few words :—

“ Friend Fidus (if Fortune allow a term so familiar), I would I might live to see thee as wise as I perceive thee witty ; then should thy life be so seasoned as neither too much wit might make thee proud nor too great riot poor. My acquaintance is not great with thy person ; but such insight have I into thy conditions that I fear nothing so much as that there thou catch thy fall where thou thinkest to take thy rising. There be—

<sup>1</sup> *Honeymoon* : introducing the pun in the phrase ‘ court it ’ below. Compare Heywood, p. 17 : “ It was . . . yet but honeymoon.”

<sup>2</sup> *Laying more on my back* [etc.]. Compare p. 338. Two passages in Shakespeare show that ‘ to lay one’s wealth (estates, manors, etc.) on one’s back ’ was a proverbial expression applied to those who followed the court at great expense, namely, *King John*, II. 1, 70 :

Have sold their fortunes at their native homes,  
Bearing their birthrights proudly on their backs,  
To make a hazard of new fortunes here ;

And *Hen. VIII.*, I. 1, 84 :

O, many  
Have broke their backs with laying manors on ’em  
For this great journey.

<sup>3</sup> *A threadbare purse*. The phrase is used as proverbial twice in Heywood, p. 20 and p. 221.



longeth more to a courtier than bravery,<sup>1</sup> which the wise laugh at, or personage,<sup>2</sup> which the chaste mark not, or wit, which the most part see not. It is sober and discreet behaviour, civil and gentle demeanour, that in court winneth both credit and commodity; which counsel thy unripened years think to proceed rather of the malice of age than the good meaning. To ride well is laudable, and I like it; to run at the tilt not amiss, and I desire it; to revel much to be praised, and I have used it. Which things as I know them all to be courtly,<sup>3</sup> so for my part I account them necessary; for where greatest assemblies are of noble gentlemen there should be the greatest exercise of true nobility. And I am not so precise but that I esteem it as expedient in feats of arms and activity to employ the body as in study to waste the mind; yet so should the one be tempered with the other as it might seem as great a shame to be valiant and courtly without learning, as to be studious and bookish without valour.

"But there is another thing, Fidus, which I am to warn thee of and, if I might, to wrest thee from; not that I envy thy estate, but that I would not have thee forget it. Thou usest too much (a little I think to be too much) to dally with women—which is the next thing to dote upon them. For as they that angle for the tortoise,<sup>4</sup> having once caught him, are driven into such a litherness<sup>5</sup> that they lose all their spirits, being benumbed; so they that seek to obtain the good will of ladies, having once a little hold of their love, they are driven into such a trance that they let go the hold of their liberty; bewitched like those that view the head of Medusa, or the viper tied to the

<sup>1</sup> *Bravery*: showy dress.

<sup>2</sup> *Personage*: handsome appearance and good bearing.

<sup>3</sup> *Which things . . . be courtly*. This paragraph of course illustrates the change which comes over Lyly's ideals in the latter part of *Euphues and his England*. As he has presented the ideals of an ambitious *bourgeoisie* in the *Anatomy of Wit*, so he hopes now to find phrases to express the aims and aspirations of the Renaissance courtier. The combination of literary skill, athletic prowess, and conversational gaiety which he here describes is that which could be studied in Castiglione's *Courtier* (transl. by Sir Thomas Hoby) or in the lives of some of Elizabeth's young champions, Sidney, Dyer, Greville, Sir Henry Lee, etc. Lyly now inclines even to palliate the frivolities of courtiers like his patron Oxford, who represent only the gaieties and the vices of the new culture.

<sup>4</sup> *They that angle for the tortoise* [etc.]: probably a fancy of Lyly's founded on the belief, mentioned by Pliny (xxxii. 14, end) and Isidore of Seville (*Orig.* xii. 6, 56), that a ship which carried the right foot of a tortoise moves more slowly.

<sup>5</sup> *Litherness*: laxity, listlessness.

bough<sup>1</sup> of the beech tree, which keepeth him in a dead sleep, though it begin with a sweet slumber.(a) I myself have tasted new wine and find it to be more pleasant than wholesome, and grapes gathered before they be ripe may set the eyes on lust but they make the teeth on edge (b); and love desired in the bud, not knowing what the blossom were, may delight the conceits of the head but it will destroy the contemplature<sup>2</sup> of the heart.

"What I speak now is of mere goodwill, and yet upon small presumption. But in things which come on the sudden one cannot be too wary to prevent or too curious to mistrust. For thou art in a place either to make thee hated for vice or loved for virtue, and as thou reverencest the one before the other, so in uprightness of life show it. Thou hast good friends which by thy lewd delights thou mayest make great enemies, and heavy foes which by thy well doing thou mayest cause to be earnest abettors of thee in matters that now they canvass against thee. And so I leave thee, meaning hereafter to bear the rein of thy bridle in mine hands if I see thee headstrong." And so he departed.

I gave him great thanks—and glad I was we were parted. For his putting love into my mind was like the throwing of bugloss<sup>3</sup> into wine: which increaseth in him that drinketh it a desire of lust, though it mitigate the force of drunkenness.

I now fetching a windlass,<sup>4</sup> that I might better have a shoot, was prevented with ready game; which saved me some labour but gained me no quiet. And I would, gentlemen, that you could feel the like impressions in your minds at the rehearsal of my mishap as I did passions at the entering into it. If ever you loved you have found the like, if ever you shall love you shall

<sup>1</sup> *The viper tied to the bough.* Bond gives the source, Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ii. 7.

(a) *though it begin with a sweet slumber* So 1580A. 1597 *though he begin.*

(b) *but they make the teeth on edge* So 1597. 1580A *make the teeth an edge.*

<sup>2</sup> *Contemplature*: quoted also from Greene by *NED*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bugloss.* There is no account of the use of this plant in wine in modern times. Lyly's source is Pliny, xxv. 40, "If put into wine it promotes mirth and hilarity."

<sup>4</sup> *Windlass*: a circuit or compass, an indirect course. See Bond's note. Compare *Hamlet*, II. i, 65, "With windlasses and with assays of bias, By indirections find directions out." The modern *windlass*, in another sense, owes its form to confusion with this word.

taste no less. (But he,<sup>(a)</sup> so eager of an end as one leaping over a stile before he come to it,<sup>1</sup> desired few parentheses or digressions or glosses, but the text, where he himself was quoting in the margent.<sup>2</sup>) Then (said Fidus) thus it fell out<sup>(b)</sup> :—

It was my chance (I know not whether chance or destiny) that being invited to a banquet where many ladies were—and too many by one as the end tried, though then too many by all saving that one, as I thought—I cast my eyes so earnestly upon her that my heart vowed her the mistress of my love ; and so fully was I resolved to prosecute my determination, as I was earnest to begin it.

Now, gentlemen, I commit my case to your considerations, being wiser than I was then and somewhat, as I guess, elder ; I was but in court a novice, having no friend but him before rehearsed, whom in such a matter I was likelier to find a bridle than a spur. I never before that time could imagine what love should mean, but used the term as a flout to others, which I found now as a fever in myself ; neither knowing from whence<sup>(c)</sup> the occasion should arise, nor where I might seek the remedy. This distress I thought youth would have worn out, or reason, or time, or absence, or if not every one of them, yet all. But as fire getting hold in the bottom of a tree never leaveth till it come to the top, or as strong poison Antidotum<sup>3</sup> being but chafed in the hand pierceth at the last the heart, so love, which I kept but low, thinking at my will to leave, entered at the last so far that it held me conquered. And then, disputing with myself, I played this on the bit.<sup>4</sup>

(a) (*But he . . . in the margent.*) The marks of parenthesis have here been inserted without authority from preceding texts. The sentence enclosed evidently refers to Philautus. It is in the nature of an aside (very awkwardly introduced) by the author. Cf. note in Arber reprint, p. 270.

<sup>1</sup> *Leaping over a stile before he come to it.* Heywood has the proverb, p. 97 ; and his editor quotes, p. 443, from Gascoigne's *Supposes* : " You would faine leap over the stile before you come to the hedge."

<sup>2</sup> *Quoting in the margent* : i.e., making his own comments on his experiences (the text) instead of listening to those of his elders.

(b) *thus it fell out* 1580A has misprint *fell* ; corrected in later editions.

(c) *neither knowing from whence* 1580A has *neither know from whence* ; changed in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Antidotum* : this word seems to have slipped into the text by some mistake of Lyly's.

<sup>4</sup> *I played this on the bit.* This expression is one more application of the metaphors used above, and very often, of bridle, spur, snaffle, etc. 'To play

Fidus, it standeth thee upon <sup>1</sup> either to win thy love or to wean thy affections ; which choice is so hard that thou canst not tell whether the victory will be the greater in subduing thyself, or conquering her.

( To love and to live well <sup>2</sup> is wished of many, but incident to few. To live and to love well is incident to few, but indifferent to all.<sup>3</sup> To love without reason is an argument of lust, to live without love a token of folly. The measure of love is to have no mean, the end to be everlasting. )

Theseus had no need of Ariadne's thread to find the way into the labyrinth, but to come out ; nor thou of any help how to fall into these brakes,<sup>4</sup> but to fall from them. If thou be witched with eyes, wear the eye of a weasel in a ring which is an enchantment against such charms, and reason with thyself whether there be more pleasure to be accounted amorous or wise. Thou art in the view of the whole court, where the jealous will suspect(a) upon every light occasion ; where of the wise thou shalt be accounted fond, and of the foolish amorous. The ladies themselves, howsoever they look, will thus imagine : that if thou take thought for love thou art but a fool, if take it lightly no true servant.

Besides this thou art to be bound as it were an apprentice, serving seven years for that which if thou win is lost in seven hours. If thou love thine equal, it is no conquest ; if thy superior, thou shalt be envied ; if thine inferior, laughed at, If one that is beautiful, her colour will change before thou get thy desire ; if one that is wise, she will overreach thee so far that thou shalt never touch her ; if virtuous, she will eschew such fond affection ; if deformed, she is not worthy of any affection ; on the bit ' would mean ' to argue with oneself concerning the restraining rules of wisdom.' But a proverbial phrase is probably involved which has escaped both the collectors of proverbs and the editors of the *NED*. The nearest to it that is recorded is Heywood's (p. 87) to ' chew on the bridle,' used in a similar sense.

<sup>1</sup> *It standeth thee upon* : it is incumbent upon you. Compare *Rich. III.*, iv. 2, 59. *Cent. Dict.* quotes the phrase from Locke.

<sup>2</sup> *To love and to live well* [etc.] : see note on p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Indifferent to all*. I think Bond mistakes the meaning. Lyly means that no one cares for love when it is restrained within the bounds of wisdom. " The measure of love is to have no mean."

<sup>4</sup> *Brakes*. Probably the word is *brake*, sb.<sup>6</sup> in *NED*., a cage or trap made with bars, hence, a difficulty or dilemma. The plural is more common, however, in *NED*.'s *brake*, sb.<sup>2</sup>, a thicket.

(a) *where the jealous will suspect* So 1597, etc. 1580A *wher the ielous wil suspecteth* ; 1581 *whether the ielous will, suspecteth*.

if she be rich, she needeth thee not ; if poor, thou needest not her. If old, why shouldst thou love her ; if young, why should she love thee ?

Thus, gentlemen, I fed myself with mine own devices, thinking by piecemeal to cut off that which I could not diminish ; for the more I strived with reason to conquer mine appetite, the more against reason I was subdued of mine affections.

At the last calling to my remembrance an old rule of love, which a courtier then told me, of whom when I demanded what was the first thing to win my Lady, he answered, " Opportunity " ; asking what was the second, he said, " Opportunity " ; desirous to know what might be the third, he replied, " Opportunity "—which answers I marking, as one that thought to take mine aim of so cunning an archer, conjectured that to the beginning, continuing, and ending (a) of love nothing could be more convenient than Opportunity. To the getting of the which I applied my whole study and more my wits to the hard stumps ; assuring myself that as there is a time when the hare will lick the hound's ear,<sup>1</sup> and the fierce tigress play with the gentle lamb, so there was a certain season when women were to be won, in the which moment they have neither will to deny nor wit to mistrust. Such a time I have read a young gentleman found to obtain the love of the Duchess of Milan<sup>2</sup> ; such a time I have heard that a poor yeoman chose to get the fairest lady in Mantua.

Unto the which time I trusted so much that I sold the skin before the beast was taken,<sup>3</sup> reckoning without mine host,<sup>4</sup> and setting down that in my books as ready money which afterwards I found to be a desperate debt.

It chanced that this my Lady (whom although I might name for the love I bore her, yet I will not for the reverence I owe her, but in this story call her Iffida) for to recreate her mind as also to solace her body went into the country, where she determined

(a) and ending So 1582, etc. 1580A an ending.

<sup>1</sup> *When the hare will lick the hound's ear.* Compare *King John*, II. I, 137 : " The hare of whom the proverb goes, Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard." See note, M'Kerrow's *Nashe*, iv. 164.

<sup>2</sup> *Duchess of Milan . . . the fairest lady in Mantua.* These allusions have not been explained, but Bond's hint is interesting.

<sup>3</sup> *I sold the skin before the beast was taken.* The beast is usually a lion or a bear. See a number of quotations in *NED.*, s.v. *skin*, sb. Compare *Hen. V.*, iv. 3, 93, ' The man that once did sell the lion's skin While the beast lived was killed with hunting him.'

<sup>4</sup> *Reckoning without mine host* : see note on p. 69.

to make her abode for the space of three months, having gotten leave of those that might best give it. And in this journey I found good fortune so favourable that her abiding was within two miles of my father's mansion-house; my parents being of great familiarity with the gentleman where my Iffida lay. Who now so fortunate as Fidus? Who so frolic? She being in the country, it was no being for me in the court, where every pastime was a plague to the mind that lived in melancholy. For as the turtle having lost her mate wandereth alone,<sup>1</sup> joying in nothing but in solitariness, so poor Fidus in the absence of Iffida walked in his chamber, as one not desolate for lack of company but desperate.

To make short of the circumstances which hold you too long from that you would hear and I fain utter, I came home to my father; where at mine entrance, supper being set on the table, I espied Iffida—Iffida, gentlemen, whom I found before I sought and lost before I won. Yet lest the alteration of my face might argue some suspicion of my follies, I as courtly as I could—though God knows but coarsely—at that time behaved myself as though nothing pained me, when in truth nothing pleased me.

In the middle of supper, Iffida, as well for the acquaintance we had in court as also the courtesy she used in general to all, taking a glass in her hand filled with wine, drank to me in this wise: "Gentleman, I am not learned, yet have I heard that the vine beareth three grapes<sup>2</sup>; the first altereth, the second troubleth, the third dulleth. Of what grape this wine is made I cannot tell, and therefore I must crave pardon if either this draught change you, unless it be to the better, or grieve you, except it be for greater gain, or dull you, unless it be your desire. Which long preamble I use to no other purpose than to warn you from wine hereafter, being so well counselled before." And with that she, drinking, delivered me the glass.

I now, taking heart at grace<sup>3</sup> to see her so gamesome, as merrily as I could pledged her in this manner: "It is pity, Lady, you want a pulpit, having preached so well over the pot. Wherein you both show the learning which you profess you have not, and a kind of love, which would you had; the

<sup>1</sup> *The turtle having lost her mate wandereth alone*: see note on p. 141. Bond gives from Barthol. Angl. (xii. 34) the statement that best illustrates the present passage. Allusions were very frequent throughout medieval literature, for instance, in Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*, l. 835, 'Soul as the turtle that lost hath hir make.'

<sup>2</sup> *The vine beareth three grapes*: see note on p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Taking heart at grace*: see note on p. 48.

one appeareth by your long sermon, the other by the desire you have to keep me sober. But I will refer mine answer till after supper, and in the mean season be so temperate as you shall not think my wit to smell of the wine; although in my opinion such grapes set rather an edge upon wit than abate the point."

"If I may speak in your cast,"<sup>1</sup> quoth Ifida (the glass being at my nose), "I think wine is such a whetstone for wit<sup>2</sup> that if it be often set in that manner it will quickly grind all the steel out, and scarce leave a back where it found an edge."

With many like speeches we continued our supper; which I will not repeat, lest you should think us Epicures to sit so long at our meat. But all being ended, we arose, where, as the manner is, thanks and curtsy being made(a) to each other, we went to the fire; where I, boldened now, without blushing(b) took her by the hand and thus began to kindle the flame which I should rather have quenched,<sup>3</sup> seeking to blow a coal when I should have blown out the candle.

"Gentlewoman, either thou thoughtest(c) my wits very short, that a sip of wine could alter me, or else yours very sharp, to cut me off so roundly; whenas I (without offence be it spoken) have heard that as deep drinketh the goose as the gander."<sup>4</sup>

"Gentleman," quoth she, "in arguing of wits you mistake mine and call your own into question. For what I said proceeded rather of a desire to have you in health than of malice to wish you harm. For you well know that wine to a young blood is in the springtime flax to fire,<sup>5</sup> and at all times either unwholesome or superfluous, and so dangerous that more perish by a surfeit than the sword. I have heard wise clerks say that

<sup>1</sup> *Speak in your cast*: used again, p. 396. The phrase is of theatrical origin. NED. quotes Cotgrave's *Dictionary* (1611): '*Entrepapement*, an interruption, a speaking in a man's cast.'

<sup>2</sup> *Whetstone for wit*. Compare *As You Like It*, I. 2, 57: "The dulness of the fool is the whetstone of the wits."

(a) *thanks and curtsy being made* So 1597, etc. 1580A omits *being*.

(b) *without blushing* 1580A *without*; misprint corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *To kindle the flame which I should rather have quenched* [etc.]: see note on p. 230.

(c) *thou thoughtest* 1580A *thou thoughts*; 1597 *you thought*.

<sup>4</sup> *As deep drinketh the goose as the gander*: Heywood, p. 82. The meaning is the same as the more modern, 'What is good for the goose, [etc.]'.

<sup>5</sup> *Flax to fire*: a proverbial expression. Heywood has 'To lay tow and fire together' (p. 73), based probably on *Cant. Tales*, D89, 'For peril is bothe fyr and tow t'assemble.' Skeat (*Early Eng. Proverbs*, no. 262) also quotes 'fire and tinder' from Rob. of Brunne, and 'flame and flax' from the play *Life of Sir John Oldcastle*, II. 2.

Galen,<sup>1</sup> being asked what diet he used that he lived so long, answered, 'I have drunk no wine, I have touched no woman, I have kept myself warm.'

"Now sir, if you will license me to proceed, this I thought: that if one of your years should take a dram of Magis,<sup>2</sup> whereby consequently you should fall into an ounce of love,<sup>(a)</sup> and then upon so great heat take a little cold, it were enough to cast you away or turn you out of the way. And although I be no physician, yet have I been used to attend sick persons, where I found nothing to hurt them so much as wine; which always drew with it, as the adamant doth the iron, a desire of women. How hurtful both have been, though you be too young to have tried it, yet you are old enough to believe it. Wine should be taken as the dogs of Egypt drink water, by snatches,<sup>3</sup> and so quench their thirst and not hinder their running; or as the daughters of Lysander<sup>4</sup> used it, who with a drop of wine took a spoonful of water; or as the virgins in Rome,<sup>5</sup> who drink but their eye-full, contenting themselves as much with the sight as the taste.

"Thus to excuse myself of unkindness you have made me almost impudent and I you (I fear me) impatient, in seeming to prescribe a diet where there is no danger, giving a preparative when the body is purged. But seeing all this talk came of drinking, let it end with drinking."

I seeing myself thus ridden,<sup>6</sup> thought either she should sit fast or else I would cast her. And thus I replied:—

"Lady, you think to wade deep where the ford is but shallow, and to enter into the secrets of my mind when it lieth open

<sup>1</sup> *Galen*. Probably the aphorism that follows is a condensed statement by some one of certain teachings diffused through Galen's works.

<sup>2</sup> *Magis*: 'real or imaginary name for some love-powder' (Bond).

(a) *you should fall into an ounce of love* So 1580c, etc. 1580a *you should fall to an ounce of love*.

<sup>3</sup> *As the dogs of Egypt drink water, by snatches*. De Vocht quotes Erasmus' *Adagia* (Works, ii. 361c): '*Nam in illis regionibus constat canes raptu Crocodilorum exterritos bibere et fugere. Solinus ait, eos non nisi currentes lambitare, ne deprehendantur.*' Bond gives the ultimate sources: Pliny, viii. 61, and Aelian, *Var. Hist.* i. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *The daughters of Lysander*: see note on p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> *The virgins in Rome*. Bond quotes Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 38, as the source. Aelian's statement is that no Roman woman, either free or slave, drank wine until she was thirty-five. In the *Diall of Princes*, ii. ch. xxi., it is said that Romulus made a law "that no Roman woman on pain of death should be so hardy to drink wine within the walls of Rome." Compare note 1, p. 429.

<sup>6</sup> *Seeing myself thus ridden*: another instance of the metaphor from horse-management, as on p. 251.



already. Wherein you use no less art to bring me in doubt of your good will, than craft to put me out of doubt, having baited your hook both with poison and pleasure; in that, using the means of physic (whereof you so talk), mingling sweet syrups with bitter dregs.<sup>1</sup> You stand in fear that wine should inflame my liver and convert me to a lover; truly I am framed of that metal that I can mortify any affections, whether it be in drink or desire; so that I have no need of your plasters, though I must needs give thanks for your pains."

And now, Philautus—for I see Euphues begin to nod—thou shalt understand that in the midst of my reply my father, with the rest of the company, interrupted me, saying they would all fall to some pastime. Which because it groweth late, Philautus, we will defer till the morning, for age must keep a strait diet or else a sickly life.

Philautus, tickled in every vein with delight, was loath to leave so, although not willing the good old man should break his accustomed hour, unto whom sleep was the chiefest sustenance. And so waking Euphues, who had taken a nap, they all went to their lodging, where I think Philautus was musing upon the event of Fidus his love. But there I will leave them in their beds till the next morning.

Gentlemen and gentlewomen,<sup>2</sup> in the discourse of this love it may seem I have taken a new course; but such was the time then that it was as strange to love (a) as it is now common, and then less used in the Court than it is now in the country. But having respect to the time past, I trust you will not condemn my present time,<sup>3</sup> who am enforced to sing after their plain-song that was then used, and will follow hereafter the crotchets<sup>4</sup> that are in these days cunningly handled.

For the minds of lovers alter with the mad moods of the musicians. And so much are they within few years changed

<sup>1</sup> *Dregs*. We should expect *drugs*. There is no confusion of spelling, however, between the two words in the 16th century, and it is probable that Lyly means 'sediment,' the bitter medicine that settles to the bottom of the syrup it is taken with.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentlemen and gentlewomen*: Lyly's direct address to his readers. Fidus' narrative is resumed on p. 259.

(a) *it was as strange to love* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *it was straunge to loue*.

<sup>3</sup> *Time*. The word has probably its musical sense, the rhythm or measure of a tune. One is tempted to think that Lyly wrote *tune*.

<sup>4</sup> *Crotchets*: short notes (strictly half a minim) such as are used in rapid variations or adornments of a theme.

that we account their old wooing and singing to have so little cunning that we esteem it barbarous ; and were they living to hear our new coyings, they would judge it to have so much curiosity<sup>1</sup> that they would term it foolish.

In the time of Romulus all heads were rounded<sup>2</sup> of his fashion ; in the time of Caesar curled of his manner. When Cyrus lived everyone praised the hooked nose,<sup>3</sup> and when he died they allowed the straight nose. And so it fareth with love. In times past they used to woo in plain terms, now in picked sentences, and he speedeth best that speaketh wisest ; everyone following the newest way, which is not ever the nearest way ; some going over the stile when the gate is open,<sup>4</sup> another keeping the right beaten path(a) when he may cross over better by the fields. Everyone followeth his own fancy, which maketh divers leap short for want of good rising,<sup>5</sup> and many shoot over for lack of true aim.

And to that pass it is come that they make an art of that which was wont to be thought natural. And thus it standeth, that it is not yet determined whether in love Ulysses more prevailed with his wit, or Paris with his personage, or Achilles with his prowess. For every of them hath Venus by the hand(b) and they are all assured and certain to win her heart.

But I had almost forgotten the old man, who useth not to sleep compass<sup>6</sup> ; whom I see with Euphues and Philautus now already in the garden, ready to proceed with his tale. Which, if it seem tedious, we will break off again when they go to dinner.

Fidus, calling these gentlemen up, brought them into his garden, where under a sweet arbour of eglantine, the birds

<sup>1</sup> *Curiosity* : over-refinement.

<sup>2</sup> *Rounded* : cropped, close-cut. See *NED.*, s.v. *round*, v.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Cyrus . . . the hooked nose* : see note on p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Going over the stile when the gate is open* : evidently a proverb, but there is no other citation of it in just this form. The idea is almost the same as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, I 1, 109 : 'Climb o'er the house to unlock the little gate.' Compare below, p. 269, 'making a gap when the gate is open.'

(a) *another keeping the right beaten path* So 1581, etc. (except 1630-1636). 1580A, 1630, 1636 and other ; 1580B & C *an other*.

<sup>5</sup> *Rising*. The modern term used by jumpers, at least in America, is 'take-off.'

(b) *For every of them hath Venus by the hand* So 1581, 1597, etc. 1580A *For euerye of them haue*.

<sup>6</sup> *Compass* : while the hour hand goes round the clock.

recording<sup>1</sup>(a) their sweet notes, he also strained his old pipe and thus began :—

Gentlemen, yesternight I left off abruptly and therefore I must now begin in the like manner.

My father placed us all in good order, requesting either by questions to whet our wits<sup>2</sup> or by stories to try our memories. And Ifida that might best there be bold, being the best in the company, and at all assays too good for me, began again to preach in this manner :—

“Thou art a courtier, Fidus, and therefore best able to resolve any question ; for I know thy wit good to understand and ready to answer. To thee, therefore, I address my talk.

“There was sometime in Siena a Magnifico, whom God blessed with three daughters, but by three wives, and of three sundry qualities : the eldest was very fair, but a very fool ; the second marvellous witty, but yet marvellous wanton ; the third as virtuous as any living, but more deformed than any that ever lived.

“The noble gentleman, their father, disputed for the bestowing of them with himself thus :—

“‘I thank the gods that have given me three daughters who in their bosoms carry their dowries, insomuch as I shall not need to disburse one mite for all their marriages. Maidens be they never so foolish yet, being fair, they are commonly fortunate ; for that men in these days have more respect to the outward show than the inward substance. Wherein they imitate good lapidaries who choose the stones that delight the eye, measuring the value not by the hidden virtue but by the outward glistering ; or wise painters who lay their best colours upon their worst counterfeit.

“‘And in this methinketh Nature hath dealt indifferently, that a fool whom everyone abhorreth should have beauty which everyone desireth, that the excellency of the one might excuse the vanity of the other ; for as we in nothing more differ from the

<sup>1</sup> *Recording* : sounding, as if on the instrument known as a ‘recorder.’

(a) *the birds recording* 1580A misprints *be byrdes* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *By questions to whet our wits.* Formal exercises in conversation on a set theme were regular amusements in courtly circles of the Renaissance. Castiglione’s *Courtier* largely consists of such exercises. The first subject proposed for debate in that work is, What quality a lady likes best in her lover and what fault she can most easily endure,—a subject not unlike the one here broached by Ifida.

gods than when we are fools, so in nothing do we come near them so much as when we are amiable. This caused Helen to be snatched up for a star,<sup>1</sup> and Ariadne to be placed in the heavens; not that they were wise but fair, fitter to add a majesty to the sky than bear a majesty in earth. Juno,<sup>2</sup> for all her jealousy, beholding Io wished to be no goddess so she might be so gallant.

“ ‘Love cometh in at the eye,<sup>3</sup> not at the ear; by seeing nature’s works, not by hearing women’s words. And such effects and pleasures(a) doth sight bring unto us that divers have lived<sup>4</sup> by looking on fair and beautiful pictures, desiring no meat nor hearkening to any music. What made the gods so often to truant from heaven and miche<sup>5</sup> here on earth, but beauty? What made men to imagine that the firmament was God<sup>6</sup> but the beauty?—which is said to bewitch the wise and enchant them that made it. Pygmalion<sup>7</sup> for beauty loved an image of ivory, Apelles the counterfeite of Campaspe<sup>8</sup>; and none we have heard of so senseless that the name of beauty cannot either break or bend. It is this only that Princes desire in their houses,

<sup>1</sup> *Helen snatched up for a star.* Bond says that Lyly “twice denied her stellification” in part one, namely in Euphues’ letter to Alcibus and in his apologetic epistle “To . . . the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford.” But he has misread the meaning of both passages.

<sup>2</sup> *Juno . . . beholding Io.* Bond quotes Ovid, *Metam.* i. 612: “Speciem Saturnia vaccae, Quamquam invita, probat.”

<sup>3</sup> *Love cometh in at the eye* [etc.]. Erasmus has as an adage, *Ex adspectu nascitur amor* (*Works*, ii. 100E), and discourses on the theme: “*Et oculi prae-cipue sunt ad amandum illices. In his enim peculiaris animi sedes.*” De Vocht cites no less than fourteen places in Lyly’s works where he alludes to this idea, among them p. 388, below. The idea is expounded at length in Castiglione’s *Courtier*, Book 4, near the end (Clerke’s Latin ed., Frankfort, 1606, pp. 265-7).

(a) *And such effects and pleasures* So 1580A, B, C, 1623. Several other editions, 1581, 1582, 1597-1617, 1630-1636 have *affects*.

<sup>4</sup> *Divers have lived* [etc.]. This custom is attributed to Apelles by his servant Psyllus in Lyly’s *Campaspe*, i. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Miche*: still in dialectal use in England in the sense ‘to play truant.’ The meaning of the French original was ‘lurk’ or ‘skulk,’ and this meaning was formerly common in English.

<sup>6</sup> *That the firmament was God*: this pantheistic idea was discussed by Lyly at the beginning of Euphues’ dialogue with Atheos in the *Anatomy of Wit*.

<sup>7</sup> *Pygmalion*: See Ovid, *Metam.* x. 243-297.

<sup>8</sup> *Apelles . . . Campaspe.* Alexander’s generosity to the painter in giving him his favourite concubine for a mistress supplies Lyly with the theme of his play *Campaspe*, in which Lyly assumes, as here, though without authority, that the painter first fell in love with her portrait. The source in Pliny is Book xxxv. ch. x.

gardens, orchards, and beds ; following Alexander who more esteemed the face of Venus not yet finished,<sup>1</sup> than the table of the nine muses perfected.(a)

“ ‘ And I am of that mind that there can be nothing given unto mortal men by the immortal gods either more noble or more necessary than beauty. For as when the counterfeit of Ganymede<sup>2</sup> was shown at a market, everyone would fain buy it, because Zeuxis had therein showed his greatest cunning ; so when a beautiful woman appeareth in a multitude, every man is drawn to sue to her, for that the gods (the only painters of beauty) have in her expressed the art of their deity.

“ ‘ But I will here rest myself, knowing that if I should run so far as beauty would carry me, I should sooner want breath to tell her praises than matter to prove them. Thus I am persuaded that my fair daughter shall be well married, for there is none that will or can demand a greater jointure than beauty.

“ ‘ My second child is witty, but yet wanton. Which in my mind rather addeth a delight to the man, than a disgrace to the maid ; and so linked are those two qualities together that to be wanton without wit is apishness, and to be thought witty without wantonness preciseness. When Lais,<sup>3</sup> being very pleasant, had told a merry jest, “ It is pity,” said Aristippus, “ that Lais having so good a wit should be a wanton.” “ Yea,” quoth Lais, “ but it were more pity that Lais should be a wanton and have no good wit.”

“ ‘ Osiris,<sup>4</sup> King of the Egyptians, being much delighted with pleasant conceits, would often affirm that he had rather have a virgin that could give a quick answer that might cut him than a

<sup>1</sup> *The face of Venus not yet finished*: perhaps an allusion to the passage in Pliny quoted on p. 196, note 4.

(a) *the table of the nine muses perfected* 1580A misprints *perfcted* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *The counterfeit of Ganymede . . . Zeuxis*. In Pliny, Aelian, etc., there is no account of such a painting by Zeuxis. It is probably suggested to Lyly by Alciati's *Emblems*, no. 32, where the picture of Ganymede is shown being borne aloft by the eagle. The picture is praised in the verse, and it is said that *haec Maeonius finxerit . . . senex* (i.e. Homer), which Lyly may have misunderstood.

<sup>3</sup> *Lais . . . Aristippus*. Lyly may have read of Aristippus' visits to Lais in Erasmus' *Apophth.*, *Aristippus*, no. 31, or in Erasmus' source, Diogenes Laertius, II. 8, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Osiris* [etc.]: “ has no more precise authority than the civilizing influence of Osiris' reign in Egypt, as mentioned by Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, ch. xiii.”—Bond.

mild speech that might claw<sup>1</sup> him. When it was objected to a gentlewoman that she was neither fair<sup>2</sup> nor fortunate, "And yet," quoth she, "wise and well favoured"—thinking it the chiefest gift that nature could bestow to have a nut-brown hue and an excellent head. It is wit that allureth; when every word shall have his weight, when nothing shall proceed but it shall either savour of a sharp conceit or a secret conclusion.<sup>3</sup>

"And this is the greatest thing: to conceive readily and answer aptly, to understand whatsoever is spoken and to reply as though they understood nothing. A gentleman that once loved a lady most entirely, walking with her in a park, with a deep sigh began to say, "O that women could be constant!" She replied, "O that they could not," pulling her hat over her head. "Why," quoth the gentleman, "doth the sun offend your eyes?" "Yea," answered she, "the son of your mother." Which quick and ready replies being well marked of him, he was enforced to sue for that which he was determined to shake off.

"A nobleman in Siena,<sup>4</sup> disposed to jest with a gentlewoman of mean birth yet excellent qualities, between game and earnest gan thus to salute her: "I know not how I should commend your beauty, because it is somewhat too brown, nor your stature, being somewhat too low, and of your wit I can not judge." "No," quoth she, "I believe you. For none can judge of wit but they that have it." "Why then," quoth he, "dost thou think me a fool?" "Thought is free, my Lord," quoth she. "I will not take you at your word." He, perceiving all outward faults to be recompensed with inward favour, chose this virgin for his wife. And in my simple opinion he did a thing both worthy his stock and her virtue.

"It is wit that flourisheth when beauty fadeth, that waxeth young when age approacheth, and resembleth the ivy leaf, who although it be dead continueth green. And because of all creatures the woman's wit is most excellent, therefore have the poets feigned the muses to be women, the nymphs, the goddesses(a); ensamples of whose rare wisdoms and sharp capacities

<sup>1</sup> *Claw*: to scratch gently and pleasantly, in order to relieve itching, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Fair*. The word is opposed to 'dark-hued' here, as the context shows, and is equivalent, at the same time, to 'beautiful.' The transition from the first to the second sense was not completed in Lyly's time.

<sup>3</sup> *A secret conclusion*: a hidden meaning, an unexpressed inference.

<sup>4</sup> *A nobleman in Siena*. Has Lyly forgotten that it is "a magnifico of Siena" who is here talking?

(a) the goddesses 1580A has *Goddesse*. Later texts have plural.

would nothing but make me commit idolatry with my daughter. I never heard but of three things which argued a fine wit: invention, conceiving,<sup>1</sup> answering. Which have all been found so common in women that, were it not I should flatter them, I should think them singular.<sup>2</sup>

“ ‘ Then this sufficeth me that my second daughter shall not lead apes in hell,<sup>3</sup> though she have not a penny for the priest, because she is witty; which bindeth weak things, and looseth strong things, and worketh all things in those that have either wit themselves or love wit in others.

“ ‘ My youngest, though no pearl to hang at one’s ear,<sup>4</sup> yet so precious she is to a well-disposed mind that grace seemeth almost to disdain nature. She is deformed in body, slow of speech, crabbed in countenance, and almost in all parts crooked; but in behaviour so honest, in prayer so devout, so precise in all her dealings, that I never heard her speak anything that either concerned not good instruction or godly mirth. Who never delighteth in costly apparel but ever desireth homely attire, accounting no bravery greater than virtue; who beholding her ugly shape in a glass, smiling said, “ This face were fair if it were turned,” noting that the inward motions would make the outward favour but counterfeit.

“ ‘ For as the precious stone Sandastra<sup>5</sup> hath nothing in outward appearance but that which seemeth black, but being broken poureth forth beams like the sun, so virtue showeth but bare to the outward eye, but being pierced with inward desire shineth like crystal. And this dare I avouch, that as the Troglodytae<sup>6</sup> which digged in the filthy ground for roots and found the inestimable stone Topason, which enriched them ever after, so he that seeketh after my youngest daughter, which is deformed, shall find the great treasure of piety to comfort him during his life. Beautiful women are but like the ermine, whose skin is desired, whose carcass is despised; the virtuous, contrariwise, are then most liked when their skin is least loved.

“ ‘ Then ought I to take least care for her whom everyone

<sup>1</sup> *Conceiving*: understanding, comprehending (what is said to one).

<sup>2</sup> *Singular*: of extraordinary merit or worth, precious.

<sup>3</sup> *Lead apes in hell*: see note on p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *No pearl to hang at one’s ear*: probably a proverbial phrase.

<sup>5</sup> *The precious stone Sandastra*. Lyly’s authority may be, as Bond says, the statement of Pliny (xxxvii. 28) concerning *sandaistros* that it has scintillations within, like drops of gold, *semper in corpore, nunquam in cute*.

<sup>6</sup> *The Troglodytae . . . Topason*. The troglodytes were a race of cave-dwellers in Ethiopia. Lyly’s source is Pliny, xxxvii. 32.

that is honest will care for. So that I will quiet myself with this persuasion, that everyone shall have a wooer shortly. Beauty cannot live without a husband, wit will not, virtue shall not.'

"Now, gentlemen, I have propounded my reasons; for everyone I must now ask you the question. If it were your chance to travel to Siena and to see as much there as I have told you here, whether would you choose for your wife—the fair fool, the witty wanton, or the crooked saint? "

When she had finished I stood in a maze, seeing three hooks laid in one bait, uncertain to answer what might please her, yet compelled to say somewhat, lest I should discredit myself. But seeing all were whist to hear my judgement, I replied thus:—

"Lady Iffida and gentlewomen all, I mean not to travel to Siena to woo beauty, lest in coming home the air change it and then my labour be lost; neither to seek so far for wit, lest she account me a fool when I might speed as well nearer hand; nor to sue to virtue, lest in Italy I be infected with vice, and so looking to get Jupiter by the hand I catch Pluto by the heel.

"But if you will imagine that great Magnifico to have sent his three daughters into England, I would thus debate with them before I would bargain with them.

"I love beauty well, but I could not find in my heart to marry a fool (for if she be impudent I shall not rule her, and if she be obstinate she will rule me)—and myself none of the wisest. Methinketh it were no good match, for two fools in one bed are too many.

"Wit of all things setteth my fancies on edge, but I should hardly choose a wanton; for be she never so wise, if always she want one when she hath me, I had as lief she should want me too: for of all my apparel I would have my cap fit close.<sup>1</sup>

"Virtue I cannot mislike, which hitherto I have honoured, but such a crooked apostle<sup>2</sup> I never brooked; for virtue may well fat my mind, but it will never feed mine eye; and in marriage, as market-folks tell me, the husband<sup>3</sup> should have two eyes and the wife but one. But in such a match it is as good to have no eye as no appetite.

"But to answer of three inconveniences which I would choose

<sup>1</sup> *I would have my cap fit close*: in allusion to the horns supposed to be the penalty of cuckolds.

<sup>2</sup> *Apostle*: one who represents or advocates a cause.

<sup>3</sup> *As market-folks tell me, the husband* [etc.]. The allusion is to the proverb, current in English and many other languages (see Düringsfeld, i., no. 884), "Who buys wants a hundred eyes, who sells needs have but one."



(although each threaten a mischief), I must needs take the wise wanton. Who if by her wantonness she will never want where she likes, yet by her wit she will ever conceal whom she loves ; and to wear a horn and not know it will do me no more harm than to eat a fly and not see it." <sup>1</sup>

Iffida, I know not whether stung with mine answer, or not content with my opinion, replied in this manner :—

"Then, Fidus, when you match, God send you such a one as you like best. But be sure always that your head be not higher than your hat." <sup>2</sup> And thus, feigning an excuse, departed to her lodging. Which caused all the company to break off their determined pastimes, leaving me perplexed with a hundred contrary imaginations.

For this, Philautus, thought I, that either I did not hit the question which she would, or that I hit it too full against her will. For to say the truth, witty she was and somewhat merry, but, God knoweth, so far from wantonness as myself was from wisdom ; and I so far from thinking ill of her as I found her from taking me well.

Thus all night tossing in my bed, I determined the next day, if any opportunity were offered, to offer also my importunate service. And found <sup>3</sup> the time fit, though her mind so froward that to think of it my heart throbbed, and to utter it will bleed freshly.

The next day, I coming to the gallery where she was solitarily walking with her frowning-cloth, <sup>4</sup> as sick lately of the sullen,

<sup>1</sup> *To eat a fly and not see it*: in allusion to the proverb, 'The blind eat many flies' (Heywood, pp. 73, 201, 220). Heywood's editor quotes from the *Schole-house of Women* (15-41), line 333: "The blind eateth many a fly: So doth the husband often, iwis, Father the child that is not his."

<sup>2</sup> *Your head . . . higher than your hat*. Bond misinterprets, perhaps. The point seems to consist in the allusion to horns, as on p. 264. The saying is not unlike Heywood's 'Thy ear groweth through thy hood,' which has the same meaning.

<sup>3</sup> *Found*. As regards the omission of the subject of this verb, see p. 213, note 2, p. 232, note 2, and compare p. 228, note (a).

<sup>4</sup> *Frowning-cloth*: a cloth or coif (also called 'cross-cloth' or 'pouting-cloth') worn about the forehead by persons (especially women) suffering from some indisposition, and often used as a symbol for 'the spleen,' 'the doldrums,' or other hypochondriacal affection. Thus in the *Entertainments at Harefield* (printed by Bond, Lyly's *Works*, i. 502), a 'coif and crosscloth' were presented to a 'Mrs. Strangwidge' with the following verse: "Frown you in earnest or be sick in jest, This coif and crosscloth will become you best." See also quotations in *NED.*, s.v. *coif*, *crosscloth*, *pouting*, sb. Occasionally *cloth* seems to have been taken in the sense of a bed-curtain, but

understanding my father to be gone on hunting, and all other the gentlewomen either walked abroad to take the air or not yet ready to come out of their chambers, I adventured in one ship to put all my wealth<sup>1</sup> and at this time to open my long-concealed love; determining either to be a knight, as we say, or a knitter of caps.<sup>2</sup> And in this manner I uttered my first speech:—

“Lady, to make a long preamble to a short suit would seem superfluous, and to begin abruptly in a matter of great weight might be thought absurd; so I am brought into a doubt whether I should offend you with too many words or hinder myself with too few.”

She not staying for a longer treatise brake me off thus roundly: “Gentleman, a short suit is soon made, but great matters not easily granted; if your request be reasonable(*a*) a word will serve, if not a thousand will not suffice. Therefore if there be anything that I may do you pleasure in, see it be honest(*b*) and use not tedious discourses or colours(*c*) of rhetoric; which though they be thought courtly, yet are they not esteemed necessary. For the purest emerald shineth brightest when it hath no oil,<sup>3</sup> and truth delighteth best when it is apparelled worst.”

Then I thus replied: “Fair lady, as I know you wise, so have I found you courteous; which two qualities meeting in one of so rare beauty must foreshow some great marvel, and works such effects in those that either have heard of your praise or seen your person that they are enforced to offer themselves unto your service. Among the number of which your vassals, I, though least worthy yet most willing, am now come to proffer both my life to do you good and my livings to be at your command; which frank offer proceeding of a faithful mind can neither be refused

with the same connotation as above. Withals, for instance, in his *Dict.* (1599, 1602, etc.) explains ‘pouting-cloth’ by *plagula*.

<sup>1</sup> *In one ship to put all my wealth*: proverbial, like ‘to put all one’s eggs in one basket.’ Compare *Mer. of Ven.*, I. I, 44: “My ventures are not in one bottom trusted.”

<sup>2</sup> *Either to be a knight, as we say, or a knitter of caps*. So in Heywood’s *Edward IV.*, First Part, ii. 4, we have: “All kings or cap-knitters.”

(*a*) *reasonable* 1580A *reasoble*.

(*b*) *honest* 1580A *honost*.

(*c*) *colours* 1580A *cuolors*. All these misprints are corrected in later texts.

<sup>3</sup> *The purest emerald shineth brightest when it hath no oil*. Isidore of Seville says just the opposite: ‘*Smaragdi autem mero et viridi proficiunt oleo, quamvis natura imbuantur*.’ Lyly makes a statement like Isidore’s concerning *sapphire*, p. 287.

of you nor misliked. And because I would cut off speeches which might seem to savour either of flattery or deceit, I conclude thus : that as you are the first unto whom I have vowed my love, so you shall be the last, requiring nothing but a friendly acceptance of my service and goodwill for the reward of it."

Iffida, whose right ear began to glow<sup>1</sup> and both whose cheeks waxed red either with choler or bashfulness, took me up thus<sup>↑</sup> for stumbling :—

" Gentleman, you make me blush as much for anger as shame, seeking to praise me and proffer yourself, you both bring my good name into question and your ill meaning into disdain ; so that thinking to present me with your heart you have thrust into my hands the serpent *Amphisbena*,<sup>2</sup> which having at each end a sting hurteth both ways. You term me fair, and therein you flatter ; wise, and therein you mean witty ; courteous, which in other plain words, if you durst have uttered it, you would have named wanton.

" Have you thought me, Fidus, so light that none but I could fit your looseness ? Or am I the witty wanton which you harped upon yesternight that would always give you the sting in the head<sup>3</sup> ? You are much deceived in me, Fidus, and I as much in you ; for you shall never find me for your appetite, and I had thought never to have tasted you so unpleasant to mine. If I be amiable I will do those things that are fit for so good a face ; if deformed those things which shall make me fair.

" And howsoever I live I pardon your presumption ; knowing it to be no less common in Court than foolish to tell a fair tale to a foul lady ; wherein they sharpen, I confess, their wits, but show as I think small wisdom. And you among the rest, because you would be accounted courtly, have assayed to feel the vein you cannot see. Wherein you follow not the best physicians, yet the most, who feeling the pulses do always say it betokeneth an ague ; and you seeing my pulses beat pleasantly, judge me<sup>(a)</sup> apt to fall into a fool's fever. Which lest it happen to shake me hereafter, I am minded to shake you off now, using but one

<sup>1</sup> *Whose right ear began to glow* : i.e., because of Fidus' praise of her. Compare Heywood, pp. 52 and 218 : " Her ears might well glow, for all the town talked of her."

<sup>2</sup> *The serpent Amphisbena*. Bond quotes Pliny, viii. 35, and De Vocht Erasmus' *Similia*, 607D.

<sup>3</sup> *The sting in the head* : another allusion to the horns of cuckolds. See pp. 264-5.

(a) *seeing my pulses beat pleasantly, judge me* So 1636. 1630 has no comma ; earlier texts have comma after *beat*.

request where I should seek off to revenge : that is, that you never attempt by word or writing to solicit your suit, which is no more pleasant to me than the wringing of a strait shoe."<sup>1</sup>

When she had uttered these bitter words, she was going into her chamber. But I, that now had no stay of myself, began to stay her and thus again to reply : " I perceive, Iffida, that where the stream runneth smoothest<sup>2</sup> the water is deepest ; and where the least smoke<sup>3</sup> is there to be the greatest fire ; and where the mildest countenance is there to be the melancholiest conceits. I swear to thee by the gods——"

And there she interrupted me again in this manner : " Fidus, the more you swear the less I believe you. For that it is a practice in love to have as little care of their own oaths as they have of others' honours ; imitating Jupiter,<sup>4</sup> who never kept oath he swore to Juno, thinking it lawful in love to have as small regard of religion as he had of chastity. And because I will not feed you with delays, nor that you should comfort yourself with trial, take this for a flat answer : that as yet I mean not to love any ; and if I do, it is not you. And so I leave you."

But once again I stayed her steps, being now thoroughly heated as well with love as with choler ; and thus I thundered : " If I had used the policy that hunters do in catching of Hyena,<sup>5</sup> it might be also I had now won you ; but coming of the right side, I am entangled myself, and had it been on the left side, I should have inveigled thee. Is this the guerdon for good will,

<sup>1</sup> *The wringing of a strait shoe.* Compare Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, D482 (quoted by Skeat, *Early Eng. Proverbs*, no. 277):

For, God it woot, he sat ful ofte and song

Whan that his shoo ful bitterly him wrong.

Skeat cites a passage in St. Jerome as the original of the proverbial phrase. But Plutarch's *Conj. Praec.*, § xxii., is another early source. Heywood, p. 69, has : " Myself can tell best where my shoe doth wring me." Compare below, pp. 347, 397.

<sup>2</sup> *Where the stream runneth smoothest* [etc.]. Hazlitt quotes Field's *Amend for Ladies*, and Bond cites *Hen. VI.*, Part II., III. 1, 53. See Düringsfeld, ii., no. 399.

<sup>3</sup> *Where the least smoke is* [etc.]: Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 563E): "*Flammam primum emicantem multus comitatur fumus : qui quidem evanescit, jam invalescente et explicante se flamma.*"

<sup>4</sup> *Imitating Jupiter* [etc.]: suggested probably by Ovid's *Ars Am.* i. 633, *Jupiter ex alto perjuria ridet amantum.* Tibullus has the same saying, III. 6, 47.

<sup>5</sup> *Hunters do in catching of Hyena.* The allusion is to a passage in Pliny (xxviii. 27) quoted by Bond, to the effect that if the hyena, pursued by a hunter, turns off to the right he will return and destroy his pursuer ; if to the left, he soon becomes exhausted and is taken.

is this the courtesy of ladies, the life of courtiers, the food of lovers? Ah, Iffida, little dost thou know the force of affection; and therefore thou rewardest it lightly, neither showing courtesy like a lover nor giving thanks like a lady.

"If I should compare my blood with thy birth, I am as noble; if my wealth with thine, as rich; if confer qualities, not much inferior; but in good will, as far above thee as thou art beyond me in pride. Dost thou disdain me because thou art beautiful? Why colours fade, when courtesy flourisheth. Dost thou reject me for that thou art wise? Why wit having told all his cards lacketh many an ace of wisdom. But this is incident to women, to love those that least care for them and to hate those that most desire them; making a stake(a) of that which they should use for a stomacher.<sup>1</sup>

"And seeing it is so, better lost they are with a little grudge than found with much grief; better sold for sorrow than bought for repentance; and better to make no account of love than an occupation—where all one's service, be it never so great, is never thought enough, when were it never so little it is too much."

When I had thus raged she thus replied: "Fidus, you go the wrong way to the wood<sup>2</sup> in making a gap when the gate is open,<sup>3</sup> or in seeking to enter by force when your next<sup>4</sup> way lieth by favour. Wherein you follow the humour of Ajax,<sup>5</sup> who, losing Achilles' shield by reason, thought to win it again by rage; but it fell out with him as it doth commonly with all those that are cholerick, that he hurt no man but himself; neither have you moved any to offence but yourself. And in my mind though

(a) a stake So 1580A. 1580B, etc. *stacke*.

<sup>1</sup> *Making a stake . . . for a stomacher*. The passage does not make sense and Bond's explanation does not relieve the difficulty. Probably we should substitute *stock* (in the sense of 'hose') for *stake*. All early editions except the first have *stacke*, which might be a spelling of, or a mistake for, *stock*.

<sup>2</sup> *You go the wrong way to the wood*. So in Heywood (p. 91), who has also (pp. 93, 187): "There be mo ways to the wood than one." The latter is quoted by Düringsfeld (ii., no. 604) in Eng., Scand., Dan., etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Making a gap when the gate is open*: see note on p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> *Next*: nearest.

<sup>5</sup> *The humour of Ajax*: alluding to the debate between Ajax and Ulysses in Ovid's *Metam.* xiii., in which Ajax lost the decision of the judges. Alciatus has two Emblems (nos. 9 and 38) concerning this incident, which may together have suggested Lyly's use of it here. In 9 he represents Virtue sitting on Ajax's tomb and furiously tearing her hair at the injustice done him; in 38 Achilles' shield comes floating over the water toward Ajax's tomb, Neptune thus attempting to set right the unjust decision of the Greek council. See note on p. 307.

simple be the comparison yet seemly it is : that your anger is like the wrangling of children, who when they cannot get what they would have by play they fall to crying ; and not unlike the use of foul gamesters, who having lost the main by true judgement think to face it out with a false oath ; and you missing of my love, which you required in sport, determine to hit it by spite. If you have a commission to take up ladies, let me see it ; if a privilege, let me know it ; if a custom, I mean to break it.

" You talk of your birth when I know there is no difference of bloods in a basin ;<sup>1</sup> (a) and as little do I esteem those that boast of their ancestors and have themselves no virtue, as I do of those that crack<sup>2</sup> of their love and have no modesty. I know nature hath provided, and I think our laws allow it, that one may love when they see their time, not that they must love when others appoint it.

" Whereas you bring in a rabble of reasons as it were to bind me against my will, I answer that in all respects I think you so far to excel me that I cannot find in my heart to match with you. For one of so great good-will as you are to encounter with one of such pride as I am were neither commendable nor convenient, no more than a patch of fustian in a damask coat. As for my beauty and wit I had rather make them better than they are, being now but mean, by virtue than worse than they are, which would be nothing, (b) by love.

" Now whereas you bring in (I know not by what proof, for I think you were never so much of women's counsels) that there women best like where they be least beloved, then ought they more to pity us, (c) not to oppress us, seeing we have neither free will to choose nor fortune to enjoy. Then, Fidus, since your eyes are so sharp that you cannot only look through a millstone<sup>3</sup> but clean through the mind, and so cunning that you can level at the dispositions of women whom you never

<sup>1</sup> *There is no difference of bloods in a basin* : i.e., when the blood is drawn from the veins, aristocrat's and plebeian's look alike. Bond appositely refers to *All's Well*, II. 3, 125 ff. : " Strange is it that our bloods, Of colour, weight, and heat, pour'd all together, Would quite confound distinction."

(a) *in a basin* So 1580B, etc. 1580A is *a basen*.

<sup>2</sup> *Crack* : boast. Compare p. 77.

(b) *which would be nothing* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *no-hing*.

(c) *then ought they more to pity us* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *then ought the more*. Bond reads *then ought you the more*, inserting *you*. Possibly the true reading is *then ought they the more*.

<sup>3</sup> *Look through a millstone*. Heywood has ' to see (or look) far in a millstone ' (pp. 25, 176). See other quotations in *NED.*, s.v. *millstone*.

knew, methinketh you should use the mean if you desire to have the end : which is to hate those whom you would fain have to love you ; for this have you set for a rule (yet out of square)<sup>1</sup> that women then love most when they be loathed most. And to the end I might stoop to your lure, I pray you begin(a) to hate me that I may love you.

“ Touching your losing and finding, your buying and selling, it much skilleth not, for I had rather you should lose me so you might never find me again, than find me that I should think myself lost. And rather had I be sold of you for a penny than bought for you with a pound.

“ If you mean either to make an art or an occupation of love I doubt not but you shall find work in the Court sufficient ; but you shall not know the length of my foot<sup>2</sup> until by your cunning you get commendation. A phrase now there is which belongeth to your shop-board,<sup>3</sup> that is ‘ to make love ’ ; and when I shall hear of what fashion it is made, if I like the pattern you shall cut me a partlet,<sup>4</sup>—so as you cut it not with a pair of left-handed shears. And I doubt not, though you have marred your first love in the making, yet by the time you have made three or four loves you will prove an expert workman ; for as yet you are like the tailor’s boy who thinketh to take measure before he can handle the shears. And thus I protest unto you because you are but a young beginner that I will help you to as much custom as I can, so as you will promise me to sew no false stitches ; and when mine old love is worn threadbare you shall take measure of a new.

“ In the mean season do not discourage yourself. Apelles was no good painter the first day. For in every occupation one must first endeavour to begin. He that will sell lawn must learn to fold it, and he that will make love must learn first to court it.”

As she was in this vein very pleasant, so I think she would have been very long, had not the gentlewomen called her to

<sup>1</sup> *A rule (yet out of square)* : punning on the two senses of *rule*, (a) a principle or regulation and (b) a carpenter’s instrument. Both ‘ out of rule ’ and ‘ out of square ’ were familiar phrases in Lyly’s time. ‘ Out of square ’ is used of a string of a musical instrument on p. 377.

(a) *I pray you begin* So 1582, etc. 1580A *I pray begin*.

<sup>2</sup> *Know the length of my foot* : see NED. (s.v. *foot*), where are later quotations, but none earlier.

<sup>3</sup> *Shop-board* : here used, not of a counter over which goods are sold, but of the board or bench on which a tailor sits at his work.

<sup>4</sup> *Partlet* : a collar or ruff ; also, a neckerchief. The earlier form was *patlet*, and it seems to be from Old Fr. *patelette*, a band of cloth.

walk, being so fair a day. Then taking her leave very courteously, she left me alone ; yet turning again she said, " Will you not man<sup>1</sup> us, Fidus, being so proper<sup>2</sup> a man ? "

" Yes," quoth I, " and without asking too, had you been a proper woman."

Then smiling she said, " You should find me a proper woman had you been a proper workman." And so she departed.

Now, Philautus and Euphues, what a trance was I left in ! Who bewailing my love was answered with hate, or, if not with hate, with such a kind of heat as almost burnt the very bowels within me. What greater discourtesy could there possibly rest in the mind of a gentlewoman than with so many nips, such bitter girds, such disdainful gleeks<sup>3</sup> to answer him that honoured her ? What cruelty more unfit for so comely a lady than to spur him that galloped, or to let him blood in the heart whose vein she should have stanchd in the liver<sup>4</sup> ?

But it fared with me as with the herb Basil,<sup>5</sup> the which the more it is crushed the sooner it springeth ; or the rue, which the oftener it is cut the better it groweth ; or the poppy, which the more it is trodden with the feet the more it flourisheth. For in these extremities, beaten as it were to the ground with disdain, my love reacheth to the top of the house with hope ; not unlike unto a tree which, though it be often felled to the hard root, yet it buddeth again and getteth a top.

But to make an end both of my tale and my sorrows, I will proceed ; only craving a little patience if I fall into mine old passions.

With that Philautus came in with his spoke,<sup>6</sup> saying : " In faith, Fidus, methinketh I could never be weary in hearing this discourse ; and I fear me the end will be too soon, although I feel in myself the impression of thy sorrows."

" Yea," quoth Euphues, " you shall find my friend Philautus so kind-hearted that before you have done he will be farther

<sup>1</sup> *Man* : escort.

<sup>2</sup> *Proper*. The word is punned on. Here it means 'handsome' ; in line 6, 'genuine, right, fit.'

<sup>3</sup> *Gleeks* : jests, gibes.

<sup>4</sup> *In the liver*. The liver was considered the seat of lust.

<sup>5</sup> *The herb Basil . . . rue . . . it groweth*. The origin of these statements may be in the passages quoted from Pliny (xix. 45) by Bond. It may, however, be the common experience of farmers with these plants.

<sup>6</sup> *Came in with his spoke* : compare note 4 on p. 397. The quotations of this phrase from Lyly are the earliest so far found. On the various senses of it see *NED.*, s.v. *spoke*.



in love with her than you were ; for as your lady said, Philautus will be bound to make love, as warden<sup>1</sup> of that occupation."

Then Fidus : Well, God grant Philautus better success than I had, which was too bad. For my father being returned from hunting, and the gentlewomen from walking, the table was covered and we all sat down(a) to dinner ; none more pleasant than Iffida, which would not conclude her mirth, and I not melancholy, because I would cover my sadness, lest either she might think me to dote or my father suspect me to desire her. And thus we both in table-talk began to rest.<sup>2</sup> She requesting me to be her carver and I, not attending well to that she craved,(b) gave her salt ; which when she received she gan thus to reply :—

" In sooth, gentleman, I seldom eat salt for fear of anger<sup>3</sup> ; and if you give it me in token that I want wit, then will you make me cholerick before I eat it. For women be they never so foolish would ever be thought wise."

I stayed(c) not long for mine answer, but as well quickened by her former talk and desirous to cry quittance for her present tongue, said thus : " If to eat store of salt cause one to fret and to have no salt signify lack of wit, then do you cause me to marvel that eating no salt you are so captious and loving no salt you are so wise ; when indeed so much wit is sufficient for a woman as, when she is in the rain, can warn her to come out of it."

" You mistake your aim," quoth Iffida, " for such a shower may fall as did once into Danaë's lap ; and then that woman were a fool that would come out of it. But it may be your mouth is out of taste, therefore you were best season it with salt."

" Indeed," quoth I, " your answers are so fresh that without salt I can hardly swallow them." Many nips were returned that time between us, and some so bitter that I thought them

<sup>1</sup> *Warden*. As Bond says, this is probably a figure taken from the organization of trade-guilds, *occupation* having at this time, besides its general use, a specific meaning 'trade, handicraft.'

(a) *and we all sat down* So 1630, 1636. 1580A *and we all set downe* ; 1597 *sate*.

<sup>2</sup> *Rest*. This seems to be *NED*'s *rest*, v.<sup>3</sup>, 'aphetic form of *arrest*,' and to mean here 'take a stand,' 'settle down to a course,' or the like. But it may be the word *wrest*, in the sense 'to play with the meanings of words.'

(b) *to that she craved* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *to that she carued*.

<sup>3</sup> *I seldom eat salt for fear of anger*. In classical proverbs salt is the symbol of moderation (see note on p. 456), and also of wit. I do not find authority for its causing wrath or fretfulness.

(c) *I stayed* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *I stand*.

to proceed rather of malice, to work despite, than of mirth, to show disport.

My father, very desirous to hear questions asked, willed me after dinner to use some demand ; which, after grace, I did in this sort :—

“ Lady Iffida, it is not unlikely but that you can answer a question as wisely as the last night you asked one wilily, and I trust you will be as ready to resolve any doubt by entreaty as I was by commandment.

“ There was a lady in Spain who after the decease of her father had three suitors (and yet never a good archer).<sup>1</sup> The one excelled in all gifts of the body, insomuch that there could be nothing added to his perfection, and so armed in all points as his very looks were able to pierce the heart of any lady ; especially of such a one as seemed herself to have no less beauty than she had personage.<sup>2</sup> For that as between the similitude of manners there is a friendship in every respect absolute, so in the composition of the body there is a certain love engendered by one look, where both the bodies resemble each other as woven both in one loom.

“ The other had nothing to commend him but a quick wit, which he had always so at his will that nothing could be spoken but he would wrest it to his own purpose. Which wrought such delight in this lady, who was no less witty than he, that you would have thought a marriage to be solemnized before the match could be talked of. For there is nothing in love more requisite or more delectable than pleasant and wise conference ; neither can there arise any storm in love which by wit is not turned to a calm.

“ The third was a gentleman of great possessions, large revenues, full of money, but neither the wisest that ever enjoyed so much, nor the properest<sup>3</sup> that ever desired so much ; he had no plea in his suit but gilt—which rubbed well in a hot hand is

<sup>1</sup> *Suitors . . . archer.* The pun is explained by the contemporary pronunciation of *s* as *sh* in *sewer*, *suitor*, and other words. Bond cites the same pun from *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 1, 109. A ‘shooter’ was usually a bowman, as in *Toxophilus*, for example.

<sup>2</sup> *She had personage.* Bond changes *she* to *he*, because he thinks that the same quality ought not to be mentioned in both parts of the antithesis. Unnecessarily ; for the meaning of *personage* here is ‘distinction due to rank,’ ‘eminent social position.’ Lyly uses the word both in this sense and in the other sense (‘handsome person’) at various places in the book. See *NED*. for the relation of the meanings.

<sup>3</sup> *Properest* : handsomest.

such a grease as will supple a very hard heart.<sup>1</sup> And who is so ignorant that knoweth not gold to be a key(a) for every lock,<sup>2</sup> chiefly with his lady? Who herself was well stored, and as yet(b) infected with a desire of more that she could not but lend him a good countenance in this match.

"Now Lady Iffida, you are to determine this Spanish bargain; or if you please we will make it an English controversy. Supposing you to be the lady, and three such gentlemen to come unto you a wooing, in faith who should be the speeder?"

"Gentleman," quoth Iffida, "you may answer your own question by your own argument if you would; for if you conclude the lady to be beautiful, witty, and wealthy, then no doubt she will take such a one as should have comeliness of body, sharpness of wit, and store of riches. Otherwise I would condemn that wit in her, which you seem so much to commend, herself excelling<sup>3</sup> in three qualities, she should take one which was endued but with one. In perfect love the eye must be pleased, the ear delighted, the heart comforted; beauty causeth the one, wit the other, wealth the third.

"To love only for comeliness were lust; to like for wit only, madness; to desire chiefly for goods, covetousness. And yet can there be no love without beauty but we loathe it; nor without wit but we scorn it; nor without riches but we repent it. Every flower hath his blossom, his savour, his sap; and every desire should have to feed the eye, to please the wit, to maintain the root.

"Ganymede may cast<sup>4</sup> an amiable countenance, but that feedeth not; Ulysses tell a witty tale, but that fatteth not; Croesus bring bags of gold, and that doth both; yet without the aid of beauty he cannot bestow it, and without wit he knows not how to use it. So that I am of this mind: there is no lady but

<sup>1</sup> Rubbed . . . heart. Compare what is said of Antidotum, p. 251.

(a) that knoweth not gold to be a key So 1580B, etc. 1580A omits to. Sense may be made of the passage by punctuating: ". . . chiefly with his lady (who herself was well stored), and (as yet infected with a desire of more) that . . ." But there is probable corruption.

<sup>2</sup> Gold . . . a key for every lock: a proverb in all languages. See Düringsfeld, i., no. 612. Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, p. 50, traces it to the saying of King Philip of Macedon (reported by Cicero, *Ad Att.*, i. 16, 12): '*omnia castella expugnari posse, in quae modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere.*'

(b) and as yet So 1580B, etc. 1580A and are yet.

<sup>3</sup> Herself excelling. Possibly an *if* has dropped out before this phrase. But perhaps Elizabethan syntax did not demand it.

<sup>4</sup> Cast: probably used here as in the phrase 'cast a glance, eye, etc.'

in her choice will be so resolute that either she will live a virgin till she have such a one as shall have all these three properties, or else die for anger if she match with one that wanteth any one of them."

I perceiving her to stand so stiffly, thought if I might to remove her footing, and replied again: "Lady, you now think by policy to start <sup>1</sup> where you bound me to answer by necessity; not suffering me to join three flowers in one nosegay, but to choose one or else to leave all. The like must I crave at your hands; that if of force you must consent to any one, whether would you have, the proper man, the wise, or the rich?"

She as not without an answer, quickly requited me. "Although there be no force which may compel me to take any, neither a proffer whereby I might choose all, yet to answer you flatly, I would have the wealthiest. For beauty without riches goeth a begging, and wit without wealth cheapeneth <sup>2</sup> all things in the Fair but buyeth nothing."

"Truly, Lady," quoth I, "either you speak not as you think or you be far overshot. For methinketh that he that hath beauty shall have money of ladies for alms, and he that is witty will get it by craft; but the rich having enough, and neither loved for shape nor sense, must either keep his gold for those he knows not or spend it (*a*) on them that cares <sup>3</sup> not."

"Well," answered Iffida, "so many men so many minds.<sup>4</sup> Now you have my opinion, you must not think to wring me from it; for I had rather be, as all women are, obstinate in mine own conceit, than apt to be wrought to others' constructions."

My father liked her choice, whether it were to flatter her, or for fear to offend her, or that he loved money himself better than either wit or beauty. And our conclusions thus ended, she, accompanied with her gentlewomen and other her servants, went to her uncle's, having tarried a day longer with my father than she appointed, though not so many with me as she was welcome.

Ah, Philautus, what torments didst thou think poor Fidus endured, who now felt the flame even to take full hold of his

<sup>1</sup> *Start*: avoid the issue, dodge, escape by a trick.

<sup>2</sup> *Cheapeneth*: ask the price of, bargain for.

(*a*) or spend it So 1580B, etc. 1580A & spend it.

<sup>3</sup> *Cares*. This form of the plural is usually now treated by linguists as the survival of a Northern and Midland Middle-English plural in *-es*.

<sup>4</sup> *So many men so many minds*: the proverb is of classical origin. Otto (*Spr. d. Röm.*, p. 166) quotes Cicero: "*Quot homines, tot sententiae*"; Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 759; etc. See Düringsfeld, ii., no. 544.

heart! And thinking by solitariness to drive away melancholy and by imagination to forget love, I laboured no otherwise than he that to have his horse stand still pricketh him with the spur, or he that having sore eyes rubbeth them with salt water. At the last, with continual abstinence from meat, from company, from sleep, my body began to consume and my head to wax idle; insomuch that the sustenance which perforce was thrust into my mouth was never digested, nor the talk which came from my addle brains liked. For ever in my slumber methought Iffida presented herself, now with a countenance pleasant and merry, straightways with a colour full of wrath and mischief.

My father, no less sorrowful for my disease than ignorant of the cause, sent for divers physicians. Among the which there came an Italian, who feeling my pulses, casting my water, and marking my looks, commanded the chamber to be voided and, shutting the door, applied this medicine to my malady:—

“Gentleman, there is none that can better heal<sup>1</sup> your wound than he that made it; so that you should have sent for Cupid not Aesculapius, for although they be both gods, yet will they not meddle in each other’s office. Apelles<sup>2</sup> will not go about to amend Lysippus’s carving, yet they both wrought Alexander; nor Hippocrates<sup>3</sup> busy himself with Ovid’s art, and yet they both described Venus. Your humour is not to be purged by the apothecary’s confections,<sup>(a)</sup> but by the following of good counsel.

“You are in love, Fidus. Which if you cover in a close chest will burn every place before it burst the lock. For as we know by physic that poison will disperse itself<sup>4</sup> into every vein before it part the heart, so I have heard by those that in love could say somewhat that it maimeth every part before it kill the liver. If, therefore, you will make me privy to all your devices, I will procure such means as you shall recover in short space; otherwise if you seek to conceal the party,<sup>5</sup> and increase your passions,

<sup>1</sup> None . . . can better heal [etc.]: see note on p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Apelles . . . Lysippus’s . . . Alexander: see note on p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Hippocrates: see note on p. 194.

(a) by the apothecary’s confections The reading of the earlier texts is *Apothecaries*. It is not clear whether this is a singular or plural possessive. 1580a has *the Apothecaries*, as in the text here printed. Editions after the first omit *the*, making a presumption, in these cases, in favour of the plural form.

<sup>4</sup> Poison will disperse itself: see note on p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Party. The use of this word in the sense ‘person concerned,’ now considered vulgar, was formerly respectable. See *NED*.

you shall but shorten your life, and so lose your love for whose sake you live."

When I heard my physician so pat to hit my disease, I could not dissemble with him lest he should bewray it ; neither would I, in hope of remedy. Unto him I discoursed the faithful love which I bore to Iffida and described in every particular, as to you I have done. Which he hearing procured within one day Lady Iffida to see me, telling my father that my disease was but a consuming fever which he hoped in short time to cure.

When my Lady came and saw me so altered in a month, wasted to the hard bones, more like a ghost than a living creature, after many words of comfort (as women want none about sick persons), when she saw opportunity she asked me whether the Italian were my messenger, or if he were whether his embassage were true. Which question I thus answered :—

"Lady, to dissemble with the world when I am departing from it would profit me nothing with man and hinder me much with God ; to make my death-bed the place of deceit might hasten my death and increase my danger.

"I have loved you long, and now at the length must leave you, whose hard heart I will not impute to discourtesy but destiny. It contenteth me that I died in faith, though I could not live in favour ; neither was I ever more desirous to begin my love than I am now to end my life. Things which cannot be altered<sup>1</sup> are to be borne not blamed ; follies past are sooner remembered than redressed ; and time lost may well be repented but never recalled. I will not recount the passions I have suffered ; I think the effects show them.(a) And now it is more behoveful for me to fall to praying for a new life than to remember the old. Yet this I add (which though it merit no mercy to save, it deserveth thanks of a friend), that only I loved thee and lived for thee and now die for thee." And so turning on my left side, I fetched a deep sigh.

Iffida, the water standing in her eyes, clasping my hand in hers, with a sad countenance answered me thus :—

"My good Fidus, if the increasing of my sorrows might mitigate the extremity of thy sickness, I could be content to resolve myself into tears to rid thee of trouble. But the making of a fresh wound in my body is nothing to the healing of a festered sore in thy bowels ; for that such diseases are to be cured in the

<sup>1</sup> *Things which cannot be altered* [etc.] : see note on p. 15.

(a) *I think the effects show them* So 1609, etc. Earlier editions have *I think the effect show them*.

end by the means of their original.<sup>1(a)</sup> For as by Basil the scorpion is engendered<sup>2</sup> and by the means of the same herb destroyed, so love which by time and fancy is bred in an idle head is by time and fancy banished from the heart; or as the salamander<sup>3</sup> which, being a long space nourished in the fire, at the last quenched it, so affection, having taken hold<sup>(b)</sup> of the fancy and living as it were in the mind of the lover, in tract of time altereth and changeth the heat and turneth it to chilliness.

"It is no small grief to me, Fidus, that I should be thought to be the cause of thy languishing and cannot be remedy of thy disease. For unto thee I will reveal more than either wisdom would allow or my modesty permit; and yet so much as may acquit me of ungratitude<sup>(c)</sup> towards thee, and rid thee of the suspicion conceived of me.

"So it is, Fidus and my good friend, that about a two years past there was in Court a gentleman, not unknown unto thee, nor, I think, unbeloved of thee, whose name I will not conceal lest thou shouldest either think me to forge or him not worthy to be named. This gentleman was called Thirsus; in all respects so well qualified, as had he not been in love with me I should have been enamoured of him.

"But his hastiness prevented my heat, who began to sue for that which I was ready to proffer. Whose sweet tale, although I wished it to be true, yet at the first I could not believe it; for that men in matters of love have as many ways to deceive as they have words to utter.

"I seemed strait-laced, as one neither accustomed to such suits nor willing to entertain such a servant; yet so warily, as putting him from me with my little finger I drew him to me

<sup>1</sup> *Original*: originator, cause.

(a) *by the means of their original* 1580A has *by the names*; altered in later texts.

<sup>2</sup> *By Basil the scorpion is engendered.* It is Bond's opinion that Lyly has made this up out of two statements in Pliny, xx. 48. But these statements are not relevant, and there are more exact sources. In Lupton's *A Thousand Notable Things*, Book 5, no. 66 (ed. 1595, p. 125), it is said that Basil is a sovereign cure for the scorpion's sting, while in the *De Admirandis Facultatibus* of Montuus (Lyons, 1566), Cent. 2, no. 76, we read that Basil gives birth to scorpions if planted exposed to the sun.

<sup>3</sup> *The salamander.* A common figure in the medieval bestiaries. The ultimate authorities for the fact here mentioned are Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 19; Aelian, ii. 31; Pliny, x. 86.

(b) *having taken hold* 1580A *having taking hold*. Corrected in later editions.

(c) *ungratitude* So 1580A. 1606, etc. *ingratitude*.

with my whole hand.<sup>1</sup> For I stood in a great mammering how I might behave myself, lest being too coy he might think me proud, or using too much courtesy he might judge me wanton.

"Thus long time I held him in a doubt, thinking thereby to have just trial of his faith or plain knowledge of his falsehood. In this manner I led my life almost one year; until with often meeting and divers conferences I felt myself so wounded that though I thought no heaven to my hap, yet I lived as it were in hell till I had enjoyed my hope. For as the tree Ebenus,<sup>2</sup> though it no way be set in a flame, yet it burneth with sweet savours; so my mind, though it could not be fired for that I thought myself wise, yet was it almost consumed to ashes with pleasant delights and sweet cogitations. Insomuch as it fared with me as it doth with the trees stricken with thunder,<sup>3</sup> which having the barks sound are bruised in the body; for finding my outward parts without blemish, looking into my mind could not see it without blows.<sup>4</sup>

"I now perceiving it high time to use the physician who was always at hand, determined at the next meeting to conclude such faithful and inviolable league of love as neither the length of time, nor the distance of place, nor the threatening of friends, nor the spite of fortune, nor the fear of death should either alter or diminish. Which accordingly was then finished, and hath hitherto been truly fulfilled.

"Thirsus, as thou knowest, hath ever since been beyond the seas. The remembrance of whose constancy is the only comfort of my life, neither do I rejoice in anything more than in the faith of my good Thirsus.

"Then, Fidus, I appeal in this case to thy honesty, which shall determine of mine honour. Wouldest thou have me inconstant to my old friend, and faithful to a new? Knowest thou not that as the almond tree<sup>5</sup> beareth most fruit when he is

<sup>1</sup> Putting him from me with my little finger . . . my whole hand. This proverbial saying may have its origin in the proverb quoted by Horace, *Sat.* 1. 4, 14, '*Minimo me [digito] provocat,*' and other Latin proverbs in which the little finger is opposed to the whole hand, the whole strength of a man, etc. See Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> The tree Ebenus. Bond quotes Pliny, xii. 9 as the source.

<sup>3</sup> The trees stricken with thunder: see note on p. 167. Bond's citation from Pliny does not throw light.

<sup>4</sup> Finding . . . blows. Strict syntax demands the pronoun *I* as subject of the clause. Compare p. 213 (note 2).

<sup>5</sup> The almond tree [etc.]. Pliny, xvi. 51, has: *Amygdala enim et pirus in senecta fertilissimæ.*



old, so love hath greatest faith when it groweth in age? It falleth out in love as it doth in vines: for the young vines<sup>1</sup> bring the most wine but the old the best; so tender love maketh greatest show of blossoms but tried love bringeth forth sweetest juice.

"And yet I will say thus much (not to add courage to thy attempts), that I have taken as great delight in thy company as ever I did in any's (my Thirsus only excepted). Which was the cause that oftentimes I would either by questions move thee to talk, or by quarrels incense thee to choler; perceiving in thee a wit answerable to my desire, which I thought thoroughly to whet by some discourse.

"But wert thou in comeliness Alexander and my Thirsus Thersites, wert thou Ulysses he Midas,<sup>2</sup> thou Croesus he Codrus,<sup>3</sup> I would not forsake him to have thee; no, not if I might thereby prolong thy life, or save mine own. So fast a root hath true love taken in my heart that the more it is digged at the deeper it groweth, the oftener it is cut the less it bleedeth, and the more it is loaden<sup>4</sup> the better it beareth.

"What is there in this vile earth that more commendeth a woman than constancy? It is neither his wit, though it be excellent, that I esteem, neither his birth, though it be noble, nor his bringing up, which hath always been courtly; but only his constancy and my faith, which no torments, no tyrant, not death shall dissolve. For never shall it be said that Iffida was false to Thirsus, though Thirsus be faithless (which the gods forfend) unto Iffida.

"For as Amulius, the cunning painter, so portrayed Minerva<sup>5</sup> (a) that which way soever one cast his eye she always beheld him; so hath Cupid so exquisitely drawn the image of Thirsus in my heart that what way soever I glance methinketh he looketh steadfastly upon me. Insomuch that when I have

<sup>1</sup> *The young vines* [etc.]: from Pliny, xvi. 51 (see also Erasmus' *Similia*, 619F).

<sup>2</sup> *Midas*: probably opposed to Ulysses, as Bond says, because of the folly of his request for the touch of gold and its results (Ovid, *Met.* xi.).

<sup>3</sup> *Codrus*: the poor man mentioned by Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 208-9. (Bond quotes the passage.) Lyly's source, however, was probably Erasmus' *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 252A), *Codro pauperior*. The contrast with Croesus is also suggested by Erasmus' comment on this proverb.

<sup>4</sup> *The more it is loaden* [etc.]: see note on p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Amulius . . . portrayed Minerva*. Pliny, xxv. 37, says: *Hujus erat Minerva, spectantem spectans quacumque aspiceretur*.

(a) *so portrayed Minerva* So 1580A, etc. 1580A *protrayed*.

seen any to gaze on my beauty (simple, God wot, though it be) I have wished to have the eyes of Augustus<sup>1</sup> Caesar to dim their sights with the sharp and scorching beams.

"Such force hath time and trial wrought that if Thirsus should die I would be buried with him; imitating the eagle which Sesta a virgin brought up,<sup>2</sup> who seeing the bones of the virgin cast into the fire threw himself in with them and burnt himself with them; or Hippocrates' twins,<sup>3</sup> who were born together, laughed together, wept together, and died together. For as Alexander<sup>4</sup> would be engraven of no one man in a precious stone, but only of Pyrgoteles, so would I have my picture imprinted in no heart but in his, by Thirsus.

"Consider with thyself, Fidus, that a fair woman without constancy(a) is not unlike unto a green tree without fruit; resembling the counterfeit that Praxiteles made<sup>5</sup> for Flora, before the which if one stood directly it seemed to weep, if on the left side to laugh, if on the other side to sleep; whereby he noted the light behaviour of her which could not in one constant shadow be set down.

"And yet for the great good-will thou bearest me I can not reject thy service, but I will not admit thy love. But if either my friends or myself, my goods or my good will, may stand thee in stead, use me, trust me, command me, as far forth as thou canst with modesty and I may grant with mine honour. If to talk with me or continually to be in thy company may in any respect satisfy thy desire, assure thyself I will attend on thee as diligently as thy nurse and be more careful for thee than thy physician. More I can not promise without breach of my faith; more thou canst not ask without the suspicion of folly.

<sup>1</sup> *The eyes of Augustus.* Bond quotes from Suetonius, *De Caesaribus*, ii. 79: "He had clear and bright eyes, in which he loved to think that there was something of a divine virtue, and rejoiced if anyone lowered his countenance when he looked sharply at him, as if overcome by the brightness of the sun."

<sup>2</sup> *The eagle which Sesta . . . brought up.* The story is from Pliny, x. 6, but Lyly has made the name Sesta from Sestos, the name of the city where the incident occurred. See the quotation from Pliny in Bond, and Bond's remark.

<sup>3</sup> *Hippocrates' twins*: see note on p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> *Alexander . . . Pyrgoteles*: see note on p. 234.

(a) *constancy* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *constancice*.

<sup>5</sup> *Counterfeit that Praxiteles made.* There was a statue of Flora by Praxiteles, which is mentioned by Pliny, xxxvi. 4. But Lyly transfers to it the peculiarity of the Diana of Chios, which Pliny describes earlier in the same chapter. On p. 394 he gets it right.

"Here Fidus, take this diamond, which I have heard old women say to have been of great force against idle thoughts, vain dreams, and frantic imaginations. Which if it do thee no good, assure thyself it can do thee no harm; and better I think it against such enchanted fantasies than either Homer's moly<sup>1</sup> or Pliny's centaurio."<sup>2</sup>

When my lady had ended this strange discourse, I was stricken into such a maze that for the space almost of half an hour I lay as it had been in a trance, mine eyes almost standing in my head without motion, my face without colour, my mouth without breath; insomuch that Iffida began to screech out (a) and call company. Which called me also to myself. And then with a faint and trembling tongue I uttered these words:—

"Lady, I cannot use as many words as I would, because you see I am weak, nor give so many thanks as I should, for that you deserve infinite. If Thirsus have planted the vine, I will not gather the grapes; neither is it reason that<sup>3</sup> he having sowed with pain, that I should reap the pleasure. This sufficeth me and delighteth me not a little, that you are so faithful and he so fortunate.

"Yet, good lady, let me obtain one small suit, which derogating nothing from your true love must needs be lawful: that is, that I may in this my sickness enjoy your company and if I recover be admitted as your servant; the one will hasten my health, the other prolong my life."

She courteously granted both, and so carefully tended me in my sickness that, what with her merry sporting and good nourishing, I began to gather up my crumbs<sup>4</sup> and in short time to walk into a gallery near adjoining unto my chamber; where she disdained not to lead me, and so at all times to use me as though I had been Thirsus. Every evening she would put forth either

<sup>1</sup> *Homer's moly*: see note on p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Pliny's centaurio*. Pliny, xxv. 30, says: *Centaurio curatus dicitur Chiron, quum Herculis excepti hospitio pertracianti arma, sagitta excidisset in pedem*. The mistake of taking the Latin ablative case as the form of the name in English could be paralleled elsewhere in Lyly.

(a) *to screech out* Here, as on p. 284, *screeches*, I have taken the form *screech*, following 1606, etc., *scriech*, *scrieches*, instead of the archaic *scritch*, which more correctly represents the earlier spellings: 1580A (also 1636) *scrigh*, 1580B & C *scrilch*, 1581–1582 *scriche*; 1580A *scriches*, 1580C *scritches*.

<sup>3</sup> *That . . . that*. Of course one *that* is enough.

<sup>4</sup> *To gather up my crumbs*: still in dialectal English use in the sense 'to improve in health and appearance.' The present passage antedates by a few years the earliest quotation in *NED*.

some pretty question or utter some merry conceit, to drive me from melancholy. There was no broth that would down but of her making, no meat but of her dressing, no sleep enter into mine eyes but by her singing; insomuch that she was both my nurse, my cook, and my physician. Being thus by her for the space of one month cherished,<sup>(a)</sup> I waxed strong and so lusty as though I had never been sick.

Now, Philautus, judge not partially: whether was she—a lady of greater constancy towards Thirsus or courtesy towards me?

Philautus thus answered: "Now surely, Fidus, in my opinion she was no less to be commended for keeping her faith inviolable, than to be praised for giving such alms unto thee; which good behaviour differeth far from the nature of our Italian dames, who if they be constant they despise all other that seem to love them. But I long yet to hear the end; for methinketh a matter<sup>(b)</sup> begun with such heat should not end with a bitter cold."

O Philautus, the end is short and lamentable; but as it is have it:—

She, after long recreating of herself in the country, repaired again to the Court; and so did I also. Where I lived, as the elephant doth by air,<sup>1</sup> with the sight of my lady; who ever used me in all her secrets as one that she most trusted. But my joys were too great to last. For even in the middle of my bliss, there came tidings to Iffida that Thirsus was slain by the Turks, being then in pay with the King of Spain; which battle<sup>2</sup> was so bloody that many gentlemen lost their lives.

Iffida, so distraught of her wits with these news, fell into a frenzy, having nothing in her mouth but always this, "Thirsus slain!" "Thirsus slain!" Ever doubling this speech with such pitiful cries and screeches<sup>(a)</sup> as it would have moved the soldiers of Ulysses to sorrow. At the last, by good keeping and by such means as by physic were provided, she came again to herself.

(a) *cherished* 1580A *cherishe*; altered in later editions.

(b) *matter* 1580A misprints *-ter*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>1</sup> *As the elephant doth by air.* No source for this fact is recorded by Lauchert either in the *Physiologus* or in more ancient authors.

<sup>2</sup> *Which battle.* If Lyly has remembered that the events here narrated are supposed to occur in the reign of Henry VIII., when Fidus was a courtier, he may be thinking of some of the late campaigns against the Spanish Moors, but if he has forgotten this he may, as Bond suggests, be thinking of the naval battle of Lepanto in 1571.

(c) *screeches* See textual note on p. 283.

Unto whom I writ many letters to take patiently the death of him whose life could not be recalled; divers she answered, which I will show you at my better leisure.

But this was most strange, that no suit could allure her again to love; but ever she lived all in black, not once coming where she was most sought for. But within the term of five years she began a little to listen to mine old suit, of whose faithful meaning she had such trial as she could not think that either my love was builded upon lust or deceit.

But destiny cut off my love, by the cutting off her life; for falling into a hot pestilent fever she died. And how I took it, I mean not to tell it; but forsaking the Court presently, I have here lived ever since, and so mean until Death shall call me.

Now, gentlemen, I have held you too long I fear me, but I have ended at the last. You see what Love is—begun with grief, continued with sorrow, ended with death; a pain full of pleasure, a joy replenished with misery, a Heaven, a Hell, a God, a Devil, and what not, that either hath in it solace or sorrow; where the days are spent in thoughts, the nights in dreams, both in danger; either beguiling us of that we had, or promising us that we had not; full of jealousy without cause, and void of fear when there is cause; and so many inconveniences hanging upon it as to reckon them all were infinite, and to taste but one of them intolerable.

Yet in these days it is thought the signs of a good wit and the only virtue peculiar to a courtier. For love they say is in young gentlemen; in clowns it is lust, in old men dotage; when it is in all men madness.

But you, Philautus, whose blood is in his chiefest heat, are to take great care, lest being over-warmed with love it so inflame the liver as it drive you into a consumption.

And thus the old man brought them into dinner. Where they having taken their repast, Philautus, as well in the name of Euphues as his own, gave this answer to the old man's tale and these or the like thanks for his cost and courtesy:—

“Father, I thank you no less for your talk, which I found pleasant, than for your counsel, which I account profitable; and so much for your great cheer and courteous entertainment as it deserveth of those that cannot deserve any.

“I perceive in England the women and men are in love constant, to strangers courteous, and bountiful in hospitality; the two latter we have tried to your cost, the other we have heard

to your pains, and may justify them all wheresoever we become, to your praises and our pleasure. This only we crave, that necessity may excuse our boldness ; and for amends we will use such means as although we cannot make you gain much, yet you shall lose little."

Then Fidus, taking Philautus by the hand, spake to them both :—

" Gentlemen and friends, I am ashamed to receive so many thanks for so small courtesy ; and so far off it is for me to look for amends for my cost, as I desire nothing more than to make you amends for your company and your good wills in accounting well of ill fare. Only this I crave, that at your return, after you shall be feasted of great personages, you vouchsafe to visit the cottage of poor Fidus, where you shall be no less welcome than Jupiter was to Bacchus." <sup>1</sup>

Then Euphues : " We have troubled you too long, and high time it is for poor pilgrims to take the day before them, lest being benighted they strain courtesy in another place ; and as we say in Athens, ' fish and guests in three days are stale.' <sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding we will be bold to see you ; and in the mean season we thank you, and ever as we ought we will pray for you."

Thus after many farewells, with as many welcomes of the one side as thanks of the other, they departed, and framed their steps towards London. And to drive away the time, Euphues began thus to instruct Philautus :—

" Thou seest, Philautus, the courtesy of England to surpass and the constancy (if the old gentleman told the truth) to excel ; which warneth us both to be thankful for the benefits we receive and circumspect in the behaviour we use, lest being unmindful of good turns we be accounted ingrate, and being dissolute in our lives we be thought impudent.

<sup>1</sup> *Bacchus*. Bond says that this must be a mistake for *Baucis*, and refers to Ovid, *Met.* viii. 639–697, in which the hospitality of Baucis and Philemon in receiving Jupiter and Mercury into their poor little house is fully described. In the Prologue (at Court) of *Campaspe* Lyly says : " The Gods supped once with poor Baucis."

<sup>2</sup> *Fish and guests in three days are stale*. Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, p. 281, quotes from Plautus, *Asin.* 178 (l. 3, 26), the proverb : *Quasi piscis iidem est amator lenae : nequam est nisi recens*. Erasmus, quoting this (*Adagia*, 986D, E) from Plautus, says that the saying is still popular, but is applied to a guest or frequent visitor. For though he is welcome at his first coming, within three days he will feel as though he were being driven away. Again, p. 371.

" When we come into London we shall walk in the garden of the world, where among many flowers we shall see some weeds, sweet roses and sharp nettles, pleasant lilies and pricking thorns, high vines and low hedges ; all things (as the fame goeth) that may either please the sight or dislike the smell, either feed the eye with delight or fill the nose with infection.

" Then good Philautus, let the care I have of thee be instead of grave counsel, and my good will towards thee in place of wisdom. I had rather thou shouldst walk among the beds of wholesome pot-herbs than the knots of pleasant flowers, and better shalt thou find it to gather garlic for thy stomach than a sweet violet for thy senses.

" I fear me, Philautus, that seeing the amiable faces of the English ladies thou wilt cast off all care both of my counsel and thine own credit. For well I know that a fresh colour doth easily dim a quick sight, that a sweet rose doth soonest pierce a fine scent, that pleasant syrups doth chiefliest infect a delicate taste, that beautiful women do first of all allure them that have the wantonest eyes and the whitest mouths.<sup>1</sup>

" A strange tree there is called Alpina,<sup>2</sup> which bringeth forth the fairest blossoms of all trees ; which the bee either suspecting to be venomous, or misliking because it is so glorious,<sup>3</sup> neither tasteth it nor cometh near it. In the like case, Philautus, would I have thee to imitate the bee : that when thou shalt behold the amiable blossoms of the Alpine tree in any woman, thou shun them as a place infected either with poison to kill thee or honey to deceive thee. For it were more convenient thou shouldst pull out thine eyes and live without love, than to have them clear and be infected with lust.

" Thou must choose a woman as the lapidary doth a true sapphire,<sup>4</sup> who when he seeth it to glister covereth it with oil and then if it shine he alloweth it, if not he breaketh it. So if thou fall in love with one that is beautiful cast some kind of colour in her face,<sup>5</sup> either as it were misliking(a) her behaviour

<sup>1</sup> *The whitest mouths* : see notes on pp. 6 and 458.

<sup>2</sup> *A strange tree . . . called Alpina*. This may be one of the cases in which Lyly makes a name from the name of the place where the thing named is found (see note on *Sesta*, p. 282). But the source of his statement is not known.

<sup>3</sup> *Glorious* : excessively fine and showy.

<sup>4</sup> *A true sapphire . . . with oil* [etc.] : see note on p. 266.

<sup>5</sup> *Cast some kind of colour in her face* : i.e., pretend that she is guilty of some fault, or has been charged with one.

(a) *misliking* 1580A *mystylinge* ; corrected in later editions.

or hearing of her lightness ; and if then she look as fair as before, woo her, win her, and wear her.<sup>1</sup>

“ Then, my good friend, consider with thyself what thou art—an Italian ; where thou art—in England ; whom thou shalt love if thou fall into that vein—an Angel ; let not thy eye go beyond thy ear, nor thy tongue so far as thy feet. And thus I conjure thee, that of all things thou refrain (a) from the hot fire of affection. For as the precious stone Anthracitis<sup>2</sup> (b) being thrown into the fire looketh black and half dead, but being cast into the water glistereth like the sunbeams ; so the precious mind of man once put into the flame of love is as it were ugly and loseth his virtue, but sprinkled with the water of wisdom and detestation of such fond delights it shineth like the golden rays of Phoebus.

“ And it shall not be amiss, though my physic be simple, to prescribe a strait diet before thou fall into thine old disease. First let thy apparel be but mean,<sup>3</sup> neither too brave to show thy pride nor too base to bewray thy poverty. Be as careful to keep thy mouth from wine as thy fingers from fire. Wine is the glass of the mind,<sup>4</sup> and the only sauce that Bacchus gave Ceres<sup>5</sup> when he fell in love. Be not dainty-mouthed ; a fine taste noteth<sup>6</sup> the fond appetites. That Venus said her Adonis to have, who seeing him to take chiefest delight in costly cates, smiling said this : ‘ I am glad that my Adonis hath a sweet tooth in his head—and who knoweth not what followeth ? ’<sup>7</sup>

“ But I will not wade too far, seeing heretofore, as well in my ‘ Cooling Card ’ as at divers other times, I have given thee

<sup>1</sup> *Win her, and wear her* : see note on p. 66.

(a) *that of all things thou refrain* 1580A–1582 *that of all things that thou refrain*. The second *that* is omitted in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Anthracitis*. The sources are Pliny, xxxvii. 27, and Erasmus, *Similia*, 598E. Both say that *anthracitis* is a kind of *carbo*, or coal. But Lyly makes all stones precious.

(b) *Anthracitis*. So Bond. Early editions *Autharsitis*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mean* : ‘ moderate ’ (Bond) ; half-way between extremes.

<sup>4</sup> *Wine is the glass of the mind* : see note on p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Bacchus . . . Ceres*. In the festivals of Ceres there was observed what Pliny calls ‘ a superstitious chastity.’ Wines were forbidden, but the drink known as ‘ garum ’ was, according to Pliny (xxxi. 44), allowed and prescribed. Lyly’s authority for a wooing of Ceres by Bacchus is not apparent.

<sup>6</sup> *Noteth* : denotes, signifies.

<sup>7</sup> *Who knoweth not what followeth ?* Bond notes that Ovid uses the phrase *Caetera quis nescit ?* for a similar purpose in *Amores*, i. 5, 25, and that Lyly quotes this in *The Woman in the Moon*, iv. 1, 28.



a caveat in this vanity of love to have a care. And yet methinketh the more I warn thee the less I dare trust thee ; for I know not how it cometh to pass that every minute I am troubled in mind about thee."

When Euphues had ended, Philautus thus began : " Euphues, I think thou wast born with this word 'love' in thy mouth, or that thou art bewitched with it in mind ; for there is scarce three words uttered to me but the third is 'love.' Which how often I have answered thou knowest, and yet that I speak as I think thou never believest ; either thinking thyself a god to know thoughts, or me worse than a devil not to acknowledge them. When I shall give any occasion warn me, and that I should give none thou hast already armed me ; so that this persuade thyself, I will stick as close to thee as the sole doth to the shoe.<sup>1</sup>

" But truly I must needs commend the courtesy of England, and old Fidus for his constancy to his Lady Iffida, and her faith to her friend Thirsus ; the remembrance of which discourse did often bring in to my mind the hate I bore to Lucilla, who loved all and was not found faithful to any.

" But I let that pass, lest thou come in again with thy faburden<sup>2</sup> and hit me in the teeth<sup>3</sup> with 'love.' For thou hast so charmed me that I dare not speak any word that may be wrested to 'charity,' lest thou say I mean 'love'—and in truth I think there is no more difference between them than between a broom and a besom.<sup>4</sup>

" I will follow thy diet and thy counsel ; I thank thee for thy good will ; so that I will now walk under thy shadow and be at thy commandment."

<sup>1</sup> *As close . . . as the sole doth to the shoe.* Heywood, p. 67 : "Folk say of old : the shoe will hold with the sole." Heywood also has an epigram on the proverb, p. 197. Ray (Hazlitt, p. 398) quotes an Ital. equivalent, but Düringsfeld does not have this saying.

<sup>2</sup> *Faburden* : refrain. The word is from Fr. *faux-bourdon*, and properly denoted a way of harmonizing a plain song, or a kind of harmony used in doing this. But in Elizabethan literature it is loosely applied in a number of ways. Nashe uses it for 'legend' or 'motto' (see M'Kerrow's ed., vol. iv. p. 281), while M'Kerrow quotes it from Lodge in the sense of a high-sounding word or expression.

<sup>3</sup> *Hit me in the teeth with* [etc.]. This form of the phrase is common in the 16th century, equivalent to the forms still in use, 'To cast (a thing) in one's teeth,' etc. See *NED.*, s.v. *teeth*. Compare above, p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> *No more difference . . . than between a broom and a besom* : probably a well-known proverb, though not recorded elsewhere.

"Not so," answered Euphues. "But if thou follow me, I dare be thy warrant we will not offend much."

Much talk there was in the way, which much shortened their way. And at the last they came to London, where they met divers strangers of their friends,<sup>1</sup> who in small space brought them familiarly acquainted with certain English gentlemen; who much delighted in the company of Euphues, whom they found both sober and wise, yet sometimes merry and pleasant. They were brought into all places of the city and lodged at the last in a merchant's house, where they continued till a certain breach.<sup>2</sup> They used continually the Court; in the which Euphues took such delight that he accounted all the praises he heard of it before rather to be envious than otherwise, and to be partial in not giving so much as it deserved, and yet to be pardoned because they could not.

It happened that these English gentlemen conducted these two strangers to a place where divers gentlewomen were, some courtiers, others of the country. Where being welcome they frequented almost every day for the space of one month, entertaining of time in courtly pastimes, though not in the Court; insomuch that if they came not they were sent for, and so used as they had been countrymen not strangers.

Philautus, with this continual access and often conference with gentlewomen, began to wean himself from the counsel of Euphues, and to wed his eyes to the comeliness of ladies. Yet so warily as neither his friend could by narrow watching discover it, neither did he by any wanton countenance bewray it; but carrying the image of love engraven in the bottom of his heart, and the picture of courtesy imprinted in his face, he was thought to Euphues<sup>3</sup> courtly and known to himself comfortless.<sup>4</sup>

Among a number of ladies he fixed his eyes upon one, whose countenance seemed to promise mercy and threaten mischief, intermeddling a desire of liking with a disdain of love; showing herself in courtesy to be familiar with all, and with a certain comely pride to accept none; whose wit would commonly taunt without despite but not without disport, as one that seemed to abhor love worse than lust, and lust worse than murder; of

<sup>1</sup> *Strangers of their friends*: i.e., foreigners, like themselves, with whom they had been acquainted abroad.

<sup>2</sup> *A certain breach*. See p. 316, where Euphues parts from Philautus "in a great rage" and rents a new chamber.

<sup>3</sup> *He was thought to Euphues*. For the construction, compare p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> *Comfortless*: in love beyond all help.

greater beauty than birth, and yet of less beauty than honesty, which gat her more honour by virtue than nature could by art or fortune might by promotion. She was ready of answer, yet wary; shrill of speech, yet sweet; in all her passions so temperate as in her greatest mirth none would think her wanton, neither in her deepest grief sullen<sup>(a)</sup>; but always to look with so sober cheerfulness, as it was hardly thought whether<sup>(b)</sup> she were more commended for her gravity of the aged or for her courtliness of the youth; oftentimes delighted to hear discourses of love, but ever desirous to be instructed in learning; somewhat curious to keep her beauty, which made her comely, but more careful to increase her credit, which made her commendable; not adding the length of a hair to courtliness that might detract the breadth of a hair from chastity; in all her talk so pleasant, in all her looks so amiable, so grave modesty joined with so witty mirth, that they that were entangled with her beauty were enforced to prefer her wit before their wills, and they that loved her virtue were compelled to prefer their affections before her wisdom. Whose rare qualities caused so strange events,<sup>1</sup> that the wise were allured to vanity and the wantons to virtue; much like the river in Arabia,<sup>2</sup> which turneth gold to dross and dirt to silver. In conclusion, there wanted nothing in this English angel that nature might add for perfection, or fortune could give for wealth or God doth commonly bestow on mortal creatures. And more easy it is in the description of so rare a personage to imagine what she had not, than to repeat all she had. But such a one she was as almost they all are that serve so noble a Prince; such virgins carry lights before such a Vesta, such nymphs arrows with such a Diana.

But why go I about to set her in black and white, whom Philautus is now with all colours importraying<sup>3</sup> in the table of his heart? And surely I think by this he is half mad, whom long since I left in a great maze. Philautus, viewing all these things and more than I have uttered (for that the lover's eye pierceth deeper), withdrew himself secretly into his lodging,

(a) *sullen* So 1581, etc. 1580A *solum*; 1580C *sullom*.

(b) *whether* So 1609, etc. 1580A, 1597, 1606 *wher*; 1580B-1581 *where*.

<sup>1</sup> *Events*: results.

<sup>2</sup> *The river in Arabia*: doubtless suggested by what is said of the river Pactolus in the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise *Of Rivers and Mountains*, viz., that in this river is produced a stone very much like silver, but that it is difficult to find it because it is mixed with the crumbled gold which floats there.

<sup>3</sup> *Importraying*: the only occurrence of the word recorded in *NED.*, though there has been a modern technical use of *importraiture*.

and locking his door began to debate with himself in this manner:—

“ Ah thrice unfortunate is he that is once faithful, and better it is to be a merciless soldier than a true lover ; the one liveth by another’s death, the other dieth by his own life. What strange fits be these, Philautus, that burn thee with such a heat that thou shakest for cold, and all thy body in a shivering sweat, in a flaming ice, melteth like wax and hardeneth like the adamant (a) ? Is it love ? Then would it were death ! For likelier it is that I should lose my life, than win my love.

“ Ah Camilla ! But why do I name thee when thou dost not hear me ? Camilla—name thee I will, though thou hate me ! But alas, the sound of thy name doth make me swoon for grief. What is in me that thou shouldst not despise ; and what is there not in thee that I should not wonder at ? Thou art a woman, the last thing God made<sup>1</sup> and therefore the best ; I a man that could not live without thee, and therefore the worst. All things were made for man as a sovereign, and man made for woman as a slave. O Camilla, would either thou hadst been bred in Italy, or I in England ; or would thy virtues were less than thy beauty, or my virtues greater than my affections.

“ I see that India bringeth gold but England breedeth goodness. And had not England been thrust into a corner of the world it would have filled the whole world with woe ; where such women are as we have talked of in Italy, heard of in Rome, read of in Greece, but never found but in this island. And for my part (I speak softly because I will not hear myself), would there were none such here or such everywhere.

“ Ah fond Euphues, my dear friend—but a simple fool if thou believe now thy ‘Cooling Card,’ and an obstinate fool if thou do not recant it. But it may be thou layest that ‘Card’<sup>2</sup> for the elevation<sup>3</sup> of Naples like an astronomer. If (b) it were

(a) *adamant* 1580A *Adamant* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>1</sup> *A woman, the last thing God made* [etc.] : see note on p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> ‘*Card*.’ Here Lyly punningly uses the word in the sense of a mariner’s chart, a common use in his time.

<sup>3</sup> *Elevation* : an obsolete astronomical word for *latitude*.

(b) *If it were so I forgive thee, for I must believe thee ; if for the whole world, behold England where Camilla was born* The punctuation of this passage varies in the early editions. I have followed the later texts. Cf. 1580A *for I must beleuee thee, if for the whole world. Behold . . .* 1597 *for I must beleuee thee, if for the whole world, beehould . . .* 1630 *for I must beleuee thee : if for the whole world, behold . . .*

so I forgive thee, for I must believe thee ; if for the whole world, behold England where Camilla was born, the flower of courtesy, the picture of comeliness, one that shameth Venus, being somewhat fairer but much more virtuous, and staineth Diana, being as chaste but much more amiable.

" Aye but, Philautus, the more beauty she hath the more pride, and the more virtue the more preciseness. The peacock is a bird for none but Juno, the dove for none but Vesta. None must wear Venus in a tablet<sup>1</sup> but Alexander, none Pallas in a ring but Ulysses. For as there is but one Phoenix<sup>2</sup> in the world, so is there but one tree in Arabia wherein she buildeth ; and as there is but one Camilla to be heard of, so is there but one Caesar that she will like of.

" Why then, Philautus, what resteth for thee but to die with patience, seeing thou mayest not live with pleasure ; when thy disease is so dangerous that the third letting of blood is not able to recover thee, when neither Ariadne's thread, nor Sibylla's bough, nor Medea's seed<sup>3</sup> may remedy thy grief. Die, die, Philautus, rather with a secret scar than an open scorn. Patroclus cannot mask in Achilles' armour without a maim,<sup>(a)</sup> nor Philautus in the English Court without a mock.

" Aye, but there is no pearl so hard but vinegar breaketh it, no diamond so stony but blood mollifieth,<sup>4</sup> no heart so stiff but love weakeneth it.

" And what then ? Because she may love one, is it necessary she should love thee ? Be there not infinite in England who as far exceed thee in wealth as she doth all the Italians in wisdom, and are as far above thee in all qualities of the body as she is above them in all gifts of the mind ? Dost thou not see every

<sup>1</sup> *Tablet* : the setting of a jewel, the frame of a picture, etc. ; here, a locket containing a miniature portrait.

<sup>2</sup> *One Phoenix*. The legend of the phoenix is of Egyptian origin. Herodotus (ii. 73) first brought it into European literature. In a form nearer the medieval version it appears in Pliny, x. 2, Ovid, *Met.* xv. 382 ff., and Clement, *Ep. I. ad Cor.*, 25. And finally it was contained in the Alexandrian work of early-Christian times called the *Physiologus*, whence it spread and played an important part in medieval art and literature. These and other facts may be seen in Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Phys.*, 11-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Medea's seed* : the magic love-philtres that Medea was wont to make of herbs, rather than the teeth sown by Jason. Hence, the whole passage has more meaning than Bond finds in it. Ariadne's thread signifies escape from love ; Sibylla's bough (plucked by Aeneas, Book vi.) escape by death ; and Medea's seed the conquest of his mistress.

(a) *without a maim* So 1581. 1580A *without a maine*.

<sup>4</sup> *No diamond so stony but blood mollifieth* : see note on p. 46.

minute the noble youth of England frequent the Court with no less courage than thou cowardice? If courtly bravery may allure her, who more gallant than they? If personage, who more valiant? If wit, who more sharp? If birth, who more noble? If virtue, who more devote? When there are all things in them that should delight a lady and no one thing in thee that is in them, with what face, Philautus, canst thou desire that which they cannot deserve, or with what service deserve that which so many desire before thee. The more beauty Camilla hath the less hope shouldst thou have; and think not but the bait that caught thee hath beguiled other Englishmen ere now. Infants they can love<sup>1(a)</sup>; neither so hard-hearted to despise it, nor so simple not to discern it.

"Is it likely then,<sup>(b)</sup> Philautus, that the fox will let the grapes hang for the goose, or the Englishman bequeath beauty to the Italian? No, no, Philautus, assure thyself<sup>(c)</sup> there is no Venus but she hath her temple, where on the one side Vulcan may knock but Mars shall enter; no saint but hath her shrine, and he that cannot win with a *Pater noster* must offer a penny.<sup>2</sup> And as rare it is to see the sun without a light as a fair woman without a lover, and as near is fancy to beauty as the prick to the rose, as the stalk to the rind,<sup>3</sup> as the earth to the root. Dost thou not think that hourly she is served and sued unto of thy betters in birth, thy equals in wealth, thy inferiors in no respect?

"If then she have given her faith, darest thou call her honour into suspicion of falsehood? If she refuse such vain delights, wilt thou bring her wisdom into the compass of folly? If she love so beautiful a piece, then will she not be unconstant. If she vow virginity, so chaste a lady cannot be perjured. And of two things the one of these must be true, that either her mind is already so weaned from love that she is not to be moved, or so settled in love that she is not to be removed.

"Aye, but it may be that so young and tender a heart hath

<sup>1</sup> *Infants they can love*: see textual note below. Probably *can* means 'know,' and *love* is a noun.

(a) *Infants they can love* 1580A *Infanntes*; 1581 *Infants*. Bond conjectures *In faith*; but *infants* gives a good sense (see note above).

(b) *Is it likely then* So 1597, etc. 1580A *It is likely then*.

(c) *assure thyself* 1580A *as-assure*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *A Pater noster . . . a penny*: see note on p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *As the stalk to the rind*. The idea is proverbial, though not the words. See p. 244, 'to put my hand between the bark and the tree' as a symbol of the rashness of intervening between husband and wife.

not yet felt the impression of love. Aye, but it cannot be that so rare perfection should want that which they all wish, affection. A rose is sweeter in the bud than full blown. Young twigs are sooner bent than old trees<sup>1</sup>; white snow sooner melted than hard ice. Which proveth that the younger she is the sooner she is to be wooed, and the fairer she is the likelier to be won. Who will not run with Atalanta,<sup>2</sup> though he be lame? Who would not wrestle with Cleopatra, though he were sick? Who feareth to love Camilla, though he were blind? Ah beauty, such is thy force that Vulcan courteth Venus; she for comeliness a goddess, he for ugliness a devil, more fit to strike with a hammer in his forge than to hold a lute in thy chamber.

"Whither dost thou wade, Philautus, in lancing the wound thou shouldst taint<sup>3</sup> and pricking the heart which asketh a plaster? For in deciphering what she is thou hast forgotten what thou thyself art, and being dazzled with her beauty thou seest not thine own baseness. Thou art an Italian, poor Philautus, as much disliked for the vice of thy country, as she marvelled at for the virtue of hers. And (a) with no less shame dost thou hear, than know with grief, how if any Englishman be infected with any misdemeanour they say with one mouth, 'He is Italianated'<sup>4</sup>; so odious is that nation to this that the very man is no less hated for the name, than the country for the manners.

"O Italy, I must love thee because I was born in thee. But if

<sup>1</sup> *Young twigs are sooner bent than old trees.* Of course there are many proverbial forms of this saying. See Düringsfeld, i., no. 162, for English and foreign versions. See note 9 on p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Atalanta.* Lyly's knowledge of the story of Atalanta is probably from Ovid, *Met.* x. See note on p. 145 and compare p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> *Taint*: See note on p. 48.

(a) *And with no less shame dost thou hear, than know with grief, how if any Englishman . . .* So 1580B. 1580A punctuates *then know with grieve. How if . . .* 1597, etc. omit *than know with grief.*

<sup>4</sup> *He is Italianated.* The proverb '*Inglese Italianato è un diavolo incarnato*' is alluded to here. Ascham had quoted it in a famous passage of *The Schole-master* in which he rails at the corrupting effects of foreign travel (*English Works*, ed. Camb., 1904, p. 229). In Nashe's *Anatomy of Absurdity* (M'Kerrow ed., i. pp. 10 ff.) there is a satirical passage denouncing certain authors (or a particular one) who tend to make Englishmen 'Italianated,' and in whom a style like Lyly's is associated with incitements to love under a disguise of pretended virtue. Greene is often supposed to be meant, but Nashe's editor thinks it might be Pettie. Lyly, however, is as likely a subject for the satire as either. See M'Kerrow's note on this passage in Nashe for other allusions to the proverb above.

the infection of the air be such as whosoever breed in thee is poisoned by thee, then had I rather be a bastard to the Turk Ottomo<sup>1</sup> than heir to the Emperor Nero. Thou which heretofore wast most famous for victories art become most infamous by thy vices, as much disdained now for thy beastliness (a) in peace as once feared for thy battles in war, thy Caesar being turned to a vicar, thy Consuls to Cardinals, thy sacred Senate of three-hundred grave counsellors to a shameless synod of three-thousand greedy caterpillars<sup>2</sup>; where there is no vice punished, no virtue praised, where none is long loved<sup>3</sup> if he do not ill, where none shall be long loved if he do well. But I leave to name thy sins, which no ciphers can number; and I would I were as free from the infection of some of them, as I am from the reckoning of all of them, or would I were as much envied for good, as thou art pitied for ill. Philautus, would thou hadst never lived in Naples, or never left it.

"What new skirmishes dost thou now feel between reason and appetite, love and wisdom, danger and desire? Shall I go and attire myself in costly apparel? Tush, a fair pearl in a Morian's ear<sup>4</sup> cannot make him white. Shall I ruffle in new devices with chains, with bracelets, with rings and robes? Tush, the precious stones of Mausolus' (b) sepulchre<sup>5</sup> cannot make the dead carcass sweet. Shall I curl my hair, colour my face, counterfeit courtliness? Tush, there is no painting can make a

<sup>1</sup> *The Turk Ottomo*. Bond explains this as an eponymous hero of the Ottoman race, invented by Lyly.

(a) *beastliness* 1580a *bealines*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Caterpillars*. The figurative use of the word in the sense 'robbers, 'pillers,' was well-established in Lyly's time. Indeed some persons think that the name for the insect is a compound of which the latter part is the word *pill*. See *NED*.

<sup>3</sup> *Long loved*. Though there is no authority in any early edition for emending the text, *loved* either in this line or in the next is, not unlikely, a mistake for *lived*; (1) because Lyly would not be guilty of such a tame repetition of the same statement; and (2) because he is fond of the 'syllabic antithesis' between words, such as 'lived' and 'loved.' See Introduction, pp. xxxvii-viii.

<sup>4</sup> *Morian*: "Moor, Ethiopian, negro" (*NED*). The word has been obsolete since the middle of the 17th century. Of course, the whole phrase suggests Romeo's "Like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear" (*Romeo and Juliet*, I. 5, 48).

(b) *Mausolus*' So 1630, 1636. Earlier editions have *Mansolus*.

<sup>5</sup> *Mausolus' sepulchre*: the tomb erected by Artemisia for her husband, the Carian king. Lyly may have read of it, as Bond suggests, in Cicero's *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 31; but also in a source more familiar, namely, Pliny, xxxvi. 9.



picture sensible.<sup>1</sup> No, no, Philautus, either swallow the juice of mandrake,<sup>2</sup> which may cast thee into a dead sleep, or chew the herb chervil,<sup>3</sup> which may cause thee to mistake everything; so shalt thou either die in thy slumber, or think Camilla deformed by thy potion. No, I cannot do so though I would, neither would I though I could.

"But suppose thou think thyself in personage comely, in birth noble, in wit excellent, in talk eloquent, of great revenues? Yet will this only be cast in thy teeth as an obloquy, 'Thou art an Italian.' Aye, but all that be black dig not for coals,<sup>4</sup> all things that breed in the mud are not efts,<sup>5</sup> all that are born in Italy be not ill. She will not think what most are, but inquire what I am. Everyone that sucketh a wolf is not ravening; there is no country but hath some as bad as Italy, many that have worse, none but hath some.

"And canst thou think that an English gentleman will suffer an Italian to be his rival? No, no, thou must either put up a quarrel with shame or try the combat with peril. An Englishman hath three qualities: he can suffer no partner in his love, no stranger to be his equal, nor to be dared by any. Then, Philautus, be as wary of thy life as careful for thy love; thou must at Rome reverence Romulus, in Boeotia Hercules,<sup>6</sup> in England those that dwell there, else shalt thou not live there.

"Ah Love, what wrong dost thou me! Which once beguiledst (a) me with that I had, and now beheadest me for that I

<sup>1</sup> *No painting can make a picture sensible*: i.e., it still remains a picture, not a living thing; and so Philautus, though he strive to look gay and handsome, will still have the same dull, heavy heart.

<sup>2</sup> *Swallow the juice of the mandrake*: Erasmus, *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 1068E), *Bibere mandragoram.—Inest vis somnificae mandragorae, adeo ut enecet etiam largiore potu, si Plinio credimus.* The passage in Pliny is xxv. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *The herb chervil.* The herb *caerëfolium* (in English *chervil*, or, formerly, *cerfoil*) has been chiefly used as a stomach tonic, and its tops give a flavour to salads. *Wild chervil*, or 'Venus' needle,' is *scandix pectens*. Which of these Lyly means, or what the source of his information, cannot be determined.

<sup>4</sup> *All that be black dig not for coals.* This saying is entered as a proverb by Bohn (*A Handbook of Proverbs*), p. 308, and Hazlitt, p. 51, but without sources or further information. Perhaps they have derived it from Lyly. It is not in Heywood, Ray, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *All things that breed in the mud are not efts.* Bohn and Hazlitt (as in preceding note) have this, with *eels* instead of *efts*, and again without authority quoted. Of course proverbs in this form are numerous: "All are not thieves that dogs bark at"; etc.; and see just below, l. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *In Boeotia Hercules*: Hercules was born at Thebes, as Romulus at Rome.

(a) *beguiledst*. So 1606. 1580A *beguilest*; 1609, etc. *beguiled*.

have not. The love I bore to Lucilla was cold water, the love I owe Camilla hot fire ; the first was ended with defame, the last must begin with death. I see now that as the resiliation<sup>1</sup> of an ague is desperate, and the second opening of a vein deadly, so the renewing of love is—I know not what to term it—worse than death, and as bad as what is worst. I perceive at the last the punishment of love is to live. Thou art here a stranger without acquaintance, no friend to speak for thee, no one to care for thee ; Euphues will laugh at thee if he know it, and thou wilt weep if he know it not. O unfortunate Philautus, born in the wane of the moon,<sup>2</sup> and as likely to obtain thy wish as the wolf is to catch the moon<sup>3</sup> ! But why go I about to quench fire with a sword<sup>4</sup> or with affection<sup>5</sup> to mortify my love ?

“ O my Euphues, would I had thy wit, or thou my will. Shall I utter this to thee ? But thou art more likely to correct my follies with counsel, than to comfort me with any pretty conceit. Thou wilt say that she is a lady of great credit and, I hear, of no countenance.<sup>6</sup> Aye but, Euphues, low trees have their tops, small sparks their heat, the fly his spleen, the ant her gall, Philautus his affection ; which is neither ruled by reason, nor led by appointment. Thou broughtest me into England, Euphues, to see and I am blind,<sup>(a)</sup> to seek adventures and I have lost myself, to remedy love and I am now past cure ; much like Seriphuis,<sup>7</sup> that old drudge in Naples, who coveting to heal his bleared eye put it out. My thoughts are high, my fortune low ; and I resemble that foolish pilot who hoiseth up all his sails and hath no wind, and lanceth out his ship and hath no water. Ah Love, thou takest away my taste and provokest mine appetite. Yet if Euphues would be as willing to further me now, as he was

<sup>1</sup> *Resiliation* : relapse. “ Erroneous for *recidivation* ” (NED.).

<sup>2</sup> *Born in the wane of the moon*. On the ill-luck attending the last quarter of the moon, see Lean, *Collectanea*, ii. 244-246.

<sup>3</sup> *As the wolf is to catch the moon*. Caxton, translating the *Fables of Aesop*, iv. 10 (ed. 1889, p. 115), says : “ Men nede not doubte ne drede hym that avanceth hym self for to do that that he may not doo. For God kepe the mone fro the wulves.” Cotgrave, under the word *lune*, cites : *Garder la lune des loups*. NED., s.v. *moon*, sb., refers to Rabelais, i. 11. The proverb is in all languages (see Düringsfeld, ii. no. 100), but usually in the form, “ The moon does not fear the barking of dogs.” Hence, “ I’d rather be a dog and bay the moon ” in Shakespeare, *Jul. Caes.* iv. 3, 27. Compare p. 371.

<sup>4</sup> *Quench fire with a sword* : see note on p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> *Affection* : passion, passionate grief.

<sup>6</sup> *Countenance* : probably, social rank. See p. 33 and p. 318.

<sup>(a)</sup> *and I am blind* So 1597, etc. 1580a & *am blynde*.

<sup>7</sup> *Seriphuis* : not yet identified. Bond says, ‘ not classical.’

once wily to hinder me, I should think myself fortunate and all that are not amorous to be fools. There is a stone in the flood of Thracia<sup>1</sup> that whosoever findeth it is never after grieved; I would I had that stone in my mouth, or that my body were in that river, that either I might be without grief or without life."

And with these words, Euphues knocked at the door; which Philautus opened, pretending drowsiness and excusing his<sup>x</sup> absence by idleness. Unto whom Euphues said:—

"What, Philautus, dost thou shun the Court to sleep in a corner, as one either cloyed with delight or having surfeited with desire? Believe me, Philautus, if the wind be in that door,<sup>2</sup> or thou so devout to fall from beauty to thy beads and to forsake the Court to live in a cloister, I cannot tell whether I should more wonder at thy fortune or praise thy wisdom; but I fear me if I live to see thee so holy I shall be an old man before I die, or if thou die not before thou be so pure thou shalt be more marvelled at for thy years than esteemed for thy virtues.

"In sooth, my good friend, if I should tarry a year in England, I could not abide an hour in my chamber. For I know not how it cometh to pass that in earth I think no other Paradise, such variety of delights to allure a courtly eye, such rare purity to draw a well-disposed mind; that I know not whether they be in England more amorous or virtuous, whether I should think my time best bestowed in viewing goodly ladies or hearing godly lessons. I had thought no woman to excel Livia in the world, but now I see that in England they be all as good, none worse, many better; insomuch that I am enforced to think that it is as rare to see a beautiful woman in England without virtue, as to see a fair woman in Italy without pride. Courteous they are without coyness, but not without a care; amiable without pride, but not without courtliness; merry without curiosity, but not without measure; so that conferring the ladies of Greece with the ladies of Italy, I find the best but indifferent; and comparing both countries with the ladies of England, I account them all stark naught.

"And truly, Philautus, thou shalt not shrive me like a ghostly

<sup>1</sup> *A stone in the flood of Thracia.* In the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise *Of Rivers and Mountains*, it is said that in the river Strymon of Thrace, there is a stone Pausilypus, which, if one in pain happen to find it, cures him at once of his trouble.

<sup>2</sup> *If the wind be in that door.* The phrase is cited by NED. from Malory to Dryden. It occurs in *Henry IV.*, Part One, III. 3, 102, and in Heywood, p. 68.

father.<sup>1</sup> For to thee I will confess in two things my extreme folly : the one in loving Lucilla, who in comparison of these had no spark of beauty, the other for making a 'Cooling Card'<sup>2</sup> against women, when I see these to have so much virtue. So that in the first I must acknowledge my judgement raw, to discern shadows,<sup>3</sup> and rash in the latter to give so peremptory sentence ; in both I think myself to have erred so much that I recant both, being ready to take any penance thou shalt enjoin me, whether it be a faggot for heresy or a fine for hypocrisy. An heretic I was by mine invective against women, and no less than an hypocrite for dissembling with thee ; for now, Philautus, I am of that mind that women——"

But Philautus taking hold of this discourse interrupted him with a sudden reply, as followeth : "Stay, Euphues ! I can level at the thoughts of thy heart by the words of thy mouth ; for that commonly the tongue uttereth the mind and the outward speech bewrayeth the inward spirit. For as a good root is known by a fair blossom, so is the substance of the heart noted by the show of the countenance. I can see day at a little hole<sup>4</sup> ; thou must halt cunningly<sup>5</sup> if thou beguile a cripple. But I cannot choose but laugh to see thee play with the bait that I fear thou hast swallowed, thinking with a mist to make my sight blind because I should not perceive thy eyes bleared. But in faith, Euphues, I am now as well acquainted with thy conditions as with

<sup>1</sup> *Like a ghostly father.* Probably Euphues means that his confession shall be full and honest, in contrast with the merely formal ceremony of confession accepted (according to Protestant polemic) by many priests.

<sup>2</sup> '*Cooling Card*' : see 'A cooling card for Philautus and all fond lovers,' pp. 91 ff. In the use of the ecclesiastical terms, *heresy*, *penance*, etc., as well as in the subject-matter of this passage, there are reminders of the disputes in medieval 'Courts of Love.' Of course, similar echoes are heard in many courtly Renaissance works, such as Castiglione's *Courtier*.

<sup>3</sup> *To discern shadows* : to detect false appearances.

<sup>4</sup> *To see day at a little hole* : a proverbial phrase (see Heywood, p. 26). It is used in North's *Plutarch* (1676 ed., p. 355), and in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2, 733. The suggestion of some editors (Heywood's, etc.) that it is akin to 'the darkest hour is before the dawn,' seems to be unnecessary. *Day* means 'light,' and the idea is that a fact or truth may be inferred from slight hints.

<sup>5</sup> *Thou must halt cunningly* [etc.]. Heywood, p. 71, has : "It is hard halting before a cripple," and his editor quotes Gascoigne's *Fable of Ferd. Jeronimi and Leon. de Valases* (1755). Düringsfeld, i., no. 736, gives a number of other proverbs to the same effect : "Il ne faut pas parler latin devant les cordeliers" ; "En casa del Moro, no hables algaravia" ; etc. Compare Chaucer, *Troil. and Cres.*, iv. 1457 : "It is ful hard to halten unespied Bifore a crepul, for he can the craft."

thy person, and use hath made me so expert in thy dealings that well thou mayest juggle with the world, but thou shalt never deceive me.

"A burnt child <sup>1</sup> dreadeth the fire; he that stumbleth twice <sup>2</sup> at one stone is worthy to break his shins; thou mayest haply forswear thyself but thou shalt never delude me. I know thee now as readily by thy vizard as thy visage. It is a blind goose <sup>3</sup> that knoweth not a fox from a fern bush, and a foolish fellow that cannot discern craft from conscience being once cozened.<sup>(a)</sup> But why should I lament thy follies with grief, when thou seemest to colour them with deceit? Ah Euphues, I love thee well, but thou hatest thyself, and seekest to heap more harms on thy head by a little wit than thou shalt ever claw off by thy great wisdom. All fire is not quenched by water, thou hast not love in a string,<sup>4</sup> affection is not thy slave, thou canst<sup>(b)</sup> not leave when thou listest. With what face, Euphues, canst thou return to thy vomit,<sup>5</sup> seeming with the greedy hound to lap up that which thou didst cast up. I am ashamed to rehearse the terms that once thou didst utter of malice against women. And art thou not ashamed now again to recant them? They must needs think thee either envious upon small occasion or amorous upon a light cause, and then will they all be as ready to hate thee for thy spite as to laugh at thee for thy looseness.

"No, Euphues, so deep a wound cannot be healed with so light a plaster; thou mayest by art recover the skin but thou canst never cover the scar, thou mayest flatter with fools because thou art wise but the wise will ever mark thee for a fool. Then sure I cannot see what thou gainest if the simple condemn thee of flattery and the grave of folly.

<sup>1</sup> *A burnt child* [etc.]: see note on p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *He that stumbleth twice* [etc.]. Bohn, p. 401, quotes this almost verbatim; and labels it "Spanish,"—it does not appear why.

<sup>3</sup> *It is a blind goose* [etc.]. Lyly is extremely skilful in imitating the popular proverb. Perhaps his permanent influence in English literature, especially the drama, is more marked in this respect than in any other.

(a) *being once cozened* So 1580B, etc. The text of 1580A is thus described by Bond: "*cousened* is the catchword in M (*i.e.* 1580A) fol. 52 verso, which is followed in the text of A (*i.e.* 1580B) rest; but M prints as the first word of the following fol. *construed*."

<sup>4</sup> *Thou hast not love in a string*. Bond quotes Basse's *Woman in the Moon*, ii. 27: "But she that had occasion in a string Of uses bridled."

(b) *thou canst* So 1580B, etc. 1580A γ" *canst*. See textual note (a), p. 229.

<sup>5</sup> *Return to thy vomit*. Erasmus, *Adagia*, Works, ii. 830E (*Canis reversus ad vomitum*), quotes the Epistle of St. Peter as the source. Used again, p. 313.

"Is thy 'Cooling Card' of this property, to quench fire in others and to kindle flames in thee? Or is it a whetstone to make thee sharp and us blunt, or a sword to cut wounds in me and cure them in Euphues? Why didst thou write that against them thou never thoughtest; or if thou didst it, why dost thou not follow it? But it is lawful for the physician to surfeit, for the shepherd(a) to wander, for Euphues to prescribe what he will and do what he list. The sick patient must keep a strait diet, the silly sheep a narrow fold, poor Philautus must believe Euphues, and all lovers (he only excepted) are cooled with a card of ten <sup>1</sup>(a) or rather fooled with a vain toy.

"Is this thy professed purity to cry *peccavi*, thinking it as great sin to be honest as shame not to be amorous? Thou that didst blaspheme the noble sex of women without cause dost thou now commit idolatry with them without care, observing as little gravity then in thine unbridled fury, as thou dost now reason by thy disordinate fancy? I see now that there is nothing more smooth than glass, yet nothing more brittle, nothing more fair than snow, yet nothing less firm, nothing more fine than wit, yet nothing more fickle. For as Polypus <sup>2</sup> upon what rock soever he lighteth(b) turneth himself into the same likeness, or as the bird *Piralis* <sup>3</sup> sitting upon white cloth is white, upon green green, and changeth her colour with every cloth, or as our changeable silk turned to the sun hath many colours, and turned back the

(a) *shepherd* 1580A *shepherd*; corrected (with various spellings) in later editions.

<sup>1</sup> *Cooled with a card of ten*: see note on p. 90. *NED.* (s.v. *card*, sb.<sup>2</sup>) says that the phrase 'to face (outface, brave, etc.) it with a card of ten' means 'to put a bold face on it,' 'brag.' But various illustrations (such as *Tam. of the Shrew*, II. 1, 407; a passage from Skelton quoted by Warburton in illustration of this; and also the present passage) seem to indicate rather the idea of meeting a bold attack by subtlety or craft.

(b) *card of ten* 1580A *carde of teene*; 1580B, etc. *tenne* (or *ten*, 1630, 1636).

<sup>2</sup> *Polypus* [etc.]: see note on p. 58. Lyly's words here are a very exact translation of the words of Plutarch (in his essay *Of the Plurality of Friends*) quoted by Erasmus in his *Adagia*.

(c) *lighteth* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *liketh*.

<sup>3</sup> *The bird Piralis*. Bond explains that this is a name given by Pliny (xi. 42) 'as an alternative to *pyrausta*, a large-winged four-footed insect which can only live in fire.' Lyly shows a knowledge of this property of the *Piralis*, or *Pyrallis*, in *Gallathea*, III. 1, 4. Here he seems to be inventing. On p. 58 he had mentioned Proteus as the second example with Polypus, and he probably wished to avoid repetition and at the same time preserve alliteration.

contrary ; so wit shippeth<sup>1</sup> itself (a) to every conceit, being constant in nothing but inconstancy. Where is now thy conference with Atheos, thy devotion, thy divinity ? Thou sayest that I am fallen from beauty to my beads ; and I see thou art come from thy book to beastliness, from quoting of the Scriptures to courting with ladies, from Paul to Ovid, from the prophets to poets ; resembling the wanton Diophantus,<sup>2</sup> who refused his mother's blessing to hear a song, and thou forsakest God's blessing<sup>3</sup> to sit in a warm sun.

" But thou, Euphues, thinkest to have thy prerogative (which others will not grant thee for a privilege) that under the colour of wit thou mayest be accounted wise, and being obstinate thou art to be thought singular. There is no coin good silver but thy halfpenny,<sup>4</sup> if thy glass glisten it must needs be gold, if you speak a sentence<sup>5</sup> it must be a law, if give a censure an oracle, if dream a prophecy, if conjecture a truth ; insomuch that I am brought into a doubt whether I should more lament in thee thy want of government (b) or laugh at thy feigned gravity. But as that rude poet Cherilus<sup>6</sup> had nothing to be noted in his verses but only the name of Alexander, nor that rural poet Daretus<sup>7</sup> any

<sup>1</sup> *Shippeth*. The textual variants are *shapeth* and *sharpeth*, one of which is probably the right reading. Bond explains *shippeth* as 'sets sail for,' but this seems forced.

(a) *wit shippeth itself* So 1580A. 1597-1609 *shapeth* ; 1617-1631 *sharpeth* ; 1636 *sharpneth*.

<sup>2</sup> *Diophantus* : the son of Themistocles, mentioned by Plutarch in his essay *Of Education*, § 2, and especially in his *Apophth. Themistocles*, § 10, as a spoiled child. See Bond's note.

<sup>3</sup> *Forsakest God's blessing* [etc.] : see note on p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *Silver . . . halfpenny* : see note on p. 25, and Bond's note there.

<sup>5</sup> *Sentence* : an opinion, also an aphoristic saying : the same senses as *L. sententia*.

(b) *government* 1580A *gouernment* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>6</sup> *That rude poet Cherilus* : mentioned by Horace, *Epistles*, II. I, 232, as an inferior poet who succeeded in pleasing Alexander. Lyly's source may have been Erasmus' *Apophth.*, Book iv., *Alexandri*, no. 35 (Udall's transl., Book ii., no. 34).

<sup>7</sup> *That rural poet Daretus*. Lyly loves to make his allusions sound enigmatic. Bond queries, hesitatingly, whether it can be Dares Phrygius, the famous narrator of the Trojan wars whose work long took the place of Homer. Of course Lyly and his time were quite familiar with this author and Bond's explanation is probably correct. The genitive of *Dares* is *Daretis*, and Lyly often uses oblique cases improperly. *Ape* was a fixed term in Elizabethan use denoting an imitator or that which he made. The 'white curtain' alludes to a passage in the *Anat. of Wit*, p. 216, which was introduced by a story from Pliny about the painter Timanthes (see this passage).

thing to cover his deformed ape but a white curtain, so Euphues hath no one thing to shadow his shameless wickedness but only a show of wit.

"I speak all this, Euphues, not that I envy thy estate, but that I pity it; and in this I have discharged the duty of a friend, in that I have not winked at thy folly. Thou art in love, Euphues, contrary to thine oath, thine honour, thine honesty; neither would any, professing that thou dost, live as thou dost, which is no less grief to me than shame to thee. Excuse thou mayest make to me, because I am credulous; but amends to the world thou canst not frame, because thou art come out of Greece to blaze thy vice in England, a place too honest for thee, and thou too dishonest for any place. And this my flat and friendly dealing if thou wilt not take as I mean, take as thou wilt. I fear not thy force, I force not<sup>1</sup> thy friendship. And so I end."

Euphues, not a little amazed with the discourteous speech of Philautus whom he saw in such a burning fever, did not apply warm clothes to continue his sweat but gave him cold drink to make him shake, either thinking so strange a malady was to be cured with a desperate medicine, or determining to use as little art in physic as the other did honesty in friendship. And therefore instead of a pill to purge his hot blood, he gave him a choke-pear<sup>2</sup> to stop his breath, replying as followeth:—

"I had thought, Philautus, that a wound healing so fair could never have bred to a fistula, or a body kept so well from drink to a dropsy; but I well perceive that thy flesh is as rank(a) as the wolf's, who as soon as he is stricken recovereth a skin but rankleth inwardly until it come to the liver, and thy stomach as queasy as old Nestor's,<sup>3</sup> unto whom pap was no better than poison, and thy body no less distempered than Hermogenes',<sup>4</sup> whom abstinence from wine made oftentimes drunk. I see thy humour is love, thy quarrel jealousy; the one I gather by thine addle head, the

<sup>1</sup> *I force not*: I take no account of.

<sup>2</sup> *Choke-pear*: an unpalatable or inedible kind of pear, sometimes used in practical joking as a gag. Hence, fig., a sharp reproof. See *NED*. *Choking* (or *stopping*) *oyster* was used in same sense (Heywood, p. 43; Skelton, *Bowge of Courte*, l. 477).

(a) *rank* 1580A *rantke*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Old Nestor's*. Probably there is no particular reference; *Nestor* is used as a name for old men in general.

<sup>4</sup> *Hermogenes*. There are several characters of this name: a speaker in Plato's dialogue *Cratylus*, a writer ridiculed by Horace (*Sat.* i. 3, 129), the famous rhetorician (2nd century A.D.), and (as Bond notes) several physicians.



other by thy suspicious nature.(a) But I leave them both to thy will and thee to thine own wickedness. Prettily to cloak thine own folly thou callest me thief first ; not unlike unto a curst wife who, deserving a check, beginneth first to scold.

" There is nothing that can cure the king's evil but a Prince ; nothing ease a pleurisy but letting blood ; nothing purge thy humour but that which I cannot give thee, nor thou get of any other, liberty.

" Thou seemest to colour craft by a friendly kindness, taking great care for my bondage that I might not distrust thy follies. Which is as though the thrush in the cage should be sorry for the nightingale which singeth on the tree, or the bear at the stake lament the mishap of the lion in the forest.

" But in truth, Philautus, though thy skin show thee a fox thy little skill trieth <sup>1</sup> thee a sheep. It is not the colour that commendeth a good painter but the good countenance, nor the cutting that valueth the diamond but the virtue, nor the gloze of the tongue that trieth a friend but the faith. For as all coins are not good that have the image of Caesar, nor all gold that are coined with the king's stamp, so all is not truth that beareth the show of godliness, nor all friends that bear a fair face. If thou pretend such love to Euphues carry thy heart on the back of thy hand and thy tongue in the palm(b) ; that I may see what is in thy mind, and thou with thy fingers clasp thy mouth.

" Of a stranger I cannot bear much, because I know not his manners ; of an enemy more, for that all proceedeth of malice ; all things of a friend if it be to try me, nothing if it be to betray me. I am of Scipio's mind,<sup>2</sup> who had rather that Hannibal should eat his heart with salt than Laelius grieve it with unkindness, and of the like with Laelius, who chose rather to be slain with the Spaniards than suspected of Scipio. I can better take a blister of a nettle than a prick of a rose, more willing that a raven should peck out mine eyes than a turtle<sup>3</sup> peck at them. To die of the meat one liketh not is better than to surfeit of that he loveth, and I had rather an enemy should bury me quick than a friend belie me when I am dead.

(a) *the other by thy suspicious nature* So 1580, etc. 1580A *thy other by they suspicious nature.*

<sup>1</sup> *Trieth* : shows or proves by a test.

(b) *palm* 1580A *plame* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Scipio's mind . . . and of the like with Laelius* [etc.] According to Bond nothing is said in Cicero's *De Amic.* that could suggest these antitheses.

<sup>3</sup> *Turtle* : turtle-dove, the symbol of faithful love.

" But thy friendship, Philautus, is like a new fashion, which being used in the morning is accounted old before noon. Which variety of changing being oftentimes noted of a grave gentleman in Naples, who having bought a hat of the newest fashion and best block in all Italy and wearing but one day, it was told him that it was stale, he hung it up in his study; and viewing all sorts, all shapes, perceived at the last his old hat again to come into the new fashion. Wherewith smiling to himself, he said, ' I have now lived compass,<sup>1</sup> for Adam's old apron<sup>2</sup> must make Eve a new kirtle ' ; noting this, that when no new thing could be devised nothing could be more new than the old.

" I speak this to this end, Philautus, that I see thee as often change thy head as others do(a) their hats, now being friend to Ajax because he should cover thee with his buckler, now to Ulysses that he may plead for thee with his eloquence, now to one, and now to another. And thou dealest with thy friends as that gentleman did with his felt<sup>3</sup>; for seeing not my vein answerable to thy vanities thou goest about (but yet the nearest way) to hang me up for holidays,<sup>4</sup> as one neither fitting thy head nor pleasing thy humour. But when, Philautus, thou shalt see that change of friendships shall make thee a fat calf and a lean coffer,<sup>5</sup> that there is no more hold in a new friend than a new fashion, that hats alter as fast as the turner can turn his block, and hearts as soon as one can turn his back, when seeing every-one return to his old wearing and find it the best, then compelled rather for want of others than good will of me thou wilt retire to Euphues, whom thou laidest by the walls, and seek him again as a new friend; saying to thyself, ' I have lived compass, Euphues' old faith must make Philautus a new friend.' Wherein thou resemblest those that at the first coming of new wine leave the old, yet, finding that grape more pleasant than wholesome,

<sup>1</sup> *I have now lived compass*: i.e., I have returned to the starting-point, have come full circle.

<sup>2</sup> *Adam's old apron* [etc.]: an excellent proverb the earlier history of which it seems impossible to trace.

(a) *as others do* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *as other do*.

<sup>3</sup> *Felt*: hat. Compare p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> *To hang me up for holidays*: to lay aside my friendship for some future occasion, or until wanted. The phrase was proverbial (see Heywood, p. 100). Lyly uses it with allusion to the story of the hat.

<sup>5</sup> *A fat calf and a lean coffer*: perhaps an allusion to the story of the prodigal son. It would seem that for a few pages Lyly has been drawing upon some source of proverbial sayings other than those he usually is indebted to.

they begin to say as Callisthenes did to Alexander,<sup>1</sup> that he had rather carouse old grains<sup>2</sup> with Diogenes in his dish than new grapes with Alexander in his standing cup.<sup>3</sup> 'For of all gods,' said he, 'I love not Aesculapius.' (a)

"But thou art willing to change, else wouldest thou be unwilling to quarrel. Thou keepest only company out of my sight with Reynaldo, thy countryman, which I suspecting concealed, and now proving it do not care. If he have better deserved the name of a friend than I, God knoweth. But as Achilles' shield,<sup>4</sup> being lost on the seas by Ulysses, was tossed by the sea to the tomb of Ajax as a manifest token of his right; so thou, being forsaken of Reynaldo, will be found in Athens by Euphues' door as the true owner. Which I speak not as one loath to lose thee, but careful thou lose not thyself.

"Thou thinkest an apple may please a child, and every odd answer appease a friend. No, Philautus; a plaster is a small amends for a broken head, and a bad excuse will not purge an ill accuser. A friend is long a getting and soon lost; like a merchant's riches, who by tempest loseth as much in two hours as he hath gathered together in twenty years. Nothing so fast knit as glass, yet once broken it can never be joined; nothing fuller of metal than steel, yet overheated it will never be hardened; friendship is the best pearl, but by disdain thrown into vinegar it bursteth rather in pieces<sup>5</sup> than it will bow to any softness. It is

<sup>1</sup> As Callisthenes did to Alexander. In *Campaspe*, i. 3, 63, Alexander complains to Aristotle of Callisthenes' "treasons" because Callisthenes was of Aristotle's "bringing-up." The story here told is from Plutarch, *De Cohibenda Ira*, 3, and in Holland's transl. runs: "Callisthenes mightily offended Alexander with one word, who when a great bowl of wine went round about the table, refused it as it came to his turn, saying: I will not (I trow) drink so to your health, Alexander, that I shall have need thereby of Aesculapius."

<sup>2</sup> Grains: 'refuse malt left after brewing or distilling' (NED.). This use is earlier than NED.'s earliest. On the construction compare p. 416, 'the glasses wherein you carouse your wine.'

<sup>3</sup> Standing cup: a cup with a shank and base, as distinguished from 'dish,' above.

(a) I love not Aesculapius. So 1580A. 1597, etc. I love Aesculapius.

<sup>4</sup> Achilles' shield . . . the tomb of Ajax. Bond quotes the ultimate source from Pausanias, i. 35, 4; but Lyly is plainly indebted to the picture in Alciati's *Emblems* (no. 38) alluded to above, in the note on p. 269. The motto at the beginning of this Emblem is *Tandem, tandem justitia obtinet*.

<sup>5</sup> Bursteth rather in pieces: not true of pearls; but Lyly means that in this respect the pearl friendship surpasses the common nature of pearls. This passage is an illustration of Lyly's use of a kind of comparison which has been lost sight of by his critics in their attention to his false natural

a salt fish that water cannot make fresh, sweet honey that is not made bitter with gall, hard gold that is not to be mollified with fire, and a miraculous friend that is not made an enemy with contempt.

"But give me leave to examine the cause of thy discourse to the quick and, omitting the circumstance, I will to the substance. The only thing thou layest to my charge is love, and that is a good ornament; the reasons to prove it is my praising of women, but that is no good argument. Am I in love, Philautus? With whom it should be thou canst not conjecture, and that it should not be with thee thou givest occasion. Priamus<sup>1</sup> began, to be jealous of Hecuba when he knew none did love her, but when he loved many; and thou of me when thou art assured I love none, but thou thyself everyone. But whether I love or no, I cannot live in quiet unless I be fit for thy diet.<sup>2</sup> Wherein thou dost imitate Sciron<sup>3</sup> and Procrustes, who, framing a bed of brass to their own bigness, caused it to be placed as a lodging for all passengers, insomuch that none could travel that way but he was enforced to take measure of their sheets. If he were too long for the bed they cut off his legs for catching cold, it was no place for a lungis<sup>4</sup>; if too short they racked him at length, it was no pallet for a dwarf. And certes, Philautus, they are no less to be discommended for their cruelty than thou for thy folly. For in like manner hast thou built a bed in thine own brains, wherein everyone must be of thy length. If he love thou cuttest(a) him shorter either with some odd device or grave counsel, swearing (rather than thou wouldest not be believed) that Protogenes portrayed Venus<sup>5</sup> with a sponge sprinkled with history, namely, comparisons drawn from common observation and the practical arts.

<sup>1</sup> *Priamus* [etc.]. Probably this fancy is suggested merely by the numerous wives and children of Priam.

<sup>2</sup> *Diet*: 'way of living or thinking' (*NED.*). Compare quotation from *Triall Treas.* (1567), in *NED.*: "Behold how a lie can please some folkes diet!"

<sup>3</sup> *Sciron*: a robber on the border of Attica, who waylaid travellers, compelled them to wash his feet, and while they were doing so kicked them into the sea. Theseus killed him. Lyly has no authority for making him a sharer in the deeds of Procrustes, but he does so again in *Pappe with an Hatchel* (see Bond's note). The explanation is that they came together in Ovid, *Met.* vii. 438-447.

<sup>4</sup> *Lungis*: a tall person (see note on p. 102).

(a) *thou cuttest* So 1580B, etc. 1580A y<sup>u</sup> *cuttest*. See textual note (a), p. 229.

<sup>5</sup> *Protogenes portrayed Venus*. This apparent invention may have been suggested by the incident narrated by Pliny of this painter and used by Lyly,

sweet water, but if once she wrung it it would drop blood ; that her ivory comb would at the first tickle the hairs but at the last turn all the hairs into adders ; so that nothing is more hateful than love. If he love not, thou stretchest out<sup>(a)</sup> like a wire-drawer,<sup>1</sup> making a wire as long as thy finger longer than thine arm ; pulling on with the pincers, with the shoemaker, a little shoe on a great foot till thou crack thy credit as he doth his stitches ; alleging that love followeth a good wit as the shadow doth the body, and as requisite for a gentleman as steel in a weapon.

" A wit, sayest thou, without love is like an egg without salt, and a courtier void of affection <sup>2</sup> like salt without savour. Then as one pleasing thyself in thine own humour or playing with others for thine own pleasure thou rollest all thy wits to sift love from lust, as the baker doth the bran from his flour ; bringing in Venus with a tortoise under her foot <sup>3</sup> as slow to harms, her chariot drawn with white swans as the cognizance of Vesta, her birds to be pigeons noting piety ; with as many inventions to make Venus current as the ladies use sleights in Italy to make themselves counterfeit. Thus with the Egyptian <sup>4</sup> thou playest

p. 192 (see note on that passage). It is probable that there is a more exact source, however ; perhaps it will be found in one of the many editions of Alciati's *Emblems* in which new material was added.

(a) *If he love not, thou stretchest out* 1580A *If he loue not, then stretchest out.* 1582, etc. alter *then* to *thou* ; perhaps *him* should be inserted after *stretchest* (cf. above *If he love thou cuttest him*).

<sup>1</sup> *Wire-drawer* : see note on p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *A courtier void of affection*. This passage sounds like an echo of the last part of the *Courtier* of Castiglione. The Duchess says that " love is perhaps of all things the most necessary to our courtier " (Lat. ed., p. 323), and so Bembo's famous discourse on the difference between bodily and spiritual love is introduced.

<sup>3</sup> *Venus with a tortoise under her foot* : used by Lyly again in *Sapho and Phao*, III. 3. 88, and in *Mother Bombie*, I. 3. 123. The source is a statement by Plutarch, *Conjug. Praecepta*, 32 (repeated 75), that Phidias made a statue of Venus with her foot resting on a tortoise ; or, Erasmus' reproduction of the passage in his *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio* (*Works*, v. 695D) ; or Erasmus' *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 555B), as follows : "*Veteres ita Venerem fingebant, ut pedibus testudinem premeret : id innuentes, matrem familias ab aedibus nusquam oportere discedere*" ; or (what is most likely, since Lyly is using this work in this part) Alciati's *Emblems*, no. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *The Egyptian* : the gypsy. Bond appropriately quotes *Ant. and Cleo.* IV. 12, 28, to illustrate the quality of fickleness attributed to gypsies. The confusion of *Egyptian* with *gypsy* led to the unjust attribution of some of Cleopatra's faults to a race which is now famous for constancy in marital love.

fast or loose, so that there is nothing more certain than that thou wilt love and nothing more uncertain than when ; turning at one time thy tail to the wind with the hedgehog,<sup>1</sup> and thy nose in the wind with the weather-cock, in one gale both hoising sail and weighing<sup>2</sup> anchor, with one breath making an alarm and a parley, discharging in the same instant both a bullet and a false fire.<sup>3</sup> Thou hast racked me and curtailed me, sometimes I was too long, sometimes too short, now too big, then too little ; so that I must needs think thy bed monstrous or my body, either thy brains out of temper or my wits out of tune ; insomuch as I can liken thy head to Mercury's pipe,<sup>4</sup> who with one stop caused Argus to stare and wink. If this fault be in thy nature counsel can do little good, if in thy disease physic can do less ; for nature will have her course, so that persuasions are needless, and such a malady in the marrow<sup>5</sup> will never out of the bones, so that medicines are bootless.

"Thou sayest that all this is for love, and that I being thy

<sup>1</sup> *Turning . . . thy tail to the wind with the hedgehog.* As Bond reports, Pliny gives hedgehogs credit for weather-wisdom (viii. 56). But Plutarch is more to the point when he narrates (in his dialogue *Whether sea or land animals are more intelligent*) that all sea-hedgehogs, "when they feel that there is to be a storm on the sea, load themselves down with little stones for fear they will be turned about and cast here and there on the sea, and in order that they may remain fixed in their place." And he goes on to say that all fish swim with their heads to the wind except one kind which has its scales lying in the opposite direction to those of all other fish.

<sup>2</sup> *Weighing.* Bond assumes an extraordinary editorial privilege when he changes the word to *casting* without any authority from any version, explaining in his note that *weigh* was not used in the sense required. If it is not elsewhere recorded in this sense this passage establishes it. The process referred to is that of swinging the anchors over the side in preparation for dropping them.

<sup>3</sup> *False fire* : 'a blank discharge of fire-arms.' This use antedates the earliest recorded in *NED.* by over fifty years. Lyly is evidently thinking of blank shots fired by way of friendly salute.

<sup>4</sup> *Mercury's pipe . . . caused Argus to stare and wink.* Ovid tells of it, *Metam.* i. 713 :

Talia dicturus vidit Cyllenius omnes  
Succubuisse oculos, adopertaque lumina somno.  
Supprimat extemplo vocem.

<sup>5</sup> *A malady in the marrow* [etc.]. Heywood, p. 87, has : "It will not out of the flesh that is bred in the bone." And Heywood's editor quotes the proverb in the same form from Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*. In just this form the proverb is only English, but the same idea is expressed in many proverbs in other languages, namely, that nature cannot be changed. See Düringsfeld, ii., no. 158.

friend thou art loath to wink at my folly. Truly I say, with Tully, with fair words thou shalt yet persuade me. For experience teacheth me that straight trees have crooked roots, smooth baits sharp hooks, that the fairer the stone is in the toad's head<sup>1</sup> the more pestilent the poison is in her bowels, that talk the more it is seasoned with fine phrases the less it savoureth of true meaning. It is a mad hare that will be caught with a tabor,<sup>2</sup> and a foolish bird<sup>3</sup> that stayeth the laying salt on her tail, and a blind goose<sup>4</sup> that cometh to the fox's sermon; Euphues is not entangled with Philautus's charms. If all were in jest it was too broad, weighing the place, if in earnest too bad, considering the person, if to try thy wit it was folly to be so hot, if thy friendship malice to be so hasty.

"Hast thou not read since thy coming into England a pretty discourse of one Phialo<sup>5</sup> concerning the rebuking of a friend? Whose reasons although they were but few yet were they sufficient, and if thou desire more I could rehearse infinite. But thou art like the Epicure, whose belly is sooner filled than his eye. For he coveteth to have twenty dishes at his table when he cannot digest one in his stomach, and thou desirest many reasons to be brought when one might serve thy turn; thinking it no rainbow that hath not all colours, (a) nor ancient armoury that are not quartered (b) with sundry coats, nor perfect rules that have not a thousand reasons. (c) And of all the reasons would thou wouldest follow but one, not to check thy friend in a bravery<sup>6</sup>; knowing that rebukes ought not to weigh a grain more of salt than sugar, but to be so tempered as like pepper they might be hot in the mouth, but like treacle wholesome at the heart;

<sup>1</sup> *The toad's head*: see note on p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *A mad hare that will be caught with a tabor*: see note on p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *A foolish bird* [etc.]. This is the earliest appearance of this proverb so far recorded.

<sup>4</sup> *A blind goose* [etc.]: see note on p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> *A pretty discourse of one Phialo*: Stephen Gosson's *Ephemerides of Phialo*, London, 1579. See Bond's note. This is a good illustration of Lyly's appeal to the interests of the moment.

(a) *thinking it no rainbow that hath not all colours* So 1581, etc. 1580A *thinking it no Rayne-bowe that hath al coulours*.

(b) *nor ancient armoury that are not quartered* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *that is not quartered*.

(c) *a thousand reasons* So 1580C, etc. 1580A omits *a*.

<sup>6</sup> *In a bravery*: as a feat of bravado, in a defiant and insolent manner, See Nashe's *Works* (M'Kerrow ed.), II. 224, 15.

so shall they at the first make one blush if he were pale and, well considered, better if he were not past grace. If a friend offend he is to be whipped with a good nurse's rod; who when her child will not be still giveth it together both the twig and the teat,<sup>1</sup> and bringeth it a sleep when it is wayward as well with rocking it as rating it. The admonition of a true friend should be like the practice of a wise physician, who wrappeth his sharp pills in fine sugar, or the cunning chirurgeon, who lancing the wound with an iron immediately applieth to it soft lint,<sup>2</sup> or as mothers deal with their children for worms, who put their bitter seeds into sweet raisins. If this order had been observed in thy discourse, that interlacing sour taunts with sugared counsel, bearing as well a gentle rein as using a hard snaffle,<sup>3</sup> thou mightest have done more with the whisk of a wand than now thou canst with the prick of the spur, and avoided that which now thou mayest not, extreme unkindness.

"But thou art like that kind Judge, which Propertius noteth,<sup>4</sup> who condemning his friend caused him for the more ease to be hanged with a silken twist. And thou like a friend cuttest my throat with a razor not with a hatchet, for my more honour. But why should I set down the office of a friend when thou, like our Athenians,<sup>5</sup> knowest what thou shouldest do, but like them never dost it?

"Thou sayest I eat mine own words in praising women. No, Philautus, I was never either so wicked or so witless to recant truths or mistake colours.<sup>6</sup> But this I say, that the ladies in England as far excel all other countries in virtue, as Venus doth all other women in beauty. I flatter not those of whom I hope to reap benefit, neither yet so praise them but that I think them women. There is no sword made of steel but hath iron, no fire

<sup>1</sup> *Both the twig and the teat*: a condensed statement of the substance of a paragraph in Plutarch (*De Educatione*, § 12) paraphrased by Lyly in his *Euphues and his Ephebus*, pp. 131-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Applieth to it soft lint*. Possibly this illustration of the deeds of mercy had a particular contemporaneous interest. The use of salves and bandages on battlefields instead of the cauterizing iron was experimented with by Amboise Paré at the battle of Pavia, and a new era in the treatment of the wounded began.

<sup>3</sup> *A gentle rein . . . a hard snaffle*. Lyly uses figures from horse-management constantly. See note on pp. 251-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Which Propertius noteth*. The incident is not in Propertius, according to Bond.

<sup>5</sup> *Like our Athenians* [etc.]: see note on p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> *Colours*: appearances, looks,



made of wood but hath smoke, no wine made of grapes but hath lees, no woman created of flesh but hath faults. And if I love them, Philautus, they deserve it.

"But it grieveth not thee, Philautus, that they be fair, but that they are chaste; neither dost thou like me the worse for commending their beauty, but thinkest they will not love thee well because so virtuous. Wherein thou followest those who better esteem the sight of the rose than the savour, preferring fair weeds before good herbs, choosing rather to wear a painted flower in their bosoms than to have a wholesome root in their broths; which resembleth the fashion of your maidens in Italy, who buy that for the best cloth that will wear whitest, not that will last longest. There is no more praise to be given to a fair face than to a false glass; for as the one flattereth us with a vain shadow to make us proud in our conceits, so the other feedeth us with an idle hope to make us peevish in our own contemplations.

"Chirurgeons affirm that a white vein being stricken, if at the first there spring out blood it argueth a good constitution (a) of body; and I think if a fair woman, having heard the suit of a lover, if she blush at the first brunt and show her blood in her face, sheweth a well disposed mind. So as virtuous women I confess are for to be chosen by the face, not when they blush for the shame of some sin committed but for fear she should commit any. All women should be (b) as Caesar would have his wife,<sup>1</sup> not only free from sin but from suspicion.

"If such be in the English Court, if I should not praise them<sup>x</sup> thou wouldest say I care not for their virtue, and now I give them their commendation thou swearest I love them for their beauty. So that it is no less labour to please thy mind than a sick man's mouth, who can relish nothing by the taste, not that the fault is in the meat but in his malady; nor thou like of anything in thy head, not that there is any disorder in my sayings, but in thy senses.

"Thou dost last of all object that which silence might well resolve: that I am fallen from prophets to poets, and returned again with the dog to my vomit.<sup>2</sup> Which God knoweth is as far from truth as I know thou art from wisdom.

"What have I done, Philautus, since my going from Naples

(a) *constitution* 1580A has *constituion*; corrected in later editions.

(b) *All women should be* So 1597, etc. 1580A *al women shal be*.

<sup>1</sup> *Caesar . . . his wife* [etc.]. The source is either Plutarch's *Julius Caesar*, 8, or Erasmus' *Apophth.*, *Julius Caesar* (*Works*, iv. 213D).

<sup>2</sup> *Returned to . . . my vomit*: see note on p. 301.

to Athens ? 'Speak no more than the truth, utter no less, flatter me not to make me better than I am, belie me not to make me worse, forge nothing of malice, conceal nothing for love. Did I ever use any unseemly talk to corrupt youth ? Tell me where. Did I ever deceive those that put me in trust ? Tell me whom. Have I committed any fact worthy either of death or defame ? Thou canst not reckon what. Have I abused myself towards my superiors, equals, or inferiors ? I think thou canst not devise when. But as there is no wool so white but the dyer can make black, no apple so sweet but a cunning grafter can change into a crab, so is there no man so void of crime that a spiteful tongue cannot make him to be thought a caitiff.

" Yet commonly it falleth out so well that the cloth weareth the better being dyed, and the apple eateth pleasanter being grafted, and the innocent (*a*) is more esteemed and thriveth sooner being envied for virtue and belied for malice. For as he that struck (*b*) Jason <sup>1</sup> on the stomach, thinking to kill him, brake his impostume with the blow, whereby he cured him ; so oftentimes it fareth with those that deal maliciously, who instead of a sword apply a salve, and thinking to be one's priest they become his physician. But as the traitor that clippeth the coin of his Prince maketh it lighter to be weighed, not worse to be touched, so he that by sinister reports seemeth to pare the credit of his friend may make him lighter among the common sort, who by weight oftentimes are deceived with counterfeits, but nothing impaireth his good name with the wise, who try all gold by the touchstone.

" A stranger <sup>2</sup> coming into the Capitol of Rome, seeing all the gods to be engraven, some in one stone, some in another, at the last he perceived Vulcan to be wrought in ivory, Venus to be carved in jet ; which long time beholding with great delight, at the last he burst out in these words : ' Neither can this white ivory, Vulcan, make thee a white smith, neither this fair woman, Jet, make thee a fair stone.' Whereby he noted that no cunning could alter the nature of the one, nor no nature transform the colour of the other. In like manner say I, Philautus, although

(*a*) *the innocent* 1580A *innocentle* ; 1580B *innocent* ; 1597 *innocence* ; 1609 *innocencie* ; 1636 *innocency*.

(*b*) *struck* Early texts *stroke*.

<sup>1</sup> *He that struck Jason*. Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, iii. 28 (quoted by Bond) tells the story. The Jason meant is the tyrant of Phrae, who was assassinated 370 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> *A stranger . . . seeing . . . Vulcan . . . in ivory* [etc.]. Bond thinks this an invention.

thou have shadowed my guiltless life with a defamed counterfeit, yet shall not thy black Vulcan make either thy accusations of force or my innocency faulty, neither shall the white Venus which thou hast portrayed upon the black jet of thy malice make thy conditions amiable; for Vulcan cannot make ivory black nor Venus change the colour of jet, the one having received such course by nature, the other such force by virtue.<sup>1</sup>

"What cause have I given thee to suspect me, and what occasion hast thou not offered me to detest thee? I was never wise enough to give thee counsel, yet ever willing to wish thee well, my wealth small to do thee good, yet ready to do my best; insomuch as thou couldest never accuse me of any discourtesy, unless it were in being more careful of thee than of myself.

"But as all flowers that are in one nosegay are not of one nature, nor all rings that are worn upon one hand are not of one fashion, so all friends that associate at bed and at board are not one of disposition. Scipio must have a noble mind, Laelius an humble spirit; Titus<sup>2</sup> must lust after Sempronia, Gysippus must leave her; Damon must go take order for his lands, Pythias must tarry behind as a pledge for his life; Philautus must do what he will, Euphues not what he should.

"But it may be that as the sight of divers colours make divers beasts mad,<sup>3</sup> so my presence doth drive thee into this melancholy. And seeing it is so I will absent myself, hire another lodging in London, and for a time give myself to my book; for I have learned this by experience, though I be young, that bavons are known by their bands,<sup>4</sup> lions by their claws, cocks by their combs, envious minds by their manners. Hate thee I will not, and trust thee I may not. Thou knowest what a friend should be, but thou wilt never live to try what a friend is. Farewell Philautus; I will not stay to hear thee reply but leave thee to thy list. Euphues carrieth this posy written in his hand and engraven in his heart, 'A faithful friend is a wilful fool.'<sup>5</sup> And so

<sup>1</sup> *Virtue*: i.e., native quality or character; hence the word is almost synonymous here with *nature*.

<sup>2</sup> *Titus . . . Sempronia . . . Gysippus*: see note on p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Divers colours make divers beasts mad*. Of course, there is the case of the bull and the red rag; but Lyly may be thinking of a passage in Plutarch's *Oratio I., De Alex. Fortuna aut Virtute*, § 8, in which he says that bulls are terrified by red, elephants by white.

<sup>4</sup> *Bavons are known by their bands*. A bavin is a bundle of twigs for burning, "different from a fagot in being bound with only one withe or band" (*NED.*). The word *bavin-band* is quoted in the 18th century.

<sup>5</sup> 'A faithful friend is a wilful fool.' This is evidently based on a sentence

I taking leave till I hear thee better minded, England shall be my abode for a season. Depart when thou wilt. And again farewell."

Euphues in a great rage departed, not suffering Philautus to answer one word. Who stood in a maze after the speech of Euphues; but taking courage by love, went immediately to the place where Camilla was dancing, and there will I leave him in a thousand thoughts hammering in his head. And Euphues seeking a new chamber, which by good friends he quickly got, and (a) there fell to his *Pater noster*, where a while I will not trouble him in his prayers.

Now you shall understand that Philautus, furthered as well by the opportunity of the time as the requests of certain gentlemen his friends, was entreated to make one in a Masque. Which Philautus, perceiving to be at the gentleman's house where Camilla lay, assented as willingly to go as he desired to speed<sup>1</sup>; and all things being in a readiness, they went with speed. Where being welcomed they danced, Philautus taking Camilla by the hand; and as time served, began to board her in this manner:—

"It hath been a custom, fair lady, how commendable I will not dispute, how common you know, that Maskers do therefore cover their faces that they may open their affections, and under the colour of a dance discover their whole desires. The benefit of which privilege I will not use except you grant it, neither can you refuse except you break it. I mean only with questions to try your wit; which shall neither touch your honour to answer, nor my honesty to ask."

Camilla took him up short, as one not to seek how to reply, in this manner: "Gentleman—if you be less, you are too bold, if so, too broad, in claiming a custom where is no prescription. I know not your name because you fear to utter it, neither do I desire it; and you seem to be ashamed of your face else would you not hide it, neither do I long to see it. But as for any custom, I was never so superstitious that either I thought it treason to break them or reason to keep them.

in Erasmus, *Encomium Moriae* (Works, iv. 420A): *haec una stultitia et jungit, junctos et servat amicos* (it is folly alone that unites friends and keeps them united), which is in turn based on an ironical paradox in Horace (*Satires*, i. 3, 53-4). Both Erasmus and Horace explain the paradox by saying that a certain deliberate blindness to faults is a condition of friendship and of its continuance. See De Vocht, pp. 246-7.

(a) and All the early texts have this superfluous word. It is to be regarded, not as an error of writing, but as a syntactical informality.

<sup>1</sup> *Speed*: succeed, prosper (in his suit). *Speed* immediately after means 'rapidity, haste.'

"As for the proving of my wit, I had rather you should account me a fool by silence, than wise by answering. For such questions in these assemblies move suspicion where there is no cause, and therefore are not to be resolved <sup>1</sup> lest there be cause."

Philautus, who ever as yet but played with the bait, was now struck with the hook; and no less delighted to hear her speak than desirous to obtain his suit, trained her by the blood <sup>2</sup> in this sort:—

"If the patience of men were not greater than the perverseness of women I should then fall from a question to a quarrel, for that I perceive you draw the counterfeit <sup>3</sup> of that I would say by the conceit of that you think others have said. But whatsoever the colour be, the picture is as it pleaseth the painter; and whatsoever were pretended, the mind <sup>4</sup> is as the heart doth intend. A cunning archer is not known by his arrow, but by his aim; neither a friendly affection by the tongue, but by the faith. Which if it be so, methinketh common courtesy should allow that which you seek to cut off by courtly coyness, as one either too young to understand or obstinate to overthwart; your years shall excuse the one, and my humour pardon the other.(a)

"And yet, lady, I am not of that faint mind that though I wink with a flash of lightning I dare not open mine eyes again, or having once suffered a repulse I should not dare to make fresh assault. He that striketh sail in a storm, hoiseth them higher in a calm; which maketh me the bolder to utter that which you disdain to hear. But as the dove seemeth angry as though she had a gall,<sup>5</sup> yet yieldeth at the last to delight, so ladies pretend to a great skirmish at the first, yet are boarded willingly at the last. I mean, therefore, to tell you this, which is all—that I love you."

And so wringing her by the hand he ended; she beginning as followeth:—

"Gentleman—I follow my first term, which showeth rather

<sup>1</sup> *Resolved*: answered.

<sup>2</sup> *Trained her by the blood*: another hawking or hunting term. It alludes to the custom of animating birds or hounds for the hunt by giving them a taste of flesh.

<sup>3</sup> *Counterfeit*: i.e., an image in the mind, a conception or idea.

<sup>4</sup> *The mind*: the meaning or purport (of a thing said).

(a) *the other* So 1580B, etc. 1580A omits *the*.

<sup>5</sup> *The dove . . . as though she had a gall*. In the *Bestiary* edited by R. Morris in his *Old Eng. Miscellany* (E.E.T.S.), l. 789, it is said of the dove that she hath no gall. The meaning is that she is all kindness and cares for the young of other birds (see note on the wood-culver, p. 325). Compare Dekker's *Honest Whore*, l. 1 (*Works*, 1873, ii. 20): "Sure he's a pigeon, for he has no gall."

my modesty than your desert, seeing you resemble those which having once wet their feet <sup>1</sup> care not how deep they wade, or those that breaking the ice weigh not how far they slip, thinking it lawful,<sup>2</sup> if one suffer you to tread away no shame to go slipshod. If I should say nothing, then would you vaunt that I am won, for that they that are silent seem to consent; if anything, then would you boast that I would be wooed, for that castles that come to parley <sup>3</sup> (a) and women that delight in courting are willing to yield. So that I must either hear those things which I would not, and seem to be taught by none, or to hold you talk which I should not, and run into the suspicion of others. But certainly if you knew how much your talk displeaseth me, and how little it should profit you, you would think the time as vainly lost in beginning your talk, as I account over long until you end it.

"If you build upon custom that Maskers have liberty to speak what they should not, you shall know that women have reason to make them hear what they would not; and though you can utter by your vizard whatsoever it be without blushing, yet cannot I hear it without shame. But I never looked for a better tale of so ill a face; you say a bad colour may make a good countenance,<sup>4</sup> but he that conferreth your disordered discourse with your deformed attire (b) may rightly say that he never saw so crabbed a visage, nor heard so crooked a vein. An archer, say you, is to be known by his aim not by his arrow; but your aim is so ill that if you knew how far wide from the white your shaft sticketh, you would hereafter rather break your bow than bend it. If I be too young to understand your destinies, it is a sign I cannot like, (c) if too obstinate, it is a token I will not; therefore for you to be displeased it either needeth not or booteth not.

<sup>1</sup> *Having once wet their feet*: see note on p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> *Thinking it lawful* [etc.]. The rest of the sentence is in apposition with *it*.

<sup>3</sup> *Castles that come to parley* [etc.]. Compare Pettie's (transl. of Guazzo's) *Civil Conversation* (1581), iii. 138: "Castles that come to parley, are commonly at the point to render." Ray, p. 21 (Bohn's ed.), has: "Valour that parleys is near yielding."

(a) *parley* 1580A *parlue*; 1582, etc. *parle*. The form *parlye* is recognized by NED. (s.v. *parley*, sb), but not *parlue*.

<sup>4</sup> *A bad colour may make a good countenance*. *Countenance* here means portrait, in allusion to Philautus's remark on p. 317.

(b) *he that conferreth your disordered discourse with your deformed attire*. So 1581, 1597, etc. 1580A and your deformed attyre.

(c) *I cannot like* So 1580A. 1581, etc. *I cannot look*.

" Yet go you farther thinking to make a great virtue of your little valour, seeing that lightning may cause you wink but it shall not strike you blind, that a storm may make you strike sail but never cut the mast, that a hot skirmish may cause you to retire but never to run away. What your cunning is I know not, and likely it is your courage is great ; yet have I heard that he that hath escaped burning with lightning hath been spoiled with thunder, and one that often hath wished drowning hath been hanged <sup>1</sup> once for all, and he that shrinketh from a bullet in the main battle hath been stricken with a bill in the rearward. You fall from one thing to another using no decorum except this, that you study to have your discourse as far void of sense as your face is of favour, to the end that your disfigured countenance (a) might supply the disorder of your ill couched sentences. Among the which you bring in a dove without a gall, as far from the matter you speak of as you are from the mastery you would have ; who although she cannot be angry with you in that she hath no gall, yet can she laugh at you for that she hath a spleen.

" I will end where you began, hoping you will begin where I end. You let fall your question <sup>2</sup> which I looked for, and picked a quarrel <sup>3</sup> which I thought not of, and that is love ; but let her that is disposed to answer your quarrel, be curious to demand your question. And this, (b) gentleman, I desire you, all questions and other quarrels set apart : you think me as a friend so far forth as I can grant with modesty or you require with good manners ; and as a friend I wish you that you blow no more this fire of love, which will waste you before it warm me, and make a coal (c) in you before it can kindle <sup>4</sup> in me. If you think other-

<sup>1</sup> *One that hath . . . drowning . . . hanged* [etc.]: suggested by the proverb : " He that's born to be hanged shall never be drowned." Düringsfeld (i., no. 537) gives it in many languages. Camden (*Remains*, ed. 1872, p. 324) and Ray (Bohn's ed., pp. 73 and 239) have it in English.

(a) *your disfigured countenance* 1580A-1581 have *disfugured* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Let fall your question* : i.e., did not ask the questions which you proposed to ask (see p. 316) in order to test my wit, but instead went on to raise objections and make complaints.

<sup>3</sup> *Quarrel* : a ground of complaint, a grievance, an objection raised.

(b) *And this* So 1580A. 1580B, etc. *And thus*.

(c) *coal* 1580A *cold* ; 1580B *codle* ; 1580C-1606 *coale* ; 1609, etc. *cole*.

<sup>4</sup> *Make a coal . . . before it can kindle* [etc.]. See note on p. 230. But Lyly characteristically gives a peculiar turn to the proverb, using *coal* here in the sense of a burnt-out cinder (if the reading adopted is correct).

wise, I may as well use a shift to drive you off as you did a show to draw me on. I have answered your custom, lest you should argue me of coyness, no otherwise than I might, mine honour saved and your name unknown."

By this time entered another Mask, but almost after the same manner, and only for Camilla's love. Which Philautus quickly espied, and seeing his Camilla to be courted with so gallant a youth, departed; yet within a corner, to the end he might decipher the gentleman; whom he found to be one of the bravest youths in all England, called Surius. Then wounded with grief he swooned with weakness; and going to his chamber began afresh to recount his miseries, in this sort:—

"Ah miserable and accursed Philautus, the very monster of nature and spectacle of shame! If thou live thou shalt be despised, if thou die not missed, if woo pointed at, if win loathed, if lose laughed at; bred either to live in love and be forsaken, or die with love and be forgotten.

"Ah Camilla, would either I had been born without eyes, not to see thy beauty, or without ears, not to hear thy wit; the one hath inflamed me with the desire of Venus, the other with the gifts of Pallas, both with the fire of love—love, yea love, Philautus, than the which nothing can happen unto man more miserable.

"I perceive now that the Chariot of the Sun is for Phoebus not for Phaeton, that Bucephalus<sup>1</sup> will stoop to none but Alexander, that none can sound Mercurius' pipe but Orpheus, that none shall win Camilla's liking but Surius; a gentleman I confess of greater birth than I, and yet I dare say not of better faith. It is he, Philautus, that will fleet all the fat from thy beard,<sup>2</sup> inso-much as she will disdain to look upon thee if she but once think upon him. It is he, Philautus, that hath wit to try her, wealth

<sup>1</sup> *Bucephalus*. Lyly may have learned the fact concerning him from Erasmus, *Similia* (*Works*, i. 601B), Pliny, viii. 64, or Plutarch. *De Sollertia Anim.*, § 14. The other stories alluded to in this passage are Ovidian.

<sup>2</sup> *Fleet all the fat from thy beard*. Bond's change of *beard* to *bread* (without textual authority) is shown to be erroneous by Heywood, p. 9: "... For fear mine eye be bleared, And thereby the fat clean flit from my beard." Both Bond and *NED*. take *fleet* as the verb, chiefly transitive in use, meaning 'to skim (something, as cream) floating on a surface,' not the verb, chiefly intransitive in use, meaning 'to glide, vanish, or pass away.' But probably Lyly takes over the proverbial saying without regard to the fact that in the form in which he uses it he is making the verb transitive. 'To let the fat flit from one's beard' probably means to let a good morsel drop while one is eating, or to slip away from one's lips in drinking, hence, to miss an opportunity.



to allure her, personage to entice her, and all things that either nature or fortune can give to win her. For as the Phrygian harmony<sup>1</sup> being moved to the Celaenes maketh a great noise, but being moved to Apollo it is still and quiet; so the love of Camilla desired of me moveth I know not how many discords, but proved of Surius it is calm and consenteth.

"It is not the sweet flower that ladies desire but the fair; which maketh them wear that in their heads wrought forth with the needle, not brought forth by nature. And in the like manner they account of that love which art can colour, not that the heart doth confess; wherein they imitate the maidens (as Euphues often hath told me) of Athens, who took more delight to see a fresh and fine colour than to taste a sweet and wholesome syrup.

"Aye, but how knowest thou that Surius's faith is not as great as thine, when thou art assured thy virtue is no less than his? He is wise, and that thou seest; valiant, and that thou fearest; rich, and that thou lackest; fit to please her, and displace thee; and without spite be it said, worthy to do the one, and willing to attempt the other.

"Ah Camilla, Camilla, I know not whether I should more commend thy beauty or thy wit, neither can I tell whether thy looks have wounded me more or thy words; for they both have wrought such an alteration in my spirits that seeing thee silent thy comeliness maketh me in a maze, and hearing thee speaking thy wisdom maketh me stark mad.

"Aye, but things above thy height<sup>2</sup> are to be looked at, not reached at. Aye, but if now I should end, I had been better never to have begun. Aye, but time must wear away love; aye, but time may win it. Hard stones are pierced with soft drops,<sup>3</sup> great oaks hewn down with many blows, the stoniest heart mollified by continual persuasions or true perseverance.

<sup>1</sup> *As the Phrygian harmony . . . Celaenes . . . Apollo* [etc.]. In an interesting note Bond shows that Lyly is closely following, while he misinterprets, a passage in Abraham Fleming's transl. (1576 ed., f. 152) of Aelian, xiii. 21. Fleming's transl. itself perhaps shows a failure to comprehend the original, in which it is said that Marsyas' skin, hung up by Apollo in a cave at Celaenae (ἡ Κελαϊναίς) moves in rhythm with the sounds of Phrygian music, but not when the music appropriate to Apollo is sounded.

<sup>2</sup> *Things above thy height* [etc.]: a different form of the adage *supra nos nihil ad nos*, quoted twice by Lyly (p. 26 and p. 239). See note on p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Hard stones are pierced with soft drops*: see note on p. 66. Among the many forms of this saying in classical literature, the most apposite to the present passage is Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 476: *Dura tamen molli saxa cavantur aqua*. See Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, pp. 156-7.

"If deserts can nothing prevail I will practise deceits, and what faith cannot do conjuring shall. What sayest thou, Philautus? Canst thou imagine so great mischief against her thou lovest? Knowest thou not that fish caught with medicines<sup>1</sup> and women gotten with witchcraft are never wholesome? No, no, the fox's wiles shall never enter into the lion's head,<sup>(a)</sup> nor Medea's charms into Philautus's heart. Aye, but I have heard that extremities are to be used where the mean will not serve, and that as in love there is no measure of grief so there should be no end of guile; of two mischiefs the least is to be chosen, and therefore I think it better to poison her with the sweet bait of love, than to spoil myself with the bitter sting of death. If she be obstinate, why should I not be desperate? If she be void of pity, why should I not be void of piety? In the ruling of empires<sup>2</sup> there is required as great policy as prowess; in governing an estate close cruelty doth more good than open clemency; for the obtaining of a kingdom as well mischief as mercy is to be practised.<sup>(b)</sup> And then in the winning of my love, the very image of beauty, courtesy, and wit, shall I leave anything unsought, unattempted, undone? He that desireth riches must stretch the string that will not reach, and practise all kinds of getting. He that coveteth honour and cannot climb by the ladder must use all colours of lustiness. He that thirsteth for wine must not care how he get it, but where he may get it. Nor he that is in love be curious what means he ought to use, but ready to attempt any; for slender affection do I think that which either the fear of law or care of religion may diminish.

"Fie, Philautus, thine own words condemn thee of wickedness. Tush, the passions I sustain are neither to be quieted with counsel

<sup>1</sup> *Fish caught with medicines* [etc.]. This same simile with the same application appears in *Endymion*, i. 2, 75, and in the *Entertainment at Cowdray* (*Works*, i. 427, 20), attributed to Lyly by Bond. The source of all is either Erasmus, *Similia* (*Works*, i. 574A), or the passage in Plutarch's *Conjugalia Praecepta*, § 5, which he is there translating. See these passages, De Vocht, p. 164. The word rendered medicines by Lyly is *venenis*, witchcraft *philtis*.

<sup>(a)</sup> *the fox's wiles shall never enter into the lion's head* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *will*.

<sup>2</sup> *In the ruling of empires* [etc.]: a markedly Machiavellian passage. Compare, for instance, in *The Prince*, Machiavelli's distinctions between the ways of acquiring and of maintaining power, his titles, *Of cruelty and clemency*, etc., and (with reference to Lyly's second clause) his chap. xvii.: "Era tenuto Cesare. Borgia crudele; nondimanco quella sua crudelit  aveva raccencia la Romagna," etc. There were Latin translations of *The Prince* from 1560 on, and French ones from 1553 on; and it is probable that the currency of its maxims had given point to audacities such as Philautus here indulges in.

<sup>(b)</sup> *practised* 1580A *practisee*; corrected in later editions.

nor eased by reason. Therefore I am fully resolved either by art to win her love or by despair to lose mine own life.

"I have heard here in London of an Italian cunning in mathematic named Psellus,<sup>1</sup> of whom in Italy <sup>2</sup> I have heard in such cases can do much by magic, and will do all things for money. Him will I assay as well with gold as other good turns, and I think there is nothing that can be wrought but shall be wrought for gilt,<sup>3</sup> or good will, or both."

And in this rage, as one forgetting where he was, and whom he loved, he went immediately to seek physic for that which only was to be found by fortune.

Here, gentlemen,<sup>4</sup> you may see into what open sins the heat of love driveth man, especially where one loving is in despair, either of his own imperfection or his lady's virtues, to be beloved again ; which causeth man to attempt those things that are contrary to his own mind, to religion, to honesty. What greater villainy can there be devised than to inquire of sorcerers, soothsayers, conjurers, or learned clerks for the enjoying of love ? But I will not refel <sup>5</sup> that here which shall be confuted hereafter.

Philautus hath soon found this gentleman, who conducting him into his study and demanding of him the cause of his coming, Philautus beginneth in this manner, as one past shame, to unfold his suit :—

"Master Psellus and Countryman, I neither doubt of your cunning to satisfy my request, nor of your wisdom to conceal it ; for were either of them wanting in you, it might turn me to trouble and yourself to shame. I have heard of your learning to be great in magic, and somewhat in physic, your experience in both to be exquisite ; which caused me to seek to you for a remedy of a certain grief, which by your means may be eased, or else no ways cured. And to the end such cures may be wrought, God hath stirred up in all times clerks of great virtue, and in these days men of no small credit. Among the which I have heard no one more commended than you, which although haply your modesty will deny (for that the greatest clerks do commonly

<sup>1</sup> *Psellus*. There was a writer on magic by this name, who is quoted by Cornelius Agrippa (*De Occulta Philosophia*, i. 15 and 39, etc.), and sometimes called 'Psellus Platonicus.'

<sup>2</sup> *Of whom in Italy* [etc.]. Anacoluthon similar to that illustrated above at several places. Here, as ordinarily, it arises from the unsettled syntax of the pronouns.

<sup>3</sup> *Gilt* : see note on p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> *Here, gentlemen* [etc.] : the author addressing his audience.

<sup>5</sup> *Refel* : refute.

dissemble their knowledge), or your preciseness not grant it (for that cunning men are often dangerous <sup>1</sup> (a)), yet the world doth well know it, divers have tried it, and I must needs believe it."

Psellus, not suffering him to range yet desirous to know his errand, answered him thus: "Gentleman, and Countryman as you say (and I believe; but of that hereafter), if you have so great confidence in my cunning as you protest, it may be your strong imagination shall work that in you which my art cannot; for it is a principle among us that a vehement thought is more available than the virtue of our figures, forms, or characters.<sup>2</sup> As for keeping your counsel, in things honest it is no matter, and in causes unlawful I will not meddle. And yet if it threaten no man harm and may do you good, you shall find my secrecy to be great, though my science be small; and therefore say on."

"There is not far hence a gentlewoman, whom I have long time loved, of honest parents, great virtue, and singular beauty; such a one as neither by art I can describe, nor by service deserve. And yet because I have heard many say that where cunning must work the whole body must be coloured,<sup>3</sup> this is her shape.

"She is a virgin of the age of eighteen years; of stature neither too high nor too low, and such was Juno; her hair black yet comely, and such had Leda; her eyes hazel yet bright, and such were the lights of Venus. And although my skill in physiognomy be small, yet in my judgement she was born under Venus; her forehead, nose, lips, and chin foreshowing (as by such rules we guess) both a desire to live and a good success in love. In complexion of pure sanguine, in condition a right saint, seldom given to play, often to prayer; the first letter of whose name <sup>4</sup> (for that also is necessary) is Camilla.

<sup>1</sup> *Dangerous*: hard to please or deal with, rigorous.

(a) *are often dangerous* So 1580A. 1580B, etc. *are often more dangerous*.

<sup>2</sup> *Characters*: used here in the sense of cabalistic or magical symbols, especially those representing the planets.

<sup>3</sup> *Coloured*. The word *cunning* in the preceding clause means 'magic art,' and *colour* here seems to mean 'describe, portray, set forth in its colours or natural hues,' though *NED.* does not give exactly this sense of the verb. Instead, it attaches (though not with assurance) this quotation to a sense otherwise unknown before the 19th century, 'to imbue with its own tone or colour.'

<sup>4</sup> *The first letter of whose name . . . is Camilla*. On the power of the name of a person in working magic see Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occ. Phil.* i. ch. 70 and 74. In Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, Lechery, one of the sins raised to Faustus' view, says: "The first letter of my name begins with Lechery." This doubles the absurdity of Lyly's statement. Can it be meant for a parody of it? Modern editors have changed the reading in Marlowe, without authority.

" This lady I have served long and often sued unto, insomuch that I have melted like wax against the fire, and yet lived in the flame with the fly *Pyrausta*.<sup>1</sup> O Psellus, the torments sustained by her presence, the griefs endured by her absence, the pining thoughts in the day, the pinching dreams in the night, the dying life, the living death, the jealousy at all times, and the despair at this instant can neither be uttered of me without floods of tears nor heard of thee without grief. No, Psellus, not the tortures of hell are either to be compared or spoken of in the respect of my torments ; for what they all had severally, all that and more do I feel jointly. Insomuch that with Sisyphus <sup>2</sup> I roll the stone even to the top of the hill, when it tumbleth both itself and me into the bottom of hell ; yet never ceasing I attempt(a) to renew my labour, which was begun in death, and cannot end in life. What drier thirst could Tantalus endure than I, who have almost every hour the drink I dare not taste and the meat I cannot ? Insomuch that I am torn upon the wheel with Ixion, my liver gnawn of the vultures and harpies ; yea my soul troubled even with the unspeakable pains of Megaera, Tisiphone, Alecto. Which secret sorrows although it were more meet to enclose them in a labyrinth than to set them on a hill, yet where the mind is past hope the face is past shame.

" It fareth with me, Psellus, as with the ostrich,<sup>3</sup> who pricketh none but herself, which causeth her to run when she would rest ; or as it doth with the pelican,<sup>4</sup> who striketh blood out of her own body to do others good ; or with the wood-culver,<sup>5</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> *The fly Pyrausta*. Compare Pliny, xi. 42, "This creature is called the pyralis, and by some the pyrausta. So long as it remains in the fire it lives, but when it comes out and flies a little away off, it instantly dies." The name *Pyralis* was of use to Lyly on p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> *Sisyphus . . . Alecto*. The sources of these allusions are probably Ovid, *Met.* iv., and *Aeneid*, vi.

(a) *attempt* 1580A *attempe* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *The ostrich*. The allusion here is to the goads or spurs which the ostrich was supposed to have under its wings. Albertus Magnus (*Works*, xii. p. 502, col. 2) says that it uses them to strike those that attack it. But Gesner's *Historia Animalium* (ed. 1585, iii. 742) explains Lyly's statement : " At the ends of its wings, as I hear, certain bony points project, with which as spurs it urges itself while running, by striking them into its hips where there are no feathers, or into other parts of its body (quoted in Latin by M'Kerrow, *Nashe's Works*, iv. p. 281). Nashe, *Unfortunate Traveler* (*Works*, II. 272, 18 ff.) speaks of these spurs.

<sup>4</sup> *The pelican* : see note on p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> *The wood-culver* [etc.]. Many authorities relate that the wood-dove sheds its feathers in winter and dwells in the trunks of hollow trees (see Isidore,

plucketh off her feathers in winter to keep others from cold ; or as with the stork,<sup>1</sup> who when she is least able carrieth the greatest burden. So I practise all things that may hurt me to do her good that never regardeth my pains, so far is she from rewarding them.

" For as it is impossible for the best adamant to draw iron <sup>2</sup> unto it if the diamond be near it, so is it not to be looked for that I, with all my service, suit, deserts, and what else soever that may draw a woman, should win Camilla as long as Surius, a precious stone in her eyes and an eyesore in mine, be present ; who loveth her I know too well and she him I fear me better. Which love will breed between us such a deadly hatred that being dead our blood cannot be mingled together like Florus and Aegithus,<sup>3</sup> and being burnt the flames shall part like Polynices and Eteocles <sup>4</sup> ;

xii. 7, 60 ; Albertus Magnus, *Works*, xii. p. 503 ; and Gesner, *Thierbuch*, Zurich, 1563, p. ccl, v.). But Lyly's source, as in the next simile, is Alciati's *Emblems*, no. 44 (*Amor filiorum*), where the Latin verse tells that the dove makes its nest and lays its eggs in winter, and in order to keep its young ones warm plucks out its own feathers and dies of the cold.

<sup>1</sup> *The stork.* Both Bond and De Vocht suggest that this is a mistake of Lyly's, and that he is thinking of a custom of the *cranes*, which he has already mentioned in another place. But he is alluding here to the fact that young storks were supposed to carry their parents when the latter have become old and feeble. This is mentioned by Conrad Gesner, *Thierbuch*, ed. Zurich, 1563, p. ccxxxii ; but Lyly's direct source is Alciati's *Emblems*, no. 5, where it is told that the young stork, in gratitude for its careful upbringing, *fessa parentum corpora fert humeris, praestat et ore cibos*. Lyly probably read *fessa* as agreeing with the subject of the sentence, which explains his "when she is least able" ; but it more likely agrees with *corpora*.

<sup>2</sup> *The adamant to draw iron* [etc.] : see note on p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> *Like Florus and Aegithus.* This comparison has been explained by De Vocht. It is from the *Adagia* of Erasmus. In treating the adage *Scarabaeus aquilam quaerit*, Erasmus runs into a very long diatribe against tyrants and discussion of political theory, and in the course of it remarks (*Works*, ii. 872c) : " I even think it would happen that if the bones of tyrants should be laid with those of common men, their blood would no more mingle than that of Florus and Aegithus." De Vocht explains again that the source for Erasmus is either Aristotle, *Anim. Hist.* ix. 1, or Pliny, x. 95 (*On the Antipathies of Animals*) ; the name there given to the *florus* (a small bird) by Pliny being *anthus*. This is the Greek name, however, and Hermolaus Barbarus, in his notes on Pliny, remarks that *florus* is another name for it. Erasmus may have seen this note.

<sup>4</sup> *Polynices and Eteocles* : Theban brothers (sons of Oedipus) who fought bitterly against and killed each other. When their bodies were burned the flames and smoke would not mingle, but went in different directions from the two corpses. Bond gives as reference Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 68. (See also Quintilian, v. 10, 31.)

such a mortal enmity is kindled that nothing can quench it but death—and yet death shall not end it. (a)

"What counsel can you give me in this case? What comfort? What hope?"

"When Acontius could not persuade Cydippe<sup>1</sup> to love, he practised fraud. When Tarquinius could not win Lucretia by prayer, he used force. When the gods could not obtain their desires by suit, they turned themselves into new shapes, leaving nothing undone for fear they should be undone.

"The disease of love, Psellus, is impatient, the desire extreme; whose assaults neither the wise can resist by policy, nor the valiant by strength. Julius Caesar, a noble conqueror in war, a grave counsellor in peace, after he had subdued France, Germany, Britain, Spain, Italy, Thessaly, Egypt, yea entered with no less puissance than good fortune into Armenia, into Pontus, into Africa, yielded in his chiefest victories to love, Psellus, as a thing fit for Caesar, who conquered all things saving himself; and a deeper wound did the small arrow of Cupid make than all the spears of his enemies. Hannibal,<sup>2</sup> not less valiant in arms nor more fortunate in love, having spoiled Ticinum, Trebia, Trasimenus, and Cannae, submitted himself in Apulia to the love of a woman, whose hate was a terror to all men, and became so bewitched that neither the fear of death nor the desire of glory could remove him from the lap of his lover. I omit Hercules,<sup>3</sup> who was constrained to use a distaff for the desire of his love;

(a) *death shall not end it* 1580A omits it; added by later editions.

<sup>1</sup> *Acontius*. . . *Cydippe*. Ovid, *Heroides* xx. 21, relates that the Cean youth threw an apple into a temple of Diana where Cydippe was sitting, inscribed with the words: "I swear by the temple of Diana that I will marry Acontius." Cydippe read the legend aloud, and the goddess Diana compelled her to keep the vow she had thus unwittingly made.

<sup>2</sup> *Hannibal*. Lyly may be indebted, for this story, to a passage in North's *Diall of Princes* (Certain Letters, ch. x.) mentioned by Bond, in which Guevara spoke of Hannibal as seduced by a certain Tamira. Nothing is known in history, according to Bond, of this woman; but Lyly almost certainly has another authority for his statement. This may be Book iv. ch. xvii. of the *Diall*, where it is said that Hannibal was overcome by 'a woman of Capua,' or Valerius Maximus, Book ix. ch. i. (*externa* 1), where the incident is told with rhetorical flourishes, ending: *Ac tum demum fracta et contusa Punica feritas est, cum Seplasia ei et Albana castra esse coeperunt*.

<sup>3</sup> *Hercules*. During the three years that he acted as servant to Omphale, Queen of Lydia, he is reported to have taken to female pursuits, such as spinning. In Ovid's *Heroides*, ix., Deianira writes to him reproachfully, *Crassaque robusto deducis pollice fila*, etc.

Leander, who ventured to cross the seas for Hero; Iphis<sup>1</sup> (a) that hanged himself, Pyramus that killed himself, and infinite more which could not resist the hot skirmishes of affection. And so far hath this humour crept into the mind that Biblis<sup>2</sup> loved her brother, Myrrha her father, Canace her nephew. Insomuch as there is no reason to be given for so strange a grief, nor no remedy so unlawful but is to be sought for so monstrous a disease. My disease is strange, I myself a stranger, and my suit no less strange than my name; yet lest I be tedious in a thing that requireth haste, give ear to my tale.

"I have heard oftentimes that in love there are three things for to be used: if time serve, violence, if wealth be great, gold, if necessity compel, sorcery. But of these three but one can stand me in stead—the last, but not the least<sup>3</sup>; which is able to work the minds of all women like wax, when the other can scarce wind them like withe. Medicines there are that can bring it to pass, and men there are that have, some by potions, some by verses, some by dreams, all by deceit; the ensamples were tedious to recite, and you know them; the means I come to learn, and you can give them; which is the only cause of my coming, and may be the occasion of my pleasure, and certainly the way both for your praise and profit. Whether it be an enchanted leaf,<sup>4</sup> a verse of Pythia,<sup>5</sup> a figure of Amphion,<sup>6</sup> a character of Osthane,<sup>7</sup> (a)

<sup>1</sup> *Iphis*. Ovid (*Metam.* xiv. 698 ff.) tells how he hanged himself at the door of Anaxarete, a maiden of Cyprus who scorned his love.

(a) *Iphis* 1580a *Hyphus*; changed in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Biblis* . . . *Myrrha* . . . *Canace*: these instances of unnatural love are the same mentioned on p. 73 except that Canace takes the place of Phaedra. Canace was guilty of incest with her brother (they were children of Aeolus) and was killed by her father (or herself). Her story is told by Ovid, *Heroides*, xi. Lyly's change of 'brother' to 'nephew' is extraordinary. The word *nephew* was more loosely used formerly than now, but never in such a way as to explain this passage.

<sup>3</sup> *The last, but not the least*. The phrase seems to have become current about Lyly's time. *NED.* quotes it from Sidney, Nashe, Spenser, Shakespeare, but Lyly's use of it here is earlier than any of these. Perhaps the "Euphuizing" habit of the age gave us the phrase.

<sup>4</sup> *An enchanted leaf*: doubtless in allusion to the leaves of the Cumaean Sibyl, described by Vergil, *Aeneid*, iii. 444 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *A verse of Pythia*: i.e., an oracle of Pythia, or the Pythoness, the priestess of Apollo at Delphi.

<sup>6</sup> *Figure of Amphion*. By the magical power of his lyre he moved stones and built the walls of Thebes. See the Fables of Hyginus, 6 and 7. On the use of the words *figure* and *character* in this passage see note on p. 324.

<sup>7</sup> *A character of Osthane*. Pliny, xxx. 2, tells of two magicians of this name, one a follower of Xerxes, who is supposed to have introduced magic into Greece, the other a follower of Alexander, who travelled into all parts



an image of Venus,<sup>1</sup> or a branch of Sibylla,<sup>2</sup> it skilleth not. Let it be either the seeds of Medea,<sup>3</sup> or the blood of Phyllis,<sup>4</sup> let it come by oracle of Apollo or by prophecy of Tiresias,<sup>5</sup> either by the entrails of a goat or what else soever I care not, or by all these in one, to make sure incantation and spare not.

"If I win my love you shall not lose your labour; and whether it redound or no to my greater peril, I will not yet forget your pains.

"Let this potion be of such force that she may dote in her desire and I delight in her distress.

"And if in this case you either reveal my suit or deny it, you shall soon perceive that Philautus will die as desperately in one minute as he hath lived this three months carefully, and this your study shall be my grave, if by your study you ease not my grief."

When he had thus ended he looked so sternly upon Psellus, that he wished him farther off; yet taking him by the hand and walking into his chamber, this good man began thus to answer him:—

"Gentleman, if the inward spirit be answerable to the outward speech or the thoughts of your heart agreeable to the words of your mouth, you shall breed to yourself great discredit and to me no small disquiet. Do you think, gentleman, that the mind being created of God can be ruled by man or that anyone can move the heart but He that made the heart? But such hath been the superstition of old women and such the folly of young men, that there could be nothing so vain but the one would invent nor anything so senseless but the other would believe; which then brought youth into a Fools' Paradise,<sup>6</sup> and hath now cast age into an open mockage.

"What the force of love is I have known, what the effects have been I have heard, yet could I never learn that ever love could be won by the virtues of herbs, stones, or words. And though many there have been so wicked to seek such means, yet was there never any so unhappy to find them.

of the world. Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philos.* i. ch. ii., mentions Osthanes at the end of a lot of ancient writers on magic, and says that his books have been recovered *e sepulcro* and annotated by Abderites Democritus.

(a) *Osthanes* Early editions have *Oschanes*.

<sup>1</sup> *An image of Venus*: compare Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, ii. ch. xlii., *De Imaginibus Veneris*.

<sup>2</sup> *A branch of Sibylla*: another allusion to the Cumæan Sibyl of Vergil.

<sup>3</sup> *The seeds of Medea*: see note on p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> *The blood of Phyllis*. See Ovid, *Heroides*, ii., and *Ars Am.* 55-64.

<sup>5</sup> *Prophecy of Tiresias*: the blind seer of early Greece. His story is told by Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 323-340.

<sup>6</sup> *Fools' Paradise*. The phrase is quoted from 1300 onward. Compare *Rom. and Jul.* 11. 4.

"Parrhasius painting Hopplitides <sup>1</sup> could neither make him that ran to sweat nor the other that put off his armour to breathe; adding this, as it were for a note, *No further than colours* <sup>2</sup>—meaning that to give life was not in his pencil but in the gods. And the like may be said of us that give our minds to know the course of the stars, the planets, the whole globe of heaven, the simples, the compounds, the bowels of the earth, that something we may guess by the outward shape, something by the nativity; but to wrest the will of man or to wreath <sup>3</sup> his power to our humours, it is not in the compass of art but in the power of the Most Highest.

"But for because there have been many without doubt that have given credit to the vain illusions of witches or the fond inventions of idle persons, I will set down such reasons as I have heard and you will laugh at; so I hope I shall both satisfy your mind and make you a little merry, for methinketh there is nothing that can more delight than to hear the things which have no weight to be thought to have wrought wonders.

"If you take pepper, <sup>4</sup> the seed of a nettle, and a pretty quantity of Pyretum, <sup>5</sup> beaten or pounded together and put into wine of two years old, whensoever you drink to Camilla, if she love you not you lose your labour. The cost is small, <sup>6</sup> but if your belief be constant you win the goal; for this receipt standeth in a strong conceit.

"Eggs and honey blended with the nuts of a pine-tree, and laid to your left side, is of as great force when you look upon Camilla to bewitch the mind as the quintessence of stock-fish is to nourish the body.

"An herb there is called Anacamsoritis, <sup>7</sup> a strange name and doubtless of a strange nature; for whosoever toucheth it

<sup>1</sup> *Parrhasius painting Hopplitides*: see note on p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Colours*: shadows, appearances.

<sup>3</sup> *Wreath* in the figurative sense, as here, is rare, and does not appear in the dictionaries.

<sup>4</sup> *If you take pepper* [etc.]. Such recipes as Lyly burlesques in these paragraphs may be seen in Cornelius Agrippa, i. ch. xlv., and still more amazing ones in Thomas Lupton's *A Thousand Notable Things* (1579), which Lyly seems to have used at several places in the latter part of his work.

<sup>5</sup> *Pyretum*. Bond changes to Pyrethrum, assuming that the herb meant is that mentioned by Pliny, xxviii. 42. But the assumption is gratuitous, for Pliny is not speaking of magic.

<sup>6</sup> *The cost is small* [etc.]. We need not look for an exact sense in these burlesque directions. They illustrate Lyly's brilliant use of comic phrases, which was so useful to him in drama.

<sup>7</sup> *Anacamsoritis*: doubtless the *anacampseros*, of which Pliny says (xxiv. 102, end) that the mere touch recalls vanished love. The form of the word in Amyot's *Plutarch*, ed. Paris, 1618, ii. 623, H, is *anacampserotes*.

falleth in love with the person she next seeth. It groweth not in England ; but here you shall have that which is not half so good that will do as much good, and yet truly no more.

" The herb Carisium,<sup>1</sup> moistened with the blood of a lizard and hanged about your neck, will cause Camilla (for her you love best) to dream of your services, suits, desires, deserts, and whatsoever you would wish her to think of you ; but being wakened she shall not remember what she dreamed of. And this herb is to be found in a lake near Boeotia, of which water whoso drinketh shall be caught in love, but never find the herb ; and if he drink not, the herb is of no force.

" There is in the frog's side a bone called Apocynon,<sup>2</sup> and in the head of a young colt a bunch named Hippomanes,<sup>3</sup> both so effectual for the obtaining of love that whoso getteth either of them shall win any that are willing ; but so injuriously hath(a) both craft and nature dealt with young gentlemen that seek to gain good will by these means, that the one is licked off before it can be gotten, the other breaketh as soon as it is touched. And yet unless Hippomanes be licked it cannot work, and except Apocynon be sound it is nothing worth.

" I omit the thistle Eryngium,<sup>4</sup> the herbs Catanance and Pyteuma, Juba his Charitoblepharon,<sup>5</sup> and Orpheus's Staphylinus,<sup>6</sup> all of such virtue in cases of love that if Camilla should but taste any one of them in her mouth she would never let it go down her throat, lest she should be poisoned ; for well you

<sup>1</sup> *The herb Carisium.* Aristotle (*De Mirabil.*, § 163) mentions *Καρίσια Βορῶν* as a love-philtre.

<sup>2</sup> *A bone called Apocynon.* Cornelius Agrippa (*Works*, i. 42), citing Pliny, says that this bone is in the left side of the frog and keeps off the attacks of dogs, and excites love.

<sup>3</sup> *A bunch named Hippomanes.* Cornelius Agrippa (i. 42) says that when pulverized and mixed with a quantity of the lover's blood it excites a passion of love. See also Pliny, viii. 66.

(a) *but so injuriously hath* So 1597, etc. 1580A *but so iniuriouslye*. 1630, 1636 drop so but retain *hath*.

<sup>4</sup> *Eryngium . . . Catanance and Pyteuma.* For the first Bond refers to Pliny, xxi. 56 and xxii. 9 ; for the second to Pliny, xxvii. 35. For the last he substitutes, without the authority of any version, *Pityusa*, which he finds in Pliny, xxiv. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Juba his Charitoblepharon.* Pliny says (xiii. 52) that Juba, the Mauretanian King, reports that *charitoblepharon* (a marine plant) is efficacious in love-affairs.

<sup>6</sup> *Orpheus's Staphylinus.* Pliny (xx. 15) describes the staphylinus, or wild parsnip, and attributes to Orpheus the statement that it acts as a philtre, "most probably because when eaten it is an aphrodisiac."

know, gentleman, that love is a poison, and therefore by poison it must be maintained.

"But I will not forget, as it were the mithridate <sup>1</sup> of the magicians, the beast hyena <sup>2</sup>; of whom there is no part so small or so vile but it serveth for their purpose. Insomuch that they account hyena their God that can do all, and their devil that will do all. If you take seven hairs of hyena's lips and carry them six days in your teeth, or a piece of her skin next your bare heart, or her belly girded to your left side, (a) if Camilla suffer you not to obtain your purpose, certainly she cannot choose but thank you for your pains.

"And if you want medicines to win women <sup>3</sup> I have yet more, the lungs of a vulture, the ashes of stellio, the left stone of a cock, the tongue of a goose, the brain of a cat, the last hair of a wolf's tail; things easy to be had and commonly practised, so that I would not have thee stand in doubt of thy love, when either a young swallow famished, or the shrouding sheet of a dear friend, or a waxen taper that burnt at his feet, or the enchanted needle that Medea hid in Jason's sleeve are able not only to make them desire love but also die for love.

"How do you now feel yourself, Philautus? If the least of these charms be not sufficient for thee, all exorcisms and conjurations in the world will not serve thee. \*

"You see, gentleman, into what blind and gross errors in old time we were led, thinking every old wives' tale <sup>4</sup> to be a truth

<sup>1</sup> *Mithridate*: properly, 'an antidote or preservative against poison' (NED.); here used in the sense of a universal electuary or drug.

<sup>2</sup> *The beast hyena*. The title of Pliny's 27th chapter in Book xxviii. is 'Seventy-nine Remedies derived from the Hyena,' and he mentions among a great number of reasons for its being "held in admiration by magicians" that a pregnant woman will never miscarry if she carries about her neck white flesh from a hyena's breast, seven hairs and the genitals of a stag, all tied up in the skin of a gazelle; and again that the bristles of the snout applied to a woman's lips have the effect of a philtre.

(a) *girded to your left side* 1580A & B have *girded to his left side*; changed in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Medicines to win women*. In this catalogue Lyly has chiefly followed Pliny, xxx. ch. xlix., on aphrodisiacs and antaphrodisiacs, where "the right lobe of a vulture's lungs," "the *right* testis of a cock," "hairs taken from the tail of a she-mule," "the ashes of the stellio (or spotted lizard)," and "a goose's tongue" are all mentioned. He may have derived "the brain of a cat" from Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occult. Philos.* i. 44. And Bond quotes (Lyly, ii. 480) a passage from Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* concerning love-charms in which *i peli della estrema coda del lupo* are recommended.

<sup>4</sup> *Old wives' tale*. Tyndale's transl. of the New Testament had "old

and every merry word a very witchcraft. When the Egyptians fell from their God to their priests of Memphis,<sup>1</sup> and the Grecians from their moral questions to their disputations of Pyrrhus,<sup>2</sup> and the Romans from religion to policy, then began all superstition to breed and all impiety to bloom; and to be so great they have both grown that the one being then an infant is now an elephant, and the other being then a twig is now a tree. They invented as many enchantments for love as they did for the toothache; but he that hath tried both will say that the best charm for a tooth is to pull it out,<sup>(a)</sup> and the best remedy for love to wear it out.

"If incantations or potions or amorous sayings could have prevailed, Circes<sup>3</sup> would never have lost Ulysses, nor Phaedra Hippolytus, nor Phyllis Demophoön. If conjurations, characters, circles, figures, fiends, or furies might have wrought anything in love, Medea would not have suffered Jason to alter his mind. If the syrups of Macaonias<sup>4</sup> or the verses of Aeus<sup>(b)</sup> or the Satyren of Dipsas were of force to move the mind they all wives' fables" (1 Tim. iv. 7), and Marlowe's *Faustus*, v. 1, has "old wives' tale," as here. The phrase came into currency about Lyly's time.

<sup>1</sup> *From their gods to their priests of Memphis.* Lyly may have taken this hint from Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, in which the mystical interpretations of myths and the enigmatic style of speech used by the Egyptian priests are discussed at length.

<sup>2</sup> *Pyrrhus*: probably a mistake of Lyly's for *Pyrrho*, name of the founder of the Sceptical school.

<sup>(a)</sup> *the best charm for a tooth is to pull it out* So 1580A. 1597, etc. expand to *the best charm for a tooth-ache is to pull out the tooth.*

<sup>3</sup> *Circes*: properly the Greek genitive form of *Circe*, but used by Lyly here and elsewhere as nominative. There was a tendency in the 16th century to give certain classical (and other) names the ending -es by analogy with others. *Dantes*, the Latin form of Dante's name, may have aided.

<sup>4</sup> *Macaonias . . . Aeus . . . Dipsas*: a striking example, as Bond remarks, of Lyly's "loose methods" in scholarship. *Macaonias* is an invention based on the adjective *Machaonios* (from *Machaon*, name of the Greek physician, son of Aesculapius), which Lyly found in Ovid's *Ars Amat.* ii. 491; the others are derived from a sentence in the *Amores* (i. 8) in which Ovid says, "There is a certain female soothsayer, Dipsas by name . . ., who knows magic arts and the charms of Aeaea (*Aeaeaeque carmina*)." Aeaea, Bond explains, is Circe's island. This is not certain, but Aeaea was a surname of Circe. It must be said, in apology for Lyly, that he often found such garbled versions of classical passages in secondary (contemporary) sources, and merely copied them. As to the form *Satyren* I can only suggest that it is a corruption of *satyrion*, the name of a plant described by Pliny (xxvi. 62-3), all forms of which are used as aphrodisiacs or philtres. *Dipsas* is the name of an old enchantress in Lyly's *Endymion*.

<sup>(b)</sup> *Aeus* So 1580A. 1580B, etc. *Aeneas*.

three would not have been martyred with the torments of love.

"No, no, Philautus, thou mayest well poison Camilla with such drugs, but never persuade her. For I confess that such herbs may alter the body from strength to weakness, but to think that they can move the mind from virtue to vice, from chastity to lust, I am not so simple to believe, neither would I have thee so sinful as to doubt <sup>1</sup> it.

"Lucilia,<sup>2</sup> ministering an amorous potion unto her husband Lucretius, procured his death, whose life she only desired. Aristotle noteth<sup>3</sup> one that being inflamed with the beauty of a fair lady thought by medicine to procure his bliss and wrought in the end her bane. So was Caligula slain of Caesonia,<sup>4</sup> and Lucius Lucullus of Calistine.<sup>5</sup>

"Persuade thyself, Philautus, that to use herbs to win love will weaken the body, and to think that herbs can further doth hurt the soul; for as great force have they in such cases as noble men thought them to have in the old time. Achimenis the herb<sup>6</sup> was of such force, that it was thought if it were thrown into the battle it would make all the soldiers tremble. But where was it when the Cimbri and Teutoni<sup>(a)</sup> were exiled by war; where grew Achimenis then,<sup>(b)</sup> one of whose leaves would have saved a thousand lives? The kings of Persia gave their soldiers the plant Latace which whoso had should have plenty of meat and money and men and all things. But why did the soldiers of Caesar endure such famine in Pharsalia, if one herb might have eased so many hearts? Where is Balis that Juba so commendeth, the which could call the dead to life, and yet he himself died?

<sup>1</sup> *Doubt*: apprehend, suspect, believe.

<sup>2</sup> *Lucilia . . . Lucretius*. The Eusebian chronicle relates that Lucretius was *driven mad* by a love-potion, but this story is believed to have been the invention of an enemy. Did Lyly invent the name *Lucilia* for the sake of alliteration?

<sup>3</sup> *Aristotle noteth* [etc.]: in *Magna Moralia*, i. 16 (Bond). In Aristotle, however, a woman gives the deadly philtre to a man, or means to.

<sup>4</sup> *Caligula slain of Caesonia*: see Suetonius, *Caligula*, 50 (Bond). The potion which she gave him caused his madness, not his death.

<sup>5</sup> *Calistine*: properly *Callisthenes*. See Plutarch, *An Seni sit Gerenda Respub.*, § 16 (Bond).

<sup>6</sup> *Achimenis the herb . . . unhappy issue*. As Bond shows, this passage is a free translation of Pliny, xxvi. 9, 'Remarks in Dispraise of the Practices of Magic.'

(a) *Cimbri and Teutoni* The reading is Bond's. Early editions have *Humbri and Tentoni*.

(b) *where grew Achimenis then* So 1597, etc. 1580A does not have *then*.

Democritus made a confection, that whosoever drank it should have a fair, a fortunate, and a good child. Why did not the Persian kings swill this nectar, having such deformed and unhappy issue? Cato<sup>1</sup> was of that mind that three enchanted words could heal the eyesight, and Varro that a verse of Sibylla could ease the gout; yet the one was fain to use running water, which was but a cold medicine, the other patience, which was but a dry plaster.

"I would not have thee think, Philautus, that love is to be obtained by such means but only by faith, virtue, and constancy. Philip,<sup>2</sup> King of Macedon, casting his eye upon a fair virgin, became enamoured. Which Olympias, his wife, perceiving thought him to be enchanted, and caused one of her servants to bring the maiden unto her, whom she thought to thrust both to exile and shame. But viewing her fair face without blemish, her chaste eyes without glancing, her modest countenance, her sober and womanly behaviour, finding also her virtues to be no less than her beauty, she said, 'In thyself there are charms'; (a) meaning that there was no greater enchantment in love than temperance, wisdom, beauty, and chastity. Fond therefore is the opinion of those that think the mind to be tied to magic and the practice of those filthy that seek those means. Love dwelleth in the mind, in the will, and in the hearts, which neither conjurer can alter nor physic. For as credible it is that Cupid shooteth his arrow and hitteth the heart, as that herbs have the force to bewitch the heart; only this difference there is, that the one was a fiction of poetry, the other of superstition. The will is placed in the soul. And who can enter there, but He that created the soul?

"No, no, gentleman, whatsoever you have heard touching this, believe nothing; for they in mine opinion which imagine that the mind is either by incantation or excantation to be ruled are as far from truth as the East from the West, and as near impiety against God as they are to shame among men, and so

<sup>1</sup> Cato . . . Varro. Lyly probably uses these names, the ones cited oftenest by Pliny, as authorities for inventions of his own, though he may have been more or less guided by quotations from them in Pliny.

<sup>2</sup> Philip . . . Olympias. The incident is related in Erasmus' *Apophth.* (*Works*, iv. 320E), the ultimate source being Plutarch, *Conjug. Praec.*, § 23.

(a) *In thyself there are charms* All early editions read *myself*. I have followed Bond in emending to *thyself*. In Plutarch's *Coniugalium Praecepta*, § xxiii., the words of Olympias are οὐ γὰρ ἐν σεαυτῇ τὰ κάλλεα ἔχεις. (So also in Erasmus.) In the clause following, 1597, etc. omit *beauty*.

contrary is it to the profession of a Christian as Paganism. Suffer not yourself to be led with that vile conceit, practise in your love all kind of loyalty. Be not mute nor full of babble, be sober but avoid sullenness, use no kind of riot either in banqueting, which procureth surfeits, nor in attire, which hasteth beggary. If you think well of your wit be always pleasant, if ill be often silent ; in the one thy talk shall prove thee sharp, in the other thy modesty wise.

" All fish are not caught with flies,<sup>1</sup> all women are not allured with personage.<sup>2</sup> Frame letters, ditties, music, and all means that honesty may allow, for he wooeth well that meaneth no ill, and he speedeth sooner that speaketh what he should than he that uttereth what he will. Believe me, Philautus, I am now old yet have I in my head a love-tooth, and in my mind there is nothing that more pierceth the heart of a beautiful lady than writing ; where thou mayest so set down thy passions and her perfection as she shall have cause to think well of thee and better of herself. But yet so warily as neither thou seem to praise her too much or debase thyself too lowly ; for if thou flatter them without mean they loathe it, and if thou make of thyself above reason they laugh at it. Temper thy words so well and place every sentence so wisely as it may be hard for her to judge whether thy love be more faithful or her beauty amiable. Lions fawn when they are clawed, tigers stoop when they are tickled, Bucephalus lieth down when he is curried, women yield when they are courted. This is the poison, Philautus, the enchantment, the potions that creepeth by sleight into the mind of a woman and catcheth her by assurance<sup>3</sup> ; better than the fond devices of old dreams, as an apple with an *Ave Maria*, or a hazel wand<sup>4</sup> of a year old crossed with six characters, or the picture of Venus in virgin wax, or the image of Camilla upon a mouldwarp's<sup>5</sup> skin.

" It is not once mentioned in the English court, nor so much as thought of in anyone's conscience, that love can be procured by such means or that any can imagine such mischief ; and yet I fear me it is too common in our country, whereby they incur hate of everyone and love of none.

<sup>1</sup> *All fish are not caught with flies* : probably a proverb of Lyly's own making, since there seems to be no earlier mention of fly-fishing.

<sup>2</sup> *Personage* : handsome appearance.

<sup>3</sup> *By assurance* : i.e., in a betrothal-contract.

<sup>4</sup> *A hazel wand*. Compare Reg. Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), A. 7 ('The art and order to be used in digging for monie') : "There must be made upon a hazell wand three crosses."

<sup>5</sup> *Mouldwarp's* : mole's.



"Touching my cunning in any vile devices of magic, it was never my study, only some delight I took in the mathematics which made me known of more than I would, and of more than think well of me—although I never did hurt any nor hindered.

"But be thou quiet, Philautus, and use those means that may win thy love, not those that may shorten her life; and if I can any ways stand thee in stead, use me as thy poor friend and countryman; harm I will do thee none, good I cannot. My acquaintance in court is small, and therefore my dealings about the court shall be few; for I love to stand aloof from Jove and lightning.<sup>1</sup> Fire giveth light to things far off and burneth that which is next to it. The court shineth to me, that come not there, but singeth those that dwell there. Only my counsel use—that is, in writing—and me thou shalt find secret, wishing thee always fortunate; and if thou make me partaker of thy success it shall not turn to thy grief, but as much as in me lieth I will further thee."

When he had finished his discourse, Philautus liked very well of it, and thus replied: "Well, Psellus, thou hast wrought that in me which thou wishest; for if the baits that are laid for beauty be so ridiculous, I think it of as great effect in love to use a plaster as a potion.

"I now utterly dissent from those that imagine magic to be the means, and consent with thee that thinkest letters to be, which I will use; and how I speed I will tell thee. In the mean season, pardon me if I use no longer answer, for well you know that he that hath the fit of an ague upon him hath no lust to talk, but to tumble, and love pinching me I have more desire to chew upon melancholy than to dispute upon magic; but hereafter I will make repair unto you, and what I now give you in thanks I will then requite with amends."

Thus these two countrymen parted with certain Italian embracings and terms of courtesy more than common. Philautus we shall find in his lodging, Psellus we will leave in his study, the one musing of his love, the other of his learning.

Here, gentlewomen, you may see how justly men seek to entrap you when scornfully you go about to reject them, thinking it not unlawful to use art when they perceive you obstinate.

<sup>1</sup> To stand aloof from Jove and lightning: compare *Campaspe*, iv. 4, 32. The saying may have been suggested by a line of Ovid (*Remed. Amor.* 369), '*Summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Jovis*,' or some similar passage.

Their dealings I will not allow, neither can I excuse yours, and yet what should be the cause of both I can guess.

When Phidias first painted <sup>1</sup> they used no colours but black, white, red, and yellow; Zeuxis added green, and everyone invented a new shadowing. At the last it came to this pass, that he in painting deserved most praise that could set down most colours; whereby there was more contention kindled about the colour than the counterfeit, and greater emulation for variety in show than workmanship in substance.

In the like manner hath it fallen out in love. When Adam wooed there was no policy but plain dealing, no colours but black and white. Affection was measured by faith not by fancy. He was not curious nor Eve cruel; he was not enamoured of her beauty nor she allured with his personage; and yet then was she the fairest woman in the world and he the properest man. Since that time every lover hath put to a link, and made of a ring a chain and an odd corner,<sup>2</sup> and framed of a plain alley a crooked knot,<sup>3</sup> and of Venus' temple Daedalus' labyrinth. One curleth his hair, thinking love to be moved with fair locks, another layeth all his living upon his back,<sup>4</sup> judging that women are wedded to bravery, some use discourses of love to kindle affection, some ditties to allure the mind, some letters to stir the appetite, divers fighting to prove their manhood, sundry sighing to show their maladies; many attempt with shows to please their ladies' eyes, not few with music to entice the ear; insomuch that there is more strife now who shall be the finest lover than who is the faithfullest.

This causeth you, gentlewomen, to pick out those that can court you, not those that love you; and he is accounted the best

<sup>1</sup> *When Phidias first painted* [etc.]. This paragraph is founded on Pliny, xxxv. 32: "It was with four colours only that Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, and Nicomachus . . . executed their immortal works; melinum for the white, Attic sil for the yellow, Pontic sinopsis for the red, and atramentum for the black. . . . But at the present day, when purple is employed for colouring walls even, and when India sends to us the slime of her rivers, . . . there is no such thing as a picture of high quality produced. . . . The reason is . . . that it is the material, and not the efforts of genius, that is now the object of research."

<sup>2</sup> *Made of a ring a chain and an odd corner*: i.e., of a simple and plain thing (with punning allusion, perhaps, to the wedding-ring) a complex and devious one. *Odd corner*: a small part off by itself, here a 'kink' in a chain, probably with an allusion to a frequent use of the phrase in connection with secret or disreputable places. See quotation in *NED.*, s.v. *corner*, sb.<sup>1</sup>, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *A crooked knot*: an elaborate arrangement of walks and flower-beds in part of a garden. Compare p. 15, and note.

<sup>4</sup> *His living upon his back*: see note on p. 248.

in your conceits that useth most colours,<sup>1</sup> not that showeth greatest courtesy. A plain tale of faith you laugh at, a picked discourse of fancy you marvel at, condemning the simplicity of truth and preferring the singularity of deceit ; wherein you resemble those fishes that rather swallow a fair bait with a sharp hook than a foul worm breeding in the mud.

Hereof it cometh that true lovers, receiving a flout for their faith and a mock for their good meaning, are enforced to seek such means as might compel you ; which you knowing impossible maketh you the more disdainful, and them the more desperate. This, then, is my counsel, that you use your lovers like friends and choose them by their faith, not by their show but by the sound, neither by the weight but by the touch, as you do gold ; so shall you be praised as much for virtue as beauty.

But return we again to Philautus, who thus began to debate with himself :—

“ What hast thou done, Philautus, in seeking to wound her that thou desirest to win ? With what face canst thou look on her whom thou soughtest to lose ? Fie, fie, Philautus, thou bringest thy good name into question and her life into hazard, having neither care of thine own credit nor her honour. Is this the love thou pretendest, which is worse than hate ? Didst not thou seek to poison her that never pinched thee ?

“ But why do I recount those things which are past and I repent ? I am now to consider what I must do, not what I would have done. Follies past shall be worn out with faith to come, and my death shall show my desire. Write, Philautus. What sayest thou ? Write ? No, no, thy rude style will bewray thy mean estate, and thy rash attempt will purchase thine overthrow. Venus<sup>2</sup> delighteth to hear none but Mercury, Pallas<sup>3</sup> will be stolen of none but Ulysses, it must be a smooth tongue and a sweet tale that can enchant Vesta.

“ Besides that, I dare not trust a messenger to carry it, nor her to read it, lest in showing my letter she disclose my love ; and then shall I be pointed at of those that hate me, and pitied of those that like me, of her scorned, of all talked of. No, Philautus, be not thou the byword of the common people, rather suffer death by silence than derision by writing.

<sup>1</sup> *Colours* : false pretences, deceptions. Compare note 1, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Venus . . . Mercury* : perhaps an allusion to the amour of which Herma-phroditus was born, perhaps only to the persuasive and beguiling art of Mercury.

<sup>3</sup> *Pallas* : in allusion to the Palladium of Troy.

"Aye, but it is better to reveal thy love than conceal it; thou knowest not what bitter poison lieth in sweet words. Remember Psellus, who by experience hath tried that in love one letter is of more force than a thousand looks. If they like writings they read them often, if dislike them run them over once; and this is certain that she that readeth such toys will also answer them. Only this, be secret in conveyance,<sup>1</sup> which is the thing they chiefest desire. Then write, Philautus, write! He that feareth every bush must never go a birding,<sup>2</sup> he that casteth<sup>3</sup> all doubts shall never be resolved in any thing. And this assure thyself, that be thy letter never so rude and barbarous she will read it, and be it never so loving she will not show it; which were(a) a thing contrary to her honour, and the next way to call her honesty into question. For thou hast heard, yea and thyself knowest, that ladies that vaunt of their lovers or show their letters are accounted in Italy counterfeit, and in England they are not thought current."

Thus Philautus determined, hab nab,<sup>4</sup> to send his letters, flattering himself with the success which he to himself feigned; and after long musing he thus began to frame the minister of his love.

### *To the fairest, Camilla*

Hard is the choice,<sup>5</sup> fair lady, when one is compelled either by silence to die with grief or by writing to live with shame. But so sweet is the desire of life, and so sharp are the passions of love, that I am enforced to prefer an unseemly suit before an untimely death. Loath I have been to speak, and in despair to speed; the one proceeding of mine own cowardice, the other of thy cruelty. If thou inquire my name, I am the same Philautus which for thy sake of late came disguised in a mask, pleading custom for a privilege and courtesy for a pardon; the same

<sup>1</sup> *Conveyance*: probably here, 'expression,' the form of words used to carry your message, but perhaps, transmission, delivery (see p. 342).

<sup>2</sup> *Every bush . . . a birding*. There are several proverbs on bushes and birds, but this one is probably an invention of Lyly's. For the phrase *a birding*, compare *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Casteth*: examines, tries, tests.

(a) *were* 1580A *weare*.

<sup>4</sup> *Hab nab*: hit or miss, for better or worse, at a venture. Still in dialectal use. The origin is doubtful, perhaps Mid. Eng. *habbe*, have, and *nabbe*, have not.

<sup>5</sup> *Hard is the choice* [etc.]: 'quoted by Fallace in *Every Man out of his Humour*, v. 7' (Bond).

Philautus which then in secret terms coloured his love, and now with bitter tears bewrays it. If thou nothing esteem the brinish water that falleth from mine eyes, I would thou couldest see the warm blood that droppeth from my heart. Oftentimes I have been in thy company, where easily thou mightest have perceived my wan cheeks, my hollow eyes, my scalding sighs, my trembling tongue to foreshow that then which I confess now. Then consider with thyself, Camilla, the plight I am in by desire, and the peril I am like to fall into by denial.

To recount the sorrows I sustain or the service I have vowed would rather breed in thee an admiration than a belief; only this I add for the time, which the end shall try for a truth, that if thy answer be sharp my life will be short. So far love hath wrought in my pining and almost consumed body that thou only mayest breathe into me a new life, or bereave me of the old.

Thou art to weigh not how long I have loved thee but how faithfully, neither to examine the worthiness of my person but the extremity of my passions; so preferring my deserts before the length of time, and my disease before the greatness of my birth, thou wilt either yield with equity or deny with reason; of both the which, although the greatest<sup>1</sup> be on my side, yet the least shall not dislike me; for that I have always found in thee a mind neither repugnant to right nor void of reason. If thou wouldest but permit me to talk with thee, or by writing suffer me at large to discourse with thee, I doubt not but that both the cause of my love would be believed and the extremity rewarded, both proceeding of thy beauty and virtue, the one able to allure, the other ready to pity. Thou must think that God hath not bestowed those rare gifts upon thee to kill those that are caught, but to cure them. Those that are stung with the scorpion are healed with the scorpion,<sup>2</sup> the fire that burneth taketh away the heat of the burn, the spider Phalangium<sup>3</sup>(a) that poisoneth doth with her skin make a plaster for poison. And shall thy beauty which is of force to win all with love be of the cruelty to wound any with death? No, Camilla, I take no less delight in thy

<sup>1</sup> *The greatest*: i.e., equity or right; *the least*: i.e., reason or argument. The meaning is that though right is on his side, yet he will waive this and leave his case with the weaker advocate, reason or argument.

<sup>2</sup> *Stung with the scorpion . . . healed with the scorpion*: see note on p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *The spider Phalangium*. Pliny, xxix. 27, says: "The proper remedy (for the sting of the Phalangium) is, to present before the eyes of the person another insect of the same description. . . . Their husks also, found in a dry state, are beaten up and taken in drink for a similar purpose."

(a) *Phalangium* 1580-1581 *Phalaugium*.

fair face than pleasure in thy good conditions, assuring myself that for affection without lust thou wilt not render malice without cause.

I commit my care to thy consideration, expecting thy letter either as a cullis <sup>1</sup> to preserve or as a sword to destroy, either as Antidotum <sup>2</sup> or as Aconitum.(a) If thou delude me thou shalt not long triumph over me living, and small will thy glory be when I am dead. And I end.

*Thine ever, though he be never thine,  
Philautus.*

This letter being coined, he studied how he might convey it, knowing it to be no less perilous to trust those he knew not in so weighty a case, than difficult for himself to have opportunity to deliver it in so suspicious a company. At the last, taking out of his closet a fair pomegranate and pulling all the kernels out of it, he wrapped his letter in it, closing the top of it finely, that it could not be perceived whether nature again had knit it of purpose to further him or his art had overcome nature's cunning. This pomegranate he took, being himself both messenger of his letter and the master, and insinuating himself into the company of the gentlewomen, among whom was also Camilla, he was welcomed as well for that he had been long time absent as for that he was at all times pleasant. Much good communication there was touching many matters, which here to insert were neither convenient, seeing it doth not concern the history, nor expedient, seeing it is nothing to the delivery of Philautus's letter. But this it fell out(b) in the end: Camilla,<sup>3</sup> whether longing for so fair a pomegranate, or willed to ask it, yet loath to require it, she suddenly complained of an old disease wherewith she many times felt herself grieved, which was an extreme heat in the stomach; which advantage Philautus marking, would not let slip, when it was purposely spoken that he should not give them the slip<sup>4</sup>; and therefore as one glad to have so convenient

<sup>1</sup> *A cullis*: see note on p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Antidotum*: used elsewhere by Lyly as if it were the name of a particular drug or plant. It is a mere trick of style and does not imply ignorance of the right use.

(a) *Aconitum* 1580-1582 *Auconitum*.

(b) *But this it fell out* So 1580A. 1606, etc. *thus it fell out*.

<sup>3</sup> *Camilla, whether . . . or*. The anacoluthon in these phrases is more difficult to account for than it usually is in Lyly; probably a word has been lost, or *willed* should be *willing* or *wishing*.

<sup>4</sup> *Give them the slip*: evade or escape them, leave their company.

a time to offer both his duty and his devotion, he began thus :—

“ I have heard, Camilla, of physicians that there is nothing either more comfortable or more profitable for the stomach or inflamed liver than a pomegranate.<sup>1</sup>(a) Which if it be true, I am glad that I came in so good time with a medicine, seeing you were in so ill a time surprised with your malady ; and verily this will I say, that there is not one kernel but is able both to ease your pain and to double your pleasure.” And with that he gave it her, desiring that as she felt the working of the potion so she would consider of the physician.

Camilla, with a smiling countenance, neither suspecting the craft nor the conveyer, answered him with these thanks : “ I thank you, gentleman, as much for your counsel as your courtesy, and if your cunning be answerable to either of them, I will make you amends for all of them ; yet I will not open so fair a fruit as this is until I feel the pain that I so much fear.”

“ As you please,” quoth Philautus, “ yet if every morning you take one kernel, it is the way to prevent your disease ; and methinketh that you should be as careful to work means before it come that you have it not, as to use means to expel it when you have it.”

“ I am content,” answered Camilla, “ to try your physic, which as I know it can do me no great harm, so it may do me much good.”

“ In truth,” said one of the gentlewomen then present, “ I perceive this gentleman is not only cunning in physic, but also very careful for his patient.”

“ It behoveth,” quoth Philautus, “ that he that ministereth to a lady be as desirous of her health as his own credit ; for that there redoundeth more praise to the physician that hath a care to his charge, than to him that hath only a show of his art. And I trust Camilla will better accept of the good will I have to rid her of her disease, than the gift which must work the effect.”

“ Otherwise,” quoth Camilla, “ I were very much to blame, knowing that in many the behaviour of the man hath wrought more than the force of the medicine. For I would always have my physician of a cheerful countenance, pleasantly conceited, and well proportioned, that he might have his sharp potions

<sup>1</sup> A *pomegranate*. Pliny says (xxiii. chaps. lvii-lxi.) that the pomegranate has a number of uses in disorders of the bowels and stomach, and describes the methods of its preparation.

(a) *pomegranate* 1580A *Poungranel* ; 1580B *Pomgranel*.

mixed with sweet counsel, and his sour drugs mitigated with merry discourses. And this is the cause that in old time they painted the god of physic not like Saturn but Aesculapius, of a good complexion, fine wit, and excellent constitution. For this I know by experience, though I be but young to learn and have not often been sick, that the sight of a pleasant and quick-witted physician hath removed that from my heart with talk that he could not with all his treacle."

"That might well be," answered Philautus. "For the man that wrought the cure did perchance cause the disease, and so secret might the grief be that none could heal you but he that hurt you; neither was your heart to be eased by any inward potion, but by some outward persuasion. And then it is no marvel if the ministering of a few words were more available than Mithridate."<sup>1</sup>

"Well gentleman," said Camilla, "I will neither dispute in physic, wherein I have no skill, neither answer you to your last surmise, which you seem to level at; but thanking you once again both for your gift and good will, we will use other communication, not forgetting to ask for your friend Euphues, who hath not long time been where he might have been welcomed at all times; and that he came not with you at this time we both marvel and would fain know."

This question, so earnestly asked of Camilla, and so hardly to be answered of Philautus, nipped him in the head. Notwithstanding lest he should seem by long silence to incur some suspicion, he thought a bad excuse better than none at all, saying that Euphues nowadays became so studious (or as he termed it, superstitious) that he could not himself so much as have his company.

"Belike," quoth Camilla, "he hath either espied some new faults in the women of England, whereby he seeketh to absent himself, or some old haunt, that will cause him to soil(a) himself."

"Not so," said Philautus. "And yet that it was said so I will tell him."

Thus after much conference, many questions, and long time

<sup>1</sup> *Mithridate*: see note on p. 332.

(a) *soil* So 1595, etc. Earlier edd. have *spoile*. The reading *soil*, found in 1595 and all subsequent editions, commends itself, both as making better sense and as completing the alliterative scheme. *Soil* (intrans. or reflexive) means either to roll in the mud like a sow, or to take to wet ground or water, as a hunted stag.



spent, Philautus took his leave. And being in his chamber, we will there leave him with such cogitations as they commonly have that either attend the sentence of life or death at the bar or the answer of hope or despair of their loves; which none can set down but he that hath them, for that they are not to be uttered by the conjecture of one that would imagine what they should be, but by him that knoweth what they are.

Camilla the next morning opened the pomegranate and saw the letter; which reading, pondering, and perusing, she fell into a thousand contrarieties<sup>1</sup> whether it were best to answer it or not. At the last, inflamed with a kind of choler, for that she knew not what belonged to the perplexities of a lover, she requited his fraud and love with anger and hate in these terms or the like.

### *To Philautus*

I did long time debate with myself, Philautus, whether it might stand with mine honour to send thee an answer. For comparing my place with thy person, methought thy boldness more than either good manners in thee would permit or I with modesty could suffer. Yet at the last, casting with myself that the heat of thy love might clean be razed with the coldness of my letter, I thought it good to commit an inconvenience that I might prevent a mischief, choosing rather to cut thee off short by rigor than to give thee any jot of hope by silence. Green sores are to be dressed roughly lest they fester, tetters to be drawn in the beginning lest they spread,<sup>2</sup> ringworms to be anointed when they first appear lest they compass the whole body, and the assaults of love to be beaten back at the first siege lest they undermine at the second. Fire is to be quenched in the spark, weeds are to be rooted in the bud, follies in the blossom.

Thinking this morning to try thy physic, I perceived thy fraud; insomuch as the kernel that should have cooled my stomach with moistness hath kindled it with choler, making a flaming fire where it found but hot embers, converting like the spider a sweet flower<sup>3</sup> into a bitter poison. I am, Philautus, no

<sup>1</sup> *Contrarieties*. See note on p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Tetters . . . lest they spread*. *Tetter* (formerly also plural in same sense) is any pustular eruption on the skin. *NED.* quotes Hakewill's *David's Vow* (1622), viii. 284, 'It is good . . . to kill a Tetter before it spread to a Ringworm.'

<sup>3</sup> *The spider a sweet flower* [etc.]. M'Kerrow, in his edition of Nashe (iv. p. 61), says that Bond has misinterpreted this passage. The meaning is not that spiders inject poison into flowers, but that they make poison of the sweet honey. M'Kerrow quotes many illustrative passages, e.g., Kyd, *Soliman*

Italian lady, who commonly are wooed with leasings and won with lust, entangled with deceit and enjoyed with delight, caught with sin and cast off with shame.

For mine own part, I am too young to know the passions of a lover, and too wise to believe them; and so far from trusting any that I suspect all. Not that there is in everyone a practice to deceive, but that there wanteth in me a capacity to conceive.<sup>1</sup> Seek not then, Philautus, to make the tender twig crooked by art which might have grown straight by nature. Corn is not to be gathered in the bud but in the ear, nor fruit to be pulled from the tree when it is green but when it is mellow, nor grapes to be cut for the press when they first rise, but when they are full ripe; nor young ladies to be sued unto that are fitter for a rod than a husband, and meeter to bear blows than children. You must not think of us as of those in your own country, that no sooner are out of the cradle but they are sent to the court, and wooed sometimes before they are weaned; which bringeth both the nation and their names not in question only of dishonesty but into obloquy.

This I would have thee to take for a flat answer: that I neither mean to love thee, nor hereafter, if thou follow thy suit, to hear thee. Thy first practice in the masque I did not allow, the second by thy writing I mislike; if thou attempt the third means, thou wilt enforce me to utter that which modesty now maketh me to conceal. If thy good will be so great as thou tellest, seek to mitigate it by reason or time. I thank thee for it, but I cannot requite it, unless either thou wert not Philautus or I not Camilla. Thus pardoning thy boldness upon condition, and resting thy friend if thou rest thy suit, I end.

*Neither thine, nor her own,  
Camilla.*

This letter Camilla stitched into an Italian Petrarch(a) which she had, determining at the next coming of Philautus to deliver it under the pretence of asking some question, or the understanding of some word. Philautus, attending hourly the success of his love, made his repair according to his accustomed use; and finding the gentlewomen sitting in an arbour saluted them

and *Perseda*, II. 1, 130, 'As in the spider good things turn to poison.' Compare above, p. 85.

<sup>1</sup> *Conceive*: used in a double sense.

(a) *Petrarch* 1580a *petrack*; 1580c *Petracke*; 1606 *Petrark*. On p. 347 1580a has at note (a) *petrarke*, and at note (b) *petracke*.

courteously, not forgetting to be inquisitive how Camilla was eased by his pomegranate ; which oftentimes asking of her, she answered him thus :—

“ In faith, Philautus, it had a fair coat but a rotten kernel ; which so much offended my weak stomach that the very sight caused me to loathe it, and the scent to throw it into the fire.”

“ I am sorry,” quoth Philautus (who spake no less than truth), “ that the medicine could not work that which my mind wished.” And with that stood as one in a trance. Which Camilla perceiving thought best to rub no more on that gall, lest the standers-by should espy where Philautus’s shoe wrung him.<sup>1</sup>

“ Well,” said Camilla, “ let it go. I must impute it to my ill fortune that where I looked for a restority<sup>2</sup> I found a consumption.” And with that she drew out her Petrarch,<sup>(a)</sup> requesting him to construe her a lesson ; hoping his learning would be better for a schoolmaster than his luck was for a physician.

Thus walking in the alley, she listened to his construction. Who, turning the book; found where the letter was enclosed, and, dissembling that he suspected, he said he would keep her Petrarch<sup>(b)</sup> until the morning.

“ Do you,” quoth Camilla.

With that the gentlewomen clustered about them both, either to hear how cunningly Philautus could construe or how readily Camilla could conceive. It fell out that they turned to such a place as turned them all to a blank, where it was reasoned whether love came at the sudden view of beauty or by long experience of virtue. A long disputation was like to ensue had not Camilla cut it off before they could join issue, as one not willing in the company of Philautus either to talk of love or think of love, lest either he should suspect she had been wooed or might be won. Which was not done so closely but it was perceived of Philautus, though dissembled. Thus after many words they went to their dinner, where I omit their table-talk, lest I lose mine.

After their repast, Surius came in with a great train. Which lightened Camilla’s heart, and was a dagger to Philautus’s breast ; who tarried no longer than he had leisure to take his leave, either desirous to read his lady’s answer or not willing to enjoy Surius

<sup>1</sup> *Where Philautus’s shoe wrung him.* See note on p. 268. But in the form in which the proverb appears here and on p. 397, and in Heywood, p. 69, it originates in an incident related by Plutarch in his *Life of Aemilius Paulus*.

<sup>2</sup> *Restority* : restorative.

(a) See p. 346.

(b) See p. 346.

his company. Whom also I will now forsake and follow Philautus, to hear how his mind is quieted with Camilla's courtesies.

Philautus no sooner entered his chamber but he read her letter ; which wrought such skirmishes in his mind that he had almost forgot reason, falling into the old vein of his rage in this manner :—

“ Ah cruel Camilla and accursed Philautus ! I see now that it fareth with thee as it doth with the harpy,<sup>1</sup>(a) which having made one astonied with her fair sight turneth him into a stone with her venomous savour ; and with me as it doth with those that view the basilisk,<sup>2</sup> whose eyes procure delight to the looker at the first glimpse and death at the second glance.

“ Is this the courtesy of England towards strangers, to entreat them so despitefully ? Is my good will not only rejected without cause but also disdained without colour ? Aye but Philautus, ‘ praise at the parting ’<sup>3</sup>—if she had not liked thee she would never have answered thee. Knowest thou not that where they love much they dissemble most, that as fair weather cometh after a foul storm so sweet terms succeed sour taunts ?

“ Assay once again, Philautus, by letters to win her love ; and follow not the unkind hound who leaveth the scent because he is rated, or the bastard spaniel which being once rebuked never retrieveth his game. Let Atalanta<sup>4</sup> run never so swiftly, she will look back upon Hippomenes ; let Medea be as cruel as a fiend to all gentlemen, she will at the last respect Jason. A denial

<sup>1</sup> *The harpy*. The ‘ venomous savour ’ is vouched for by Virgil, iii. 228. The turning to stone is mere rhetoric.

(a) *the harpy* So 1597, etc. 1580–1586 *the Hare Sea*.

<sup>2</sup> *The basilisk*. Lyly's statement implies, but does not clearly state the facts concerning the basilisk, namely, that if a man see the basilisk first, the basilisk dies, if the basilisk sees the man first, the man dies. Albertus Magnus (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 549 ; *De Animal.*, Book xxv. 1. 13) reports this on the authority of Pliny, but Pliny (viii. 33 and xxix. 19) seems to know only that the basilisk's eye kills. See also Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Phys.*, pp. 143, 181, 186.

<sup>3</sup> *Praise at the parting*. Hazlitt, *Eng. Proverbs*, p. 332, quotes *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. 1838, p. 34 : ‘ Praise at parting and behold well the end.’ So Porter, *Two Angry Women of Abington*, i. 4, ‘ She doth but praise your luck at parting.’ In *The Tempest*, where Prospero's spirits spread a banquet before the shipwrecked party and vanish, Alonso speaks admiringly of them, and Prospero says : “ Praise in departing.” The sense may be the same as in the proverb “ Blessings brighten as they take their flight ” ; but this does not suit the context in Lyly's passage, and perhaps the saying is merely the refrain or beginning of a song and might be variously applied.

<sup>4</sup> *Atalanta . . . Hippomenes* : see note on p. 145 and compare p. 295.

at the first is accounted a grant, a gentle answer a mockery. Ladies use their lovers as the stork doth her young ones,<sup>1</sup> who pecketh them till they bleed with her bill and then healeth them with her tongue. Cupid himself must spend<sup>2</sup> one arrow—and thinkest thou to speed with one letter? No, no, Philautus, he that looketh to have clear water must dig deep, he that longeth for sweet music must set his strings at the highest, he that seeketh to win his love must stretch his labour and hazard his life. Venus blesseth lions in the fold and lambs in the chamber, eagles at the assault and foxes<sup>3</sup> in counsel; (a) so that thou must be hardy in the pursuit and meek in victory, venturous in obtaining, and wise in concealing, so that thou win that with praise which otherwise thou wilt lose with peevishness. Faint heart, Philautus, neither winneth castle nor lady.<sup>4</sup> Therefore endure all things that shall happen with patience, and pursue with diligence; thy fortune is to be tried not by the accidents (b) but by the end."

Thus, gentlewomen, Philautus resembleth the viper,<sup>5</sup> who being stricken with a reed lieth as he were dead, but stricken the second time recovereth his strength. Having his answer at the first in the masque he was almost amazed, and now again denied he is animated; presuming thus much upon the good disposition and kindness of women, that the higher they sit the lower they look and the more they seem at the first to loathe the more they love at the last. Whose judgement as I am not altogether to allow, so can I not in some respect mislike. For in this they resemble the crocodile,<sup>6</sup> who when one approacheth near unto

<sup>1</sup> *As the stork doth her young ones.* There seems to be no authority for this, and probably Lyly has adapted the common belief about the pelican (see note on p. 113), by a slight change, to the stork.

<sup>2</sup> *Spend*: waste.

<sup>3</sup> *Lions . . . lambs . . . eagles . . . foxes.* These antitheses were common-places of moral and political philosophy; and there was doubtless literary authority (though I have not found it) for their application to the affairs of Venus.

(a) *foxes in counsel* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *in in*.

<sup>4</sup> *Faint heart . . . lady.* NED. quotes the proverb from 1569.

(b) *accidents* 1580-1581 *accedents*.

<sup>5</sup> *The viper.* Bond quotes the statement from Aelian, *De Nat. Anim.*, i. 37. Lyly's words, however, are a literal transl. of Montuus, *De Admirandis Facultatibus* (Lyons, 1556), Cent. 2, no. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *The crocodile* [etc.]. This fanciful statement seems to be an expansion of a simile of Erasmus (*Works*, i. 611E), *Crocodilus terribilis est in fugaces, fugax contra insequentes*, or of Pliny, viii. 31, whence Erasmus had it. It may even be that Lyly has misread the word *terribilis* as it occurs in the Pliny passage (q.v.), and thus produced his novelty.

him gathereth up himself into the roundness of a ball, but running from him stretcheth himself into the length of a tree. The willing resistance of women was the cause that made Arellius<sup>1</sup> (whose art was only to draw women) to paint Venus Cnidia catching at the ball with her hand which she seemed to spurn at with her foot. And in this point they are not unlike unto the myrrh<sup>2</sup> tree, (a) which being hewed gathereth in his sap, but not moved poureth it out like syrup. Women are never more coy than when they are beloved, yet in their minds never less constant; seeming to tie themselves to the mast of the ship (with Ulysses), when they are wooed, with a strong cable, which being well discerned is a twine thread; throwing a stone at the head of him unto whom they immediately cast out an apple.<sup>3</sup> Of which their gentle nature Philautus being persuaded, followed his suit again in this manner.

*Philautus to the fair Camilla(b)*

I cannot tell, Camilla, whether thy ingratitude be greater or my misfortune; for perusing the few lines thou gavest me, I found a small hope of my love as of thy courtesy. But so extreme are the passions of love that the more thou seekest to quench them by disdain the greater flame thou increasest by desire; not unlike unto Jupiter's well<sup>4</sup> which extinguisheth a fiery brand and kindleth a wet stick. And no less force hath thy beauty

<sup>1</sup> *Arellius*: a painter "in esteem at Rome before the time of Augustus," of whom Pliny further says (xxxv. 37) that he profaned his art by giving to goddesses the features of his mistresses. The Cnydian Venus, however, was by Praxiteles (Pliny tells of it, xxxvi. 4), and was, of course, not at all as Lyly describes it. Perhaps the picture was suggested by Atalanta's hesitation, as described by Ovid (*Met.* x. 676).

<sup>2</sup> *The myrrh*. Pliny says (xii. 35) that the tree exudes a liquid called *stacte* spontaneously before the incision is made, but that incisions are made all the way from the root to the branches. It is possible, however, that Lyly's words are suggested by Ovid's story of the transformation of Myrrha into the tree that bears her name: "The warm drops fall from the tree . . . and the myrrh that distills from the bark bears the name of its mistress" (*Met.* x. 500 ff.).

(a) *the myrrh tree* 1580A *the Mirt Tree*; later editions have *Mirre*.

<sup>3</sup> *They immediately cast out an apple*: perhaps alluding to the story of Acontius and Cydippe mentioned on p. 327.

(b) *to the fair Camilla* 1580A *to the faire, Camilla*. The comma was omitted later.

<sup>4</sup> *Jupiter's well*. The source is either Pliny, ii. 106 (*In Dodone Jovis fons*, etc.), or Erasmus, *Similia* (*Works*, i. 609E).

over me than the fire hath over naphtha,<sup>1</sup>(a) which leapeth into it wheresoever it seeth it.

I am not he, Camilla, that will leave the rose because I pricked my finger, or forsake the gold that lieth in the hot fire for that I burnt my hand, or refuse the sweet chestnut for that it is covered with sharp husks. The mind of a faithful lover is neither to be daunted with despite nor affrighted with danger. For as the loadstone what wind soever blow turneth always to the north, or as Aristotle's Quadratus<sup>2</sup> which way soever you turn it is always constant; so the faith of Philautus is evermore applied to the love of Camilla, neither to be removed with any wind or rolled with any force.

But to thy letter. Thou sayest green wounds are to be dressed roughly lest they fester. Certainly thou speakest like a good chirurgeon, but dealest like one unskilful; for making a great wound thou puttest in a small tent,<sup>3</sup> cutting the flesh that is sound before thou cure the place that is sore, striking the vein with a knife which thou shouldest stop with lint. And so hast thou drawn my tetter<sup>4</sup> (I use thine own term) that in seeking to spoil it in my chin thou hast spread it over my body.

Thou addest thou art no Italian lady. I answer, would thou wert; not that I would have thee wooed as thou sayest they are, but that I might win thee as thou now art. And yet this I dare say, though not to excuse all or to disgrace thee, that some there are in Italy too wise to be caught with leasings and too honest to be entangled with lust, and as wary to eschew sin as they are willing(b) to sustain shame; so that whatsoever the most be, I would not have thee think ill of the best.

Thou allegest thy youth and allowest thy wisdom, the one not apt to know the impressions of love, the other suspicious not to believe them. Truly, Camilla, I have heard that young is the goose<sup>5</sup> that will eat no oats, and a very ill cock that will not

<sup>1</sup> *Naphtha*. The source is either Pliny, ii. 109, or Erasmus, *Similia* (*Works*, i. 609f). Since this and the preceding simile are close together in Erasmus it is probable that this is the source of both.

(a) *naphtha* Early editions have *Naplytia*. The emendation was offered by Bond.

<sup>2</sup> *Aristotle's Quadratus*. Probably this merely means the square, which has all its sides the same. Bond refers to Aristotle's *De Anima*, i. 2. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Tent*. See note on *tainted*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Tetter*: see note on p. 345.

(b) *willing* 1606, followed by later editions, has *unwilling*.

<sup>5</sup> *Young is the goose* [etc.]. Apparently all these quasi-proverbial sayings are invented by Lyly. There is a proverb in Heywood, p. 23, "The young cock croweth as he the old heareth."

crow before he be old, and no right lion that will not feed on hard meat before he taste sweet milk ; and a tender virgin God knows it must be that measureth her affections by her age, whenas naturally they are inclined (which thou particularly putttest to our country) to play the brides before they be able to dress their heads.

Many similitudes thou bringest in to excuse youth, thy twig, thy corn, thy fruit, thy grape, and I know not what ; which are as easily to be refelled<sup>1</sup> as they are to be repeated. But, my good Camilla, I am as unwilling to confute anything thou speakest, as I am thou shouldst utter it ; insomuch as I would swear the crow were white,<sup>2</sup> if thou shouldst but say it.

My good will is greater than I can express, and thy courtesy less than I deserve ; thy counsel to expel it with time and reason of so little force that I have neither the will to use the mean nor the wit to conceive it. But this I say, that nothing can break off my love but death, nor anything hasten my death but thy discourtesy. And so I attend thy final sentence and my fatal destiny.

*Thine ever, though he be never thine,  
Philautus.*

This letter he thought by no means better to be conveyed than in the same book he received hers. So omitting no time, lest the iron should cool<sup>3</sup> before he could strike, he presently went to Camilla ; whom he found in gathering of flowers with divers other ladies and gentlewomen, which came as well to recreate themselves for pleasure as to visit Camilla, whom they all loved. Philautus, somewhat boldened by acquaintance, courteous by nature, and courtly by countenance, saluted them all with such terms as he thought meet for such personages ; not forgetting to call Camilla his scholar, when she had schooled him, being her master.<sup>4</sup>

One of the ladies who delighted much in mirth, seeing Philautus behold Camilla so stedfastly, said unto him : “ Gentleman, what flower like you best in all this border ? Here be fair roses, sweet violets, fragrant primroses, here will be gilly-

<sup>1</sup> *Refelled* : refuted.

<sup>2</sup> *I would swear the crow were white.* Compare Heywood, pp. 69, 203 : “ As good then to say, the crow is white.”

<sup>3</sup> *Lest the iron should cool* [etc.]. The proverb is in Chaucer, *Melibeus*, 70, and in Heywood, pp. 8, 221. Compare note on p. 14, and see p. 368 and p. 450.

<sup>4</sup> That is, *would have* schooled him, if he *had* been her master.



flowers, carnations, sops in wine, sweet-johns, and what may either please you for sight or delight you with savour. Loath we are you should have a posy of all, yet willing to give you one; not that which shall look best but such a one as you shall like best."

Philautus, omitting no opportunity that might either manifest his affection or commend his wit, answered her thus: "Lady, of so many sweet flowers to choose the best it is hard, seeing they be all so good. If I should prefer the fairest before the sweetest, you would haply(a) imagine that either I were stopped in the nose or wanton in the eyes; if the sweetness before the beauty, then would you guess me either to live with savours or to have no judgement in colours. But to tell my mind (upon correction be it spoken) of all flowers I love a fair woman."

"Indeed," quoth Flavia (for so was she named), "fair women are set thick but they come up thin; and when they begin to bud they are gathered, as though they were blown, of such men as you are, gentleman, who think green grass will never be dry hay. But when the flower of their youth (being slipped<sup>1</sup> too young) shall fade before they be old, then I dare say you would change your fair flower for a weed, and the woman you loved then for the worst violet you refuse now."

"Lady," answered Philautus, "it is a sign that beauty was no niggard of her slips in this garden, and very envious to other grounds, seeing here are so many in one plot as I shall never find more in all Italy, whether the reason be the heat which killeth them or the country that cannot bear them. As for plucking them up soon, in that we show the desire we have to them, not the malice. Where you conjecture that men have no respect to things when they be old, I cannot consent to your saying; for well do they know that it fareth with women as it doth with the mulberry tree,<sup>2</sup> which the elder it is the younger it seemeth; and therefore hath it grown to a proverb in Italy,<sup>3</sup> when one

(a) *haply* 1580A *happely*; 1597 *happilie*; 1630 *haply*. This is the usual succession of changes in other places where the word occurs. On page 376, line 19 1580A has *happily*, 1580B *happely*, and 1630 *haply*.

<sup>1</sup> *Slipped*: having slips or cuttings taken from it; also (as here), gathered, cut.

<sup>2</sup> *As it doth with the mulberry tree*: explained by p. 195, where it is said that the mulberry buds very late in the season. See note on this passage.

<sup>3</sup> *A proverb in Italy*. There is no such proverb in Düringsfeld or Barette. But Lean, *Collectanea*, ii. p. 397 f., has a page of interesting passages illustrating it. Two of these are Italian. Torriano, *Ital. Phras.* (1666), says that it is believed that snakes put, dead or alive, into wine give it such invigorating power that whoever drinks of it will become young. Borde, in his *Dyetary of Health*, p. 16, says that 'Physyke doth approbat adders flesshe good to be

seeth a woman stricken in age to look amiable he saith she hath eaten a snake. So that I must of force follow mine old opinion, that I love fresh flowers well but fair women better."

Flavia would not so leave him, but thus replied to him: "You are very amorous, gentleman; otherwise you would not take the defence of that thing which most men contemn and women will not confess. For whereas you go about to curry favour you make a fault, either in praising us too much, which we account in England flattery, or pleasing yourself in your own mind, which wise men esteem as folly. For when you endeavour to prove that women the older they are(a) the fairer they look, you think them either very credulous to believe or your talk very effectual to persuade. But as cunning as you are in your *pater noster*, I will add(b) one article more to your creed<sup>1</sup>: that is, you may speak in matters of love what you will, but women will believe but what they list; and in extolling their beauties they give more credit to their own glasses than men's glozes.<sup>2</sup>

"But you have not yet answered my request touching what flower you most desire; for women do not resemble flowers, neither in show nor savour."

Philautus, not shrinking for an April shower, followed the chase in this manner: "Lady, I neither flatter you nor please myself (although it pleaseth you so to conjecture); for I have always observed this, that to stand too much in mine own conceit would gain me little, and to claw<sup>3</sup> those of whom I sought for no benefit would profit me less. Yet was I never so ill brought up but that I could, when time and place should serve, give everyone I liked their just commendation, unless it were among those that were without comparison; offending in nothing but in this, that being too curious in praising my lady I was like to the painter Protogenes,<sup>4</sup> who could never leave when his work was well;

eaten, saying it doth make an old man yonge, as it appeareth by a harte eating an adder maketh him yonge again.' The dramatists have many allusions to the belief (see Beaumont and Fletcher, *Elder Brother*, iv. 4; Dekker, *Honest Whore*, 2nd Part, i. 2).

(a) *the older they are* 1580a *the older the are*; corrected in later editions.

(b) *I will add* 1597 and later editions expand to *I will be bold to add*.

<sup>1</sup> *Paternoster . . . creed*. Heywood (p. 96 and p. 189) has: "Thou mayest be in my pater noster, indeed; But surely thou shalt never come in my creed."

<sup>2</sup> *Glozes*. See note on p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Claw*: flatter, or curry favour with.

<sup>4</sup> *Protogenes*. The source is either Pliny, xxxv. 36, or Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 601c).

which fault is to be excused in him because he would make it better, and may be borne with in me for that I wish it excellent.

"Touching your first demand, which you seem again to urge in your last discourse, I say of all flowers I love the rose best; yet with this condition—because I will not eat my word—I like a fair lady well."

"Then," quoth Flavia, "since you will needs join the flower with the woman, among us all (and speak not partially) call her your rose that you most regard; and if she deny that name, we will enjoin her a penance for her pride and reward you with a violet for your pains."

Philautus being driven to this shift wished himself in his chamber. For this he thought, that if he should choose Camilla she would not accept it, if another she might justly reject him. If he should discover his love then would Camilla think him not to be secret, if conceal it not to be fervent; besides, all the ladies would espy his love and prevent it or Camilla despise his offer and not regard it. While he was thus in a deep meditation, Flavia wakened him, saying, "Why, gentleman, are you in a dream, or is there none here worthy to make choice of, or are we all so indifferent that there is never a good?"

Philautus seeing this lady so courteous, and loving Camilla so earnestly, could not yet resolve with himself what to do; but at the last Love, which neither regardeth what it speaketh nor where, replied(a) thus at all adventures:—

"Ladies and gentlewomen, I would I were so fortunate that I might choose every one of you for a flower, and then would I boldly affirm that I could show the fairest posy(b) in the world; but folly it is for me to wish that, being a slave, which none can hope for that is an Emperor. If I make my choice, I shall speed so well as he that enjoyeth all Europe." And with that gathering a rose he gave it to Camilla; whose colour so increased as one would have judged all her face to have been a rose, had it not been stained with a natural whiteness which made her to excel the rose.

Camilla with a smiling countenance as though nothing grieved, yet vexed inwardly to the heart, refused the gift flatly; pretending a ready excuse, which was that Philautus was either very much overseen<sup>1</sup> to take her before the Lady Flavia, or else disposed to give her a mock above the rest in the company.

(a) *Love*, . . . replied thus So 1597, etc. 1580A *loue* . . . he replied.

(b) *posy* 1580A *poesie*; changed in later editions.

<sup>1</sup> *Overseen*: deceived, mistaken.

"Well," quoth Flavia to Philautus (who now stood like one that had been besmeared <sup>1</sup>), "there is no harm done, for I perceive Camilla is otherwise sped, and if I be not much deceived she is a flower for Surius's wearing. The penance she shall have is to make you a nosegay, which she shall not deny thee unless she defy us; and the reward, thou shalt have is this, while you tarry in England my niece shall be your violet."

This lady's cousin <sup>2</sup> was named Francis, a fair gentlewoman and a wise, young and of very good conditions, not much inferior to Camilla—equal(a) she could not be.

Camilla, who was loath to be accounted in any company coy, endeavoured in the presence of the Lady Flavia to be very courteous and gathered for Philautus a posy of all the finest flowers in the garden, saying thus unto him, "I hope you will not be offended; Philautus, in that I could not be your rose, but impute(b) the fault rather to destiny than discourtesy."

Philautus plucking up his spirits gave her thanks for her pains; and immediately gathered a violet which he gave Mistress Francis, which she courteously received. Thus all parts were pleased for that time.

Philautus was invited to dinner, so that he could no longer stay; but pulling out the book wherein his letter was enclosed, he delivered it to Camilla, taking his humble leave of the Lady Flavia and the rest of the gentlewomen.

When he was gone there fell much talk of him between the gentlewomen, one commending his wit, another his personage, some his favour, all his good conditions; insomuch that the Lady Flavia bound it with an oath that she thought him both wise and honest.

When the company was dissolved, Camilla, not thinking to receive an answer but a lecture, went to her Italian book, where she found the letter of Philautus; who without any further

<sup>1</sup> *Besmeared*. Nashe similarly says, in *Pierce Pennilessse* (*Works*, i. 173): "That looks as simperingly as if she were besmeared." These two passages seem to indicate an allusive meaning of the word, which may, as M'Kerrow suggests, be a coarse one. In another place in Nashe (*Four Letters Confuted*, *Works*, i. 281) the word seems to be used of the dipping of a person in foul water or mire.

<sup>2</sup> *Cousin*: the general use of the word denoting any of a number of near relationships; here used of a niece.

(a) *equal* 1580*a sequall*; *equall* in later editions.

(b) *impute* So 1597, etc. Earlier edd. *imputing*.

advice, as one very much offended, or in a great heat, sent him this bone to gnaw upon.<sup>1</sup>

*To Philautus*

Sufficed it not thee, Philautus, to bewray thy follies and move my patience, but thou must also procure in me a mind to revenge and to thyself the means of a farther peril? Where didst thou learn that being forbidden to be bold thou shouldst grow impudent? Or being suffered to be familiar thou shouldst wax hail-fellow? But to so malapert boldness is the demeanour of young gentlemen come that where they have been once welcome for courtesy, they think themselves worthy to court any lady by customs. Wherein they imagine they use singular audacity, which we can no otherwise term than sauciness; thinking women are to be drawn by their coined and counterfeit conceits, as the straw is by the amber or the iron by the loadstone or the gold by the mineral Chrysocola.<sup>2</sup>

But as there is no serpent that can breed in the box tree for the hardness, nor will build in the cypress tree<sup>3</sup> for the bitterness, so is there no fond or poisoned lover that shall enter into my heart which is hardened like the adamant, nor take delight in my words which shall be more bitter than gall.

It fareth with thee, Philautus, as with the drone,<sup>4</sup> who having

<sup>1</sup> *Bone to gnaw upon.* NED. quotes the phrase from 1565 on. Heywood has (p. 57): "The devil hath cast a bone . . . to set strife Between you." But the idea here is somewhat different.

<sup>2</sup> *As the straw is by the amber . . . Chrysocola.* The source is plainly the following sentence from Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 598A), quoted by De Vocht: "*Ut succina paleas ad se trahunt; magnes ferrum, chrysocola aurum: Ita quisque adsciscit sibi suis aptum moribus.*" Erasmus' source is Pliny; the first two instances of attraction he has probably taken from Book xxxvii. ch. xi. For the case of gold and chrysocola Bond quotes a statement in xxxiii. 2, that these two substances are found together in certain places; but this chrysocola is a liquid not a mineral; and De Vocht shows that the real source is xxxvii. 54, where Pliny says that "the nature of this stone . . . is similar to that of the magnet; in addition to which, it is said to have the property of increasing gold." Latin text has *augere quoque aurum traditur*, but, as De Vocht points out, *augere* was emended to *trahere* by some Renaissance editors and commentators, e.g., by the editor of the Bâle edition of 1539. Compare note on p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> *No serpent . . . can breed in the box tree . . . cypress tree.* A somewhat similar statement concerning the cedar has been made above, p. 58. See also note on p. 359. The source here, however, is different, namely Pliny, xvi. 80, or Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 620C).

<sup>4</sup> *As with the drone.* The source is Pliny, xi. 11, or Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 616A).

lost his(a) own wings seeks to spoil the bees of theirs ; and thou being clipped of thy liberty, goest about to bereave me of mine ; not far differing from the natures of dragons, who sucking blood out of the elephant<sup>1</sup> kill him and with the same poison themselves. And it may be that by the same means that thou takest in hand to inveigle my mind thou entrap thine own ; a just reward for so unjust dealing, and a fit revenge for so unkind a regard.

But I trust thy purpose shall take no place<sup>2</sup> and that thy malice shall want might. Wherein thou shalt resemble the serpent Porphirius,<sup>3</sup> who is full of poison, but being toothless he hurteth none but himself ; and I doubt not but thy mind is as full of deceit as thy words are of flattery, but having no tooth to bite I have no cause to fear.

I had not thought to have used so sour words, but where a wand cannot rule the horse a spur must. When gentle medicines have no force to purge we must use bitter potions, and where the sore is neither to be dissolved by plaster nor to be broken it is requisite it should be lanced. Herbs that are the worse for watering are to be rooted out, trees that are less fertile for the lopping are to be hewn(b) down, hawks that wax haggard by manning<sup>4</sup> are to be cast off, and fond lovers that increase in their follies when they be rejected are to be despised.

But as to be without hair amongst the Myconians is accounted no shame because they be all born bald,<sup>5</sup> so in Italy to live in love

(a) *his* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *hir*.

<sup>1</sup> *Dragons . . . sucking blood out of the elephant.* This is one of the passages in which De Vocht is able to show that Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 611A), and not Pliny (see viii. 12), is Lyly's source. Pliny relates that the blood of the elephant is cold, and hence sought for in summer by the dragon, who waits in the river for the elephant to come and drink, and then fixes its teeth behind his ear and sucks all of his blood from his body. The elephant falls exhausted, and the dragon, intoxicated by the blood, falls under it and also perishes. But Erasmus' phrasing is much nearer to Lyly's.

<sup>2</sup> *Take no place*: fail to take effect or be accomplished.

<sup>3</sup> *The serpent Porphirius*: see note on p. 204.

(b) *are to be hewn* 1580A omits *be*; added in later editions.

<sup>4</sup> *Manning*: the effort to train a hawk to man's service and accustom it to men's presence. Bond quotes *Tam. of the Shrew*, iv. 1, 196, 'To man my haggard.' As regards *haggard*, see note on p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *The Myconians . . . be all born bald.* This passage again demonstrates Lyly's indebtedness to Erasmus' *Similia*. Pliny (xi. 47) merely says that "the Myconians are born without hair"; Erasmus (*Works*, i. 616F): "As among the M. baldness is not indecorous, because there they are all born blind: So among the Italians (to name them for the sake of an example) the pursuit of wealth is not base because there is no one there that is not engaged in it."

is thought no fault for that there they are all given to lust. Which maketh thee to conjecture that we in England reckon love as the chiefest virtue, which we abhor as the greatest vice ; which groweth like the ivy <sup>1</sup> about the trees and killeth them by culling them. Thou art always talking of love and applying both thy wit and thy wealth in that idle trade, only for that thou thinkest thyself amiable ; not unlike unto the hedgehog who evermore lodgeth in the thorns <sup>2</sup> because he himself is full of prickles.

But take this both for a warning and an answer, that if thou prosecute thy suit thou shalt but undo thyself ; for I am neither to be wooed with thy passions whilst thou livest, nor to repent me of my rigour when thou art dead. Which I would not have thee think to proceed of any hate I bear thee, for I malice none, but for love to mine honour, which neither Italian shall violate nor Englishman diminish. For as the precious stone Chalazias <sup>3</sup> being thrown into the fire keepeth still his coldness, not to be warmed with any heat, so my heart, although dented at with the arrows of thy burning affections and as it were environed with the fire of thy love, shall always keep his hardness, and be so far from being mollified that thou shalt not perceive it moved.

The violet Lady Flavia bestowed on thee I wish thee, and if thou like it I will further thee ; otherwise if thou persist in thine old follies whereby to increase my new griefs, I will neither come where thou art nor shalt thou have access to the place where I am. For as little agreement shall there be between us as is betwixt the vine and the cabbage, the oak and the olive tree,<sup>4</sup> the serpent and the ash tree,<sup>5</sup> the iron and theamedes.<sup>6</sup> And if ever

<sup>1</sup> *The ivy* [etc.]. Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 620D): *Hedera Complexu necat arbores*. Pliny (xvi. 92) merely says: "It is a well-known fact that trees are killed by ivy."

<sup>2</sup> *The hedgehog . . . lodgeth in the thorns*. The source has not been traced.

<sup>3</sup> *The precious stone Chalazias*. Again the source is Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 597D), and not Pliny, xxxvii. 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Between the vine and the cabbage, the oak and the olive tree*. These two comparisons occur together both in Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 605C) and in Pliny, xxiv. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *The serpent and the ash tree*. Nashe says (*Pierce Pennilesse*, Works, i. 189), "The touch of an ashen bough causeth a giddiness in the viper's head." M'Kerrow quotes Plutarch and Sextus Empiricus ; and Nashe's source is perhaps Plutarch, but Lyly's is either Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 618C) or Pliny, xvi. 24, or Lupton's *A Thousand Notable Things* (ix., no. 8). Lupton says: "A serpent doth so hate the ash tree that he will not come nigh the shadow of them." Compare notes on pp. 58 and 357.

<sup>6</sup> *The iron and theamedes*: probably from Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 600A), whither it came from Pliny, xxxvi. 25. Theamedes is an Ethiopian stone, according to Pliny.

thou didst love me manifest it in this, that hereafter thou never write to me ; so shall I both be persuaded of thy faith and eased of mine own fear. But if thou attempt again to wring water out of the pumice<sup>1</sup> thou shalt but bewray thy falsehood and augment thy shame and my severity. For this I swear by her whose lights can never die, Vesta, and by her whose hests are not to be broken, Diana, that I will never consent to love him whose sight (if I may say so with modesty) is more bitter unto me than death.

If this answer will not content thee I will show thy letters, disclose thy love, and make thee ashamed to undertake that which thou canst never bring to pass. And so I end.

*Thine, if thou leave to be mine,  
Camilla.*

Camilla dispatched this letter with speed, and sent it to Philautus by her man ; which Philautus having read, I commit the plight he was in to the consideration of you gentlemen that have been in the like. He tare his hair, rent his clothes, and fell from the passions of a lover to the pangs of frenzy ; but at the last calling his wits to him, forgetting both the charge Camilla gave him and the contents of her letter, he greeted her immediately<sup>(a)</sup> again with an answer by her own messenger, in this manner.

### *To the cruel Camilla, greeting*

If I were as far in thy books<sup>2</sup> to be believed as thou art in mine to be beloved, thou shouldst either soon be made a wife or ever remain a virgin ; the one would rid me of hope, the other acquit me of fear.

But seeing there wanteth wit in me to persuade and will in thee to consent, I mean to manifest the beginning of my love by the end of my life ; the affects<sup>3</sup> of the one shall appear by the effects of the other. Whenas neither solemn oath nor sound

<sup>1</sup> *To wring water out of the pumice.* Pumice was much used in the 16th and 17th centuries as an absorbent of ink (in p. 40, Lyly says that the greatest blot is taken out with pumice), and hence its dryness became proverbial. Thus South, *Sermon on John i. 2*, has : " Squeeze them as dry as a pumice " ; and Cowley (*Love's Riddle*) : " I have eyes of pumice."

(a) *immediately* 1580A *immedialye* ; corrected, in various spellings, in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *In thy books.* The phrase ' in (or out of) one's books ' (in one's favour, or out of it) was common from the beginning of the 16th century. Heywood, p. 44, has : " I cross thee quite out of my book."

<sup>3</sup> *Affects* : temper, disposition. See *NED*.



persuasion nor any reason can work in thee a remorse, I mean by death to show my desire ; the which the sooner it cometh the sweeter it shall be, and the shortness of the force shall abate the sharpness of the sorrow. I cannot tell whether thou laugh at my folly or lament my frenzy ; but this I say, and with salt tears trickling down my cheeks I swear, that thou never foundest more pleasure in rejecting my love than thou shalt feel pain in remembering my loss, and as bitter shall life be to thee as death to me, and as sorrowful shall my friends be to see thee prosper as thine glad to see me perish.

Thou thinkest all I write of course,<sup>1</sup> and makest all I speak of small account ; but God who revengeth the perjuries of the dissembler is witness of my truth, of Whom I desire no longer to live than I mean simply to love. I will not use many words, for if thou be wise few are sufficient, if froward superfluous ; one line is enough if thou be courteous, one word too much if thou be cruel. Yet this I add, and that in bitterness of soul, that neither my hand dareth write that which my heart intendeth, nor my tongue utter that which my hand shall execute. And so farewell, unto whom only I wish well.

*Thine ever, though shortly never,  
Philautus.*

This letter, being written in the extremity of his rage, he sent by him that brought hers. Camilla perceiving a fresh reply was not a little melancholy ; but digesting it with company and burning the letter, she determined never to write to him nor after that to see him, so resolute was she in her opinion,—I dare not say obstinate lest you gentlewomen should take pepper in the nose <sup>2</sup> when I put but salt to your mouths. But this I dare boldly affirm, that ladies are to be wooed with Apelles' pencil, Orpheus' harp, Mercury's tongue, Adonis' beauty, Croesus' wealth, or else never to be won ; for their beauties being blazed, their ears tickled, their minds moved, their eyes pleased, their appetite satisfied, their coffers filled, when they have all things they should have and would have, then men need not to stand in doubt of their coming <sup>3</sup> but of their constancy.

But let me follow Philautus, who now, both loathing his life and cursing his luck, called to remembrance his old friend Euphues,

<sup>1</sup> *Of course* : only perfunctory and conventional.

<sup>2</sup> *Pepper in the nose* : offence given or taken. A common phrase from *Piers Plowman* to the end of the 17th century.

<sup>3</sup> *Coming* : willingness to come, 'coming-on' disposition.

whom he was wont to have always in mirth a pleasant companion, in grief a comforter, in all his life the only stay of his liberty. The discourtesy which he offered him so increased his grief that he fell into these terms of rage, as one either in an ecstasy or in a lunacy.

"Now, Philautus, dispute no more with thyself of thy love, but be desperate to end thy life. Thou hast cast off thy friend, and thy lady hath forsaken thee; thou, destitute of both, canst neither have comfort of Camilla, whom thou seest obstinate, nor counsel of Euphues, whom thou hast made envious.

"Ah my good friend Euphues! I see now at length, though too late, that a true friend is of more price than a kingdom, and that the faith of thee is to be preferred before the beauty of Camilla. For as safe(a) being is it in the company of a trusty mate as sleeping in the grass trifoly, where there is no serpent so venomous that dare venture.<sup>1</sup>

"Thou wast ever careful for my estate and I careless for thine; thou didst always fear in me the fire of love, I ever flattered myself with the bridle of wisdom; when thou wast earnest to give me counsel I waxed angry to hear it; if thou didst suspect me upon just cause I fell out with thee for every light occasion. Now, now, Euphues, I see what it is to want a friend, and what it is to lose one; thy words are come to pass, which once I thought thou spakest in sport, but now I find them as a prophecy: that I should be constrained to stand at Euphues' door as the true owner.

"What shall I do in this extremity? Which way shall I turn me? Of whom shall I seek remedy? Euphues will reject me, and why should he not? Camilla hath rejected me, and why should she? The one I have offended with too much grief,<sup>2</sup> the other I have served with too great good will; the one is lost with love, the other with hate; he for that I cared not for him, she because I cared for her.

"Aye, but though Camilla be not to be moved, Euphues may be mollified. Try him, Philautus, sue to him, make friends, write to him, leave nothing undone that may either show in thee a sorrowful heart or move in him a mind that is pitiful. Thou knowest he is of nature courteous, one that hateth none, that

(a) *safe* 1580A *salfe*; altered in later editions. Similarly, 1580A has *salfely*, p. 364, line 24.

<sup>1</sup> *The grass trifoly . . . dare venture*: almost a literal translation of Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 606c), Erasmus' source very likely being Pliny, xxi. 88. 'Trifoly' is of course trefoil.

<sup>2</sup> *Grief*: hurt, harm.

loveth thee, that is tractable in all things. Lions spare those that couch to them,<sup>1</sup> the tigress biteth not when she is clawed, Cerberus barketh not if Orpheus pipe sweetly; assure thyself that if thou be penitent he will be pleased, and the old friendship will be better than the new."

Thus Philautus, joying now in nothing but only in the hope he had to recover the friendship with repentance which he had broken off by rashness, determined to greet his friend Euphues, who all this while lost no time at his book in London. But how he employed it he shall himself utter, for that I am neither of his counsel nor court; but what he hath done he will not conceal, for rather he wisheth to bewray his ignorance than his idleness, and willinger you shall find him to make excuse of rudeness than laziness.

But thus Philautus saluted him.

### *Philautus to Euphues*

The sharp north-east wind,<sup>2</sup> my good Euphues, doth never last three days, tempests have but a short time, and the more violent the thunder is the less permanent it is. In the like manner it falleth out with the jars and crossings of friends, which, begun in a minute, are ended in a moment. Necessary it is that among friends there should be some overthwarting, but to continue in anger not convenient. The camel first troubleth the water<sup>3</sup> before he drink, the frankincense is burned before it smell, friends are tried before they are to be trusted; lest shining like the carbuncle<sup>4</sup> as though they had fire, they be found being touched to be without fire.

<sup>1</sup> *Lions spare those that couch to them.* Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 611B): *Leo . . . simplicibus et prostratis parcat*, founded on Pliny, viii. 19. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* ii. 182, says that tigers and Numidian lions are subdued by yielding to them.

<sup>2</sup> *The sharp north-east wind . . . the less permanent it is:* compare p. 45. Lyly here combines materials from three successive similes in Erasmus (Works, i. 622F): *Sicuti vulgo dicunt aquilonem noctu exortum, nunquam ad tertiam durare diem . . . [etc.]. Ut Venti desituri vehementissime spirare solent [etc.]. . . . Sicuti aquilo initio vehemens desinit lenior.*

<sup>3</sup> *The camel first troubleth the water [etc.].* Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 611C): *Camelus non gaudet potu, nisi prius obturbata conculcatione aqua.* Erasmus' source is Pliny, viii. 26. De Vocht cites four other passages in Lyly where the substance of this simile is used: *Mother Bombie*, v. 3, 233; *Pappe with an Hatchet* (Works, ed. Bond, iii. 396); etc. In Alciati's *Emblems*, ed. Venice, 1546, the fable is illustrated.

<sup>4</sup> *Like the carbuncle.* Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 598E): *Carbunculi ignis*

Friendship should be like the wine which Homer much commending calleth Maroneum,<sup>1</sup> whereof one pint being mingled with five quarts of water yet it keepeth his old strength and virtue, not to be qualified by any discourtesy. Where salt doth grow<sup>2</sup> nothing else can breed, where friendship is built no offence can harbour. Then, good Euphues, let the falling out of friends be a renewing of affection;<sup>3</sup> that in this we may resemble the bones of the lion,<sup>4</sup> which lying still and not moved begin to rot, but being stricken one against another break out like fire and wax green.

The anger of friends is not unlike unto the physician's cucurbitae,<sup>5</sup> which drawing all the infection in the body into one place doth purge all diseases; and the rages of friends reaping up all the hidden malices or suspicions or follies that lay lurking in the mind maketh the knot more durable. For as the body being purged of melancholy waxeth light and apt to all labour, so the mind as it were scoured of mistrust becometh fit ever after for belief.

But why do I not confess that which I have committed, or knowing myself guilty why use I to gloze; I have unjustly, my good Euphues, picked a quarrel against thee, forgetting the counsel thou gavest me, and despising that which I now desire. Which as often as I call to my mind I cannot but blush to myself for shame, and fall out with myself for anger. For in falling out with thee I have done no otherwise than he that desiring to sail safely killeth him at the helm, resembling him that having need to alight spurreth his horse to make him stand still, or him that swimming<sup>6</sup> upon another's back seeketh to stop his breath.

*et nomen et speciem habent, cum ignem non sentiant.* Erasmus' source is Pliny, xxxvii. 25.

<sup>1</sup> *The wine which Homer . . . calleth Maroneum*: i.e., the wine given by Maron to Ulysses (*Odyssey*, ix. 209). Lyly's immediate source is not Pliny, xiv. 6, but Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 617E): *Maroneum vinum, cujus meminit Homerus, viciis tanto aquae mixtum, tamen vigorem suum servat.*

<sup>2</sup> *Where salt doth grow* [etc.]. Again the source is probably Erasmus' *Similia* (Works, i. 602F), not Pliny (xxxii. 39) directly.

<sup>3</sup> *Falling out . . . affection.* Terence (*Andria*, 555) has: *Amantium irae amoris integratio*, which Rich. Edwardes translated (in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*), "The falling out of faithful friends is the renewing of love."

<sup>4</sup> *The bones of the lion.* Mizaldus, *Arcanorum Naturae*, Paris 1554, Book i. p. 41A has: *Eius* [i.e., the lion's] *autem ossa simul collisa, ut silices ignem concipiunt.* This is founded on Pliny, xi. 86, but with a strange perversion of the sense, which Lyly has still further perverted. Thus a new bit of natural history has been created.

<sup>5</sup> *Cucurbitae*: cupping-glasses. This paragraph is a translation of a passage in Plutarch's *De Exilio*, near the beginning.

<sup>6</sup> *Him that swimming* [etc.]. The figure is from Plutarch's *De Exilio*, § 1.

It was in thee, Euphues, that I put all my trust and yet upon thee that I poured out all my malice ; more cruel than the crocodile who suffereth the bird<sup>1</sup> to breed in her mouth that scoureth her teeth, and nothing so gentle as the princely lion<sup>2</sup> who saved his life that helped his foot. But if either thy good nature can forget that which my ill tongue doth repent or thy accustomable kindness forgive that my unbridled fury did commit, I will hereafter be as willing to be thy servant as I am now desirous to be thy friend and as ready to take an injury as I was to give an offence.

What I have done in thine absence I will certify at thy coming, and yet I doubt not but thou canst guess by my condition ; yet this I add, that I am as ready to die as to live, and were I not animated with the hope of thy good counsel I would rather have suffered the death I wish for than sustained the shame I sought for. But now in these extremities, reposing both my life in thy hands and my unfeigned service and good will for ever hereafter(a) at thy commandment, I attend thine answer, and rest,

*Thine to use more than his own,  
Philautus.*

This letter being ended, Philautus sent the same by his servant.(b) Which Euphues reading(c) stood as one in a quandary, not knowing whether he should more rejoyce at his friend's submission or mistrust his subtlety. Therefore being as yet not fully determined to anything he presently departed into his chamber, and without further search of Philautus's well-meaning sent him an answer by his own messenger, in manner as hereafter followeth.

<sup>1</sup> *The crocodile . . . the bird* : see note on p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *The princely lion* : alluding to the story of Androcles, whose life was spared by a lion because he had extracted a thorn from its foot. Bond cites Aelian, *De Nat. Anim.* vii. 48, as the source ; but Elyot tells the story at length in *The Governour*, Book ii. ch. xiii. (ed. Crofts, vol. ii. p. 171).

(a) *my unfeigned service and good will for ever hereafter at* [etc.]. So in 1597 and later editions. 1580a has merely *my service at*.

(b) *This letter being ended, Philautus sent the same by his servant*. This follows the 1597 edition. 1580a has *This letter he dispatched by his boye*.

(c) *Which Euphues reading . . . as hereafter followeth*. 1597 and later editions. 1580a has *which Euphues reading, could not tell whether he shoulde more reioyce at his friends submission, or mistrust his subtiltie, therefore as one not resolving himselfe to determine any thing, as yet, aunswered him thus immediately by his owne messenger*.

*Euphues to him that was his Philautus*

I have received thy letter, and know the man. I read it, and perceived the matter ; which I am as far from knowing how to answer as I was from looking for such a errand.

Thou beginnest to infer a necessity that friends should fall out, whenas I cannot allow a convenience. For if it be among such as are faithful there should be no cause of breach, if between dissemblers no care of reconciliation.

The camel, sayest thou, loveth water when it is troubled ; and I say the hart thirsteth for the clear stream. And fitly didst thou bring it in against thyself (though applied it, I know not how aptly, for thyself), for such friendship dost thou like where brawls may be stirred not quietness sought.

The wine Maroneum which thou commendest and the salt ground which thou inferrest, the one is neither fit for thy drinking nor the other for thy taste ; for such strong wines will overcome such light wits, and so good salt cannot relish in so unsavoury a mouth, neither as thou desirest to apply them can they stand thee in stead. For oftentimes have I found much water in thy deeds but not one drop of such wine, and the ground where salt should grow but never one corn that had savour.

After many reasons to conclude that jars were requisite thou fallest to a kind of submission, which I marvel at. For if I gave no cause, why didst thou pick a quarrel ; if any, why shouldst thou crave a pardon ? If thou canst defy thy best friend what wilt thou do to thine enemy ? Certainly this must needs ensue, that if thou canst not be constant to thy friend when he doth thee good, thou wilt never bear with him when he shall do thee harm ; thou that seekest to spill the blood of the innocent canst show small mercy to an offender ; thou that treadest a worm on the tail <sup>1</sup> wilt crush a wasp on the head ; thou that art angry for no cause wilt, I think, run mad for a light occasion. Truly, Philautus, that once I loved thee I cannot deny ; that now I should again do so I refuse. For small confidence shall I repose in thee when I am guilty, that can find no refuge in innocency.

The malice of a friend is like the sting of an asp,<sup>2</sup> which nothing can remedy ; for being pierced in the hand it must be

<sup>1</sup> *Treadest a worm on the tail* : i.e., offendest the least offensive and dangerous of things. Heywood, p. 64 and p. 71, has : "Tread a worm on the tail and it must turn again."

<sup>2</sup> *The sting of an asp . . . cut off*. The source is Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 611E), or Pliny, viii. 35.

cut off, and a friend thrust to the heart it must be pulled out. I had as lief, Philautus, have a wound that inwardly might lightly grieve me, than a scar that outwardly should greatly shame me.

In that thou seemest so earnest to crave atonement thou causest me the more to suspect thy truth ; for either thou art compelled by necessity and then it is not worth thanks, or else disposed again to abuse me and then it deserveth revenge. Eels cannot be held in a wet hand, yet are they stayed with a bitter fig leaf ;<sup>1</sup> the lamprey is not to be killed with a cudgel, yet is she spoiled<sup>2</sup> with a cane ; so friends that are so slippery and wavering in all their dealings are not to be kept with fair and smooth talk, but with rough and sharp taunts ; and contrariwise, those which with blows are not to be reformed are oftentimes won with light persuasions. Which way I should use thee I know not ; for now a sharp word moved thee when otherwhiles a sword will not, then a friendly check killed thee when a razor cannot raze thee.

But to conclude, Philautus, it fareth with me now as with those that have been once bitten with the scorpion,<sup>3</sup> who never after feel any sting, either of the wasp or the hornet or the bee ; for I, having been pricked with thy falsehood, shall never I hope again be touched with any other dissembler, flatterer, or fickle friend.

Touching thy life in my absence, I fear me it hath been too loose ; but seeing my counsel is no more welcome unto thee than water into a ship, I will not waste wind to instruct him that wasteth himself to destroy others. Yet if I were as fully persuaded of thy conversion as thou wouldest have me of thy confession, I might haply do that which now I will not.

And so farewell, Philautus ; and though thou little esteem my counsel, yet have respect to thine own credit. So in working thine own good thou shalt keep me from harm.

*Thine once,*

*Euphues.*

This letter pinched Philautus at the first. Yet trusting much to the good disposition of Euphues, he determined to persevere both in his suit and amendment ; and therefore, as one beat-

<sup>1</sup> *Eels . . . a bitter fig leaf*: from Alciati's *Emblems*, no. 60, which represents a man holding an eel by the means described in the text. The last line of the Latin verse is: *Ficulno anguillam strinximus in folio*.

<sup>2</sup> *Spoiled*: probably means 'destroyed, killed.' See p. 23. Aelian, *De Nat. Anim.* i. 37, says: *Muraena . . . bacillo semel percussa quiescit*.

<sup>3</sup> *Once bitten with the scorpion*. The source is Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 604A), not Pliny, viii. 35. See note on p. 112.

ing his iron that he might frame it while it were hot,<sup>1</sup> answered him in this manner.

*To mine only friend, Euphues*

There is no bone so hard but being laid in vinegar it may be wrought, nor ivory so tough but seasoned with zutho<sup>2</sup> it may be engraven, nor box so knotty that dipped in oil cannot be carved; and can there be a heart in Euphues which neither will yield to softness with gentle persuasions nor true perseverance? What canst thou require at my hand that I will deny thee? Have I broken the league of friendship? I confess it. Have I misused thee in terms? I will not deny it. But being sorrowful for either, why shouldest not thou forgive both?

Water is praised for that it savoureth of nothing, fire for that it yieldeth to nothing; and such should the nature of a true friend be that it should not savour of any rigour, and such the effect that it may not be conquered with any offence. Otherwise faith put into the breast that beareth grudges, or contracted with him that can remember griefs, is not unlike unto wine poured into fir vessels,<sup>3</sup> which is present death to the drinker.

Friends must be used as the musicians tune their strings,<sup>4</sup> who finding them in a discord do not break them but either by intention or remission frame them to a pleasant consent; or as riders handle their young colts,<sup>5</sup> who finding them wild and untractable bring them to a good pace with a gentle rein, not with a sharp spur; or as the Scythians ruled their slaves,<sup>6</sup> not with

<sup>1</sup> *Beating his iron . . . while it were hot*: see note on p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> *No bone so hard . . . nor ivory so tough . . . zutho* [etc.]. The immediate source is Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 572B), the ultimate Plutarch's treatise *An Vitiositas ad Infelicitatem sufficiat*, § 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Wine poured into fir vessels*: from Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 618C), which gets it from Pliny, xvi. 20, where it is said that a kind of travelling-flask made in Gaul of the wood of the yew causes the death of those who drink from it.

<sup>4</sup> *Musicians tune their strings*: Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 562A): *Musicus chordas dissonantes non statim abjicit atque incidit: sed sensim intendens, aut remittens, ad concentum adducit*.

<sup>5</sup> *Riders handle their young colts*. The bridle, spur, snaffle, etc., typifying control by wisdom or authority, are almost as fixed metaphorical conventions in Lyly as fire, flame, etc., associated with love. The hint may have come from a simile of Erasmus (*Works*, i. 564B), but Alciati's *Emblems* and Ascham's *Scholemaster* also use the figure. Indeed it was a favourite humanistic simile. Compare notes on pp. 251-2 and 312.

<sup>6</sup> *The Scythians ruled their slaves* [etc.]. Bond cites Herodotus, iv. 3, as the final source.



cruel weapons but with the show of small whips. Then, Euphues, consider with thyself what I may be, not what I have been, and forsake me not for that I deceived thee; if thou do, thy discourtesy will breed my destruction. For as there is no beast that toucheth the herb whereon the bear hath breathed<sup>1</sup> so there is no man that will come near him upon whom the suspicion of deceit is fastened.

Concerning my life passed, I conceal it, though to thee I mean hereafter to confess it; yet hath it not been so wicked that thou shouldest be ashamed, though so infortunate that I am grieved. Consider we are in England, where our demeanour will be narrowly marked if we tread awry,<sup>(a)</sup> and our follies mocked if we use <sup>(b)</sup> wrangling. I think thou art willing that no such thing should happen, and I know thou art wise to prevent it.

I was of late in the company of divers gentlewomen, among whom Camilla was present; who marvelled not a little that thou soughtest either to absent thyself of some conceived injury, where there was none given, or of set purpose, because thou wouldest give one. I think it requisite, as well to avoid the suspicion of malice as to shun the note of ingratitude, that thou repair thither, both to purge thyself of the opinion may be conceived and to give thanks for the benefits received.

Thus assuring myself thou wilt answer my expectation and renew our old amity, I end.

*Thine assured to command,  
Philautus.*

Philautus did not sleep about his business, but presently sent this letter; thinking that if once he could fasten friendship again upon Euphues, that by his means he should compass his love with Camilla. And yet this I durst affirm that Philautus was both willing to have Euphues and sorrowful that he lost him by his own lavishness.

Euphues perused this letter oftentimes, being in a mammering what to answer. At the last he determined once again to lie aloof, thinking that if Philautus meant faithfully he would not desist from his suit; and therefore he returned salutations in this manner.

<sup>1</sup> *The herb whereon the bear hath breathed.* Bond quotes Pliny, xi. 115. Gesner, *Thierbuch* (ed. Zürich, 1563), p. xvii, says: "Was der Bär bekauchet, das frist kein thier nach im, so schelmigen athem hat er."

(a) *awry* 1580A *a wrie*; 1580B, etc. *awrye*.

(b) *if we use* 1580A *if vse*; *we* supplied by 1580B.

*Euphues to Philautus*

There is an herb in India, Philautus, of pleasant smell, but whoso cometh to it feeleth present smart for that there breed in it a number of small serpents.<sup>1</sup> And it may be that though thy letter be full of sweet words, there breed in thy heart many bitter thoughts; so that in giving credit to thy letters I may be deceived with thy leasings. The box-tree<sup>2</sup> is always green but the seed is poison; Tilia hath a sweet rind and a pleasant leaf but the fruit so bitter that no beast will bite it; a dissembler hath evermore honey in his mouth and gall in his mind; which maketh me to suspect their wiles, though I cannot ever prevent them.

Thou settest down the office of a friend, which if thou couldest as well perform as thou canst describe, I would be as willing to confirm our old league as I am to believe thy new laws. Water that savoureth nothing (as thou sayest) may be heated and scald thee, and fire which yieldeth to nothing may be quenched when thou wouldest warm thee. So the friend in whom there was no intent to offend may, through the sinister dealings of his fellow, be turned to heat, being before cold, and the faith which wrought like a flame in him be quenched(a) and have no spark.

The pouring of wine into fir vessels<sup>3</sup> serveth thee to no purpose: for if it be good wine, there is no man so foolish to put it into(b) fir; if bad, who would pour into better than fir? Musty casks are fit for rotten grapes, a barrel of poisoned ivy is good enough for a tun of stinking oil, and cruelty too mild a medicine for craft.

How musicians tune their instruments I know, but how a man should temper his friend I cannot tell; yet oftentimes the string breaketh that the musician seeketh to tune, and the friend cracketh which good counsel should tame. Such colts

<sup>1</sup> *An herb in India . . . small serpents.* The source is Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 620A), not Pliny, xii. 18, as De Vocht shows.

<sup>2</sup> *The box-tree . . . Tilia . . . a dissembler.* Lyly here combines two adjoining similes from Erasmus (*Works*, i. 618D), one concerning the box, one concerning the linden (*tilia*), adopting also Erasmus' application of the figures to the case of crafty and false speakers. Erasmus takes them from two passages in Pliny (xvi. 25 and 28). Compare the similes of the musk and the cedar tree, p. 75, the fig tree and the apple, p. 44.

(a) *quenched* 1580A *quenthed*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *The pouring of wine into fir vessels*: see note on p. 368. Query: is *ivy* in next sentence a misprint for *yew*? The statement about ivy in Pliny xvi. 63 is hardly relevant.

(b) *put it into* 1580A *put into*; *it* supplied by later editions.

are to be ridden with a sharp snaffle, not with a pleasant bit ; and little will the Scythian whip be regarded where the sharpness of the sword is derided.

If thy luck have been infortunate, it is a sign thy living hath not been godly ; for commonly there cometh an ill end where there was a naughty beginning.

But learn, Philautus, to live hereafter as though thou shouldest not live at all ; be constant to them that trust thee, and trust them that thou hast tried ; dissemble not with thy friend either for fear to displease him or for malice to deceive him. Know this, that the best simples are very simple if the physician could not apply them, that precious stones were no better than pebbles if lapidaries did not know them, that the best friend is worse than a foe if a man do not use him. Mithridate<sup>1</sup> must be taken inwardly, not spread on plasters ; purgations must be used like drink, not like baths ; the counsel of a friend must be fastened to the mind, not to the ear, followed, not praised, employed in good living, not talked off in good meaning.

I know, Philautus, we are in England ; but I would we were not. Not that the place is too base, but that we are too bad—and God grant thou have done nothing which may turn thee to discredit or me to displeasure.

Thou sayest thou wert of late with Camilla. I fear me, too late—and yet perhaps too soon. I have always told thee that she was too high for thee to climb, and too fair for others to catch, and too virtuous for any to inveigle. But wild horses break high hedges though they cannot leap over them, eager wolves bark at the moon<sup>2</sup> though they cannot reach it, and Mercury whistleth for Vesta<sup>3</sup> though he cannot win her.

For absenting myself, I hope they can take no cause of offence, neither that I know have I given any. I love not to be bold, yet would I be welcome ; but guests and fish,<sup>4</sup> say we in Athens, are ever stale within three days. Shortly I will visit them and excuse myself ; in the mean season I think so well of them as it is possible for a man to think of women—and how well that is I appeal to thee, who always madest them no worse than saints in heaven, and shrines in no worse place than thy heart.

<sup>1</sup> *Mithridate* : see note on p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> *Wolves bark at the moon* : see note on p. 298.

<sup>3</sup> *Mercury . . . Vesta*. Apollo and Poseidon are spoken of as suitors of Hestia (Vesta), but not Mercury.

<sup>4</sup> *Guests and fish* [etc.] : see note on p. 286.

For answering thy suit I am not yet so hasty, for accepting thy service I am not so imperious ; for in friendship there must be an equality of estates, and that may be in us, *(a)* also a similitude of manners, and that cannot, unless thou learn a new lesson and leave the old. Until which time I leave thee, wishing thee well as to myself.

*Euphues.*

This letter was written in haste, sent with speed, and answered again in post. For Philautus, seeing so good counsel could not proceed of any ill conceit, thought once again to solicit his friend, and that in such terms as he might be most agreeable to Euphues' tune, in this manner.

*To Euphues health in body and quietness in mind*

In music there are many discords before there can be framed a diapason,<sup>1</sup> and in contracting of good will many jars before there be established a friendship ; but by these means the music is more sweet, and the amity more sound. I have received thy letter, wherein there is as much good counsel contained as either I could wish or thou thyself couldest give ; but ever thou harpest on that string which long since was out of tune, but now is broken, my inconstancy. Certes, my good Euphues, as I cannot but commend thy wisdom in making a stay of reconciliation, for that thou findest so little stay in me, so can I *(b)* not but marvel at thy incredulity in not believing me, since that thou seest a reformation in me.

But it may be thou dealest with me as the philosopher did with his knife ; who being many years in making of it, always dealing by the observation of the stars, caused it at the last to cut the hard whetstone, saying that it skilled not how long things were a doing but how well they were done. And thou holdest me off with many delays, using I know not what observations ; thinking thereby to make me a friend at the last that shall last. I praise thy good meaning, but I mislike thy rigour. Me thou shalt use in what thou wilt, and do that with a slender twist <sup>2</sup> that none can do with a tough withe.

As for my being with Camilla, good Euphues, rub there no

*(a) and that may be in us* So 1580B, etc. 1580A & *be that may bee in vs.*

<sup>1</sup> *Diapason* : a harmonious combination (see note in Bond).

*(b) so can I* 1580A *can can* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Twist* : a string.

more lest I wince ; for deny I will not that I am wrung on the withers.<sup>1</sup>

This one thing touching myself I say, and before Him that seeth all things I swear, that hereafter I will neither dissemble to delude thee nor pick quarrels to fall out with thee. Thou shalt find me constant to one, faithless to none, in prayer devout, in manners reformed, in life chaste, in words modest, not framing my fancy to the humour of love, but my deeds to the rule of zeal. And such a man as heretofore merrily thou saidest I was but now truly thou shalt see I am, and as I know thou art.

Then, Euphues, appoint the place where we may meet and reconcile the minds, which I confess by mine own follies were severed. And if ever after this I shall seem jealous over thee or blinded towards myself, use me as I deserve, shamefully.

Thus attending thy speedy answer, for that delays are perilous,<sup>2</sup> especially as my case now standeth, I end.

*Thine ever to use as thine own,*

*Philautus.*

Euphues, seeing such speedy return of another answer, thought Philautus to be very sharp set<sup>3</sup> for to recover him ; and weighing with himself that often in marriages there have fallen out brawls, where the chiefest love should be, and yet again reconciliations, that none ought at any time so to love that he should find in his heart at any time to hate. Furthermore casting in his mind the good he might do to Philautus by his friendship, and the mischief that might ensue by his fellow's folly, answered him thus again speedily, as well to prevent the course he might otherwise take as also to prescribe what way he should take.

### *Euphues to his friend Philautus*

Nettles, Philautus, have no prickles yet they sting,<sup>4</sup> and words have no points yet they pierce. Though outwardly thou protest great amendment, yet oftentimes the softness of wool

<sup>1</sup> *Wrung on the withers* : see note on p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Delays are perilous* : see note on p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Sharp set* : originally 'hungry,' 'eager for food,' and used specifically of a hawk or hound. From Lyly's time onward the figurative use has been common.

<sup>4</sup> *Nettles . . . have no prickles yet they sting* : Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 606B), founded on Pliny, xxi. 55.

which the Seres send <sup>1</sup> sticketh so fast to the skin that when one looketh it should keep him warm it fetcheth blood; and thy smooth talk, thy sweet promises, may, when I shall think to have them performed to delight me, be a corrosive to destroy me.

But I will (a) not cast beyond the moon,<sup>2</sup> for that in all things I know there must be a mean.

Thou swearest now that thy life shall be led by my line, that thou wilt give no cause of offence by thy disorders nor take any by my good meaning; which if it be so, I am as willing to be thy friend as I am to be mine own. But this take for a warning: if ever thou jar when thou shouldst jest or follow thine own will when thou art to hear my counsel, then will I depart from thee, and so display thee as none that is wise shall trust thee nor any that is honest shall live with thee.

I now am resolved by thy letter of that which I was almost persuaded of by mine own conjecture touching Camilla. Why, Philautus, art thou so mad, without acquaintance of thy part or familiarity of hers, to attempt a thing which will not only be a disgrace to thee but also a discredit to her? Thinkest thou thyself either worthy to woo her or she willing to wed thee? Either thou able to frame thy tale to her content or she ready to give ear to thy conclusions? No, no, Philautus, thou art too young to woo in England, though old enough to win in Italy; for here they measure more the man by the qualities of his mind than the proportion of his body. They are too expert in love, having learned in this time of their long peace <sup>3</sup> every wrinkle <sup>4</sup> that is to be seen or imagined. It is neither an ill tale well told nor a good history made better, neither invention of new fables nor the reciting of old, that can either allure in them an appetite to love or almost an attention to hear. It fareth not with them as it doth with those in Italy, who prefer a sharp wit before sound wisdom or a proper man before a perfect mind; they live not by shadows, nor feed of the air, nor lust after wind. Their love is not tied to art but reason, not to the precepts of Ovid but to the persuasions of honesty.

<sup>1</sup> *Wool which the Seres send.* The Seres were a people of ancient China, from whom the silk used in the ancient world was often obtained. 'The Seres' wool' is used as a name for silk, in allusion to Vergil's line (*Georgics*, ii. 121), quoted by Bond: *Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres*.

(a) *will* 1580A *will*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *I will not cast beyond the moon*: see note on p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *In this time of their long peace*: compare p. 439.

<sup>4</sup> *Wrinkle*: device, trick, subtlety.

But I cannot but marvel at thy audacity, that thou didst once dare to move her to love whom I always feared to solicit in questioning (a); as well doubting to be gravelled<sup>1</sup> by her quick and ready wit as to be confuted by her grave and wise answers. But thou wilt say she was of no great birth, of meaner parentage than thyself. Aye but, Philautus, they be most noble who are commended more for their perfection than their pedigree; and let this suffice thee, that her honour consisteth in virtue, beauty, wit, not blood, ancestors, antiquity.

But more of this at our next meeting, where I think I shall be merry to hear the discourse of thy madness; for I imagine to myself that she handled thee very hardly, considering both the place she served in and the person that served her. And sure I am she did not hang for thy mowing.<sup>2</sup>

A Phoenix is no food for Philautus. That dainty tooth of thine must be pulled out, else wilt thou surfeit with desire; and that eagle's eye pecked out, else will it (b) be dazzled with delight. My counsel must rule thy conceit, lest thou confound us both.

I will this evening come to thy lodging, where we will confer. And till then I commend me to thee.

*Thine ever to use if thou be thine own,*

*Euphues.*

This letter was so thankfully received of Philautus that he almost ran beyond himself for joy, preparing all things necessary for the entertainment of his friend. Who at the hour appointed failed not.

Many embracings there were, much strange courtesy, many pretty glances; being almost for the time but strangers because of their long absence. But growing to questioning (c) one with another, they fell to the whole discourse of Philautus's love, who left out nothing that before I put in. Which I must omit lest I set before you coleworts twice sodden,<sup>3</sup> which will

(a) *questioning* 1580A *questtoning*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>1</sup> *Gravelled*: confounded, nonplussed. Originally, the metaphor was from the grounding of a ship, but nowadays the word probably suggests other ideas.

<sup>2</sup> *Hang for thy mowing*. Probably the phrase means 'to wait to be wooed by thee,' and the figure is that of a harvest and the mower.

(b) *will it* 1580A *wilt*; 1580B, etc. *wil it*.

(c) *questioning* 1580A *questtoning*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Coleworts twice sodden*: a Latin proverb, *Crambe bis posita* (or *repetita*) *mors*—Cabbage twice cooked is death. Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, p. 96, quotes

both offend your ears, which I seek to delight, and trouble my hand, which I covet to ease. But this I am sure, that Euphues' conclusion was this, between waking and winking<sup>1</sup>: that our English ladies and gentlewomen were so cunning in love that the labour were more easy in Italy to wed one and bury her, than here to woo one and marry her. And thus they with long talking waxed weary; where I leave them, not willing to talk any longer but to sleep their fills till morning.

Now, gentlewomen, I appeal in this controversy to your consciences, whether there be in you an art to love, as Euphues thinketh, or whether it breed in you, as it doth in men, by sight if one be beautiful, by hearing if one be witty, by deserts if one be courteous, by desire if one be virtuous. Which I would not know to this intent that I might be instructed how to win any of you, but to the end I might wonder at you all. For if there be in love an art, then do I not marvel to see men that every way are to be beloved so oftentimes to be rejected.

But so secret is this matter that, pertaining nothing to our sex, I will not farther inquire of it; lest haply in guessing what art women use in love I should minister an art they never before knew; and so in thinking to bewray the bait that hath caught one, I give them a net to draw many, putting a sword into the hand where there is but a sheath, teaching them to strike that put us to our tryings<sup>2</sup> by warding. Which would double our peril who without art cannot allure them, and increase their tyranny who without they torment will come to no parley.

But this I admonish you, that as your own beauties make you not covetous of your alms towards true lovers, so other men's flattery make you not prodigal of your honours towards dissemblers. Let not them that speak fairest be believed soonest, for true love lacketh a tongue, and is tried by the eyes; which in a heart that meaneth well are as far from wanton glances as the mind is from idle thoughts.

And this art I will give you, which we men do commonly practise: if you behold any one that either your courtesy hath

it from Juvenal, vii. 154. In Italian the proverb exists (*Cavolo riscaldato non fu mai buono*) with the usual meaning that friendship made up after a quarrel is never pleasing or lasting. This is not Lyly's application, and it is probable that he has it from Erasmus' *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 196D), where it is applied, as here, to tedious repetitive discourse.

<sup>1</sup> *Between waking and winking*: see p. 228, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Tryings*: efforts, supreme exertions.



allured, or your beauty, or both, triumph not over him ; but the more earnest you see him the more ready be to follow him, and when he thinketh himself nearest let him be farthest off. Then if he take that with patience, assure yourself he cannot be faithless. He that angleth plucketh the bait away when he is near a bite, to the end the fish may be more eager to swallow the hook ; birds are trained<sup>1</sup> with a sweet call,<sup>2</sup> but caught with a broad net ; and lovers come with fair looks, but are entangled with disdainful eyes. The spaniel that fawneth when he is beaten will never forsake his master ; the man that doteth when he is disdained will never forgo his mistress.

But too much of this string, which soundeth too much out of square.<sup>3</sup> And return we to Euphues and Philautus.

The next morning when they were risen they went into a gallery, where Euphues, who perceived Philautus grievously perplexed for the love of Camilla, began thus between jest and earnest to talk with him :—

“ Philautus, I have well nigh all this night been disputing with myself of thy distress ; yet can I resolve myself in nothing that either may content me or quiet thee.

“ What metal art thou made of, Philautus, that thinkest of nothing but love, and art rewarded with nothing less than love ? Lucilla was too bad, yet didst thou court her ; thy sweetheart now in Naples is none of the best, yet didst thou follow her ; Camilla, exceeding all, where thou wast to have least hope, thou hast wooed not without great hazard to thy person and grief to mine.

“ I have perused her letters, which in my simple judgement are so far from allowing thy suit that they seem to loathe thy service. I will not flatter thee in thy follies ; she is no match for thee nor thou for her, the one wanting living to maintain a wife, the other birth to advance a husband. Surlius, whom I remember thou didst name in thy discourse, I remember in the court a man of great birth and noble blood, singular wit and rare

<sup>1</sup> *Trained* : allured.

<sup>2</sup> *Call*. The word may mean simply a cry or sound, or a whistle blown, to attract birds, or a decoy for the same purpose (as in Shakespeare's *King John*, III. 4, 174 : “ A call To train ten thousand English to their side ”). Bond thinks a pun is meant upon the word *caul*, in allusion to ‘ net ’ which follows.

<sup>3</sup> *Out of square* : see note on p. 271.

personage. If he go about to get credit, I muse what hope thou couldest conceive to have a good countenance.

"Well,<sup>1</sup> Philautus, to set down precepts (*b*) against thy love will nothing prevail, to persuade thee to go forward were very perilous; for I know in the one love will regard no laws, and in the other persuasions can purchase no liberty. Thou art too heady to enter in where no heed can help one out. Theseus would not go into the labyrinth without a thread that might show him the way out, neither any wise man enter into the crooked corners of love unless he knew by what means he might get out. Love which should continue<sup>2</sup> forever should not be begun in an hour, but slowly be taken in hand and by length of time finished; resembling Zeuxis, that wise painter, who in things that he would have last long took greatest leisure.

"I have not forgotten one Mistress Frances, which the Lady Flavia gave thee for a violet; and by thy description, though she be not equal with Camilla, yet is she fitter for Philautus. If thy humour be such that nothing can feed it but love, cast thy mind on her, confer<sup>3</sup> the impossibility thou hast to win Camilla with the likelihood thou mayest have to enjoy thy violet; and in this I will endeavour both my wit and my good will, so that nothing shall want in me that may work ease in thee. Thy violet if she be honest is worthy of thee; beautiful thou sayest she is, and therefore too worthy. Hot fire is not only quenched by the clear fountain, nor love only satisfied by the fair face. Therefore in this tell me thy mind, that either we may proceed in that matter or seek a new medicine."

Philautus thus replied: "Oh my good Euphues, I have neither the power to forsake mine own Camilla, nor the heart to deny thy counsel; it is easy to fall into a net but hard to get out.

<sup>1</sup> The pages following (to p. 383) are a debate between the two kinds of love, spiritual (or intellectual) and bodily. Plutarch's essay on *Love* suggests some of the arguments that appear in many discussions of this subject during the Renaissance. Castiglione, for instance, is somewhat indebted to him in the famous passage of the Fourth Book of the *Courtier* in which the higher love is expounded. It is probable that Lyly has this passage in Castiglione in mind. Philautus stands for the average sensual man's opinion, Euphues represents the higher view, and Lyly himself at the end takes Philautus's side.

(a) *precepts* 1580A *precepts*; changed later to *precepts*.

<sup>2</sup> *Love which should continue . . . Zeuxis . . . greatest leisure*: a copious, but exact, translation of a simile of Erasmus (*Works*, i. 584F). Erasmus' source is Plutarch, *De Amic. Multit.*, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Confer*: compare.

Notwithstanding, I will go against the hair <sup>1</sup> in all things so I may please thee in anything. Oh my Camilla ! ”

With that Euphues stayed him, saying : “ He that hath sore eyes must not behold the candle, nor he that would leave his love fall to the remembering of his lady ; the one causeth the eye to smart, the other the heart to bleed.”

“ Well,” quoth Philautus, “ I am content to have the wound searched, yet unwilling to have it cured ; but sithence that sick men are not to prescribe diets but to keep them, I am ready to take potions and, if wealth serve, to pay thee for them. Yet one thing maketh me(a) to fear, that in running after two hares I catch neither.” <sup>2</sup>

“ And certainly,” quoth Euphues, “ I know many good hunters that take more delight to have the hare on foot and never catch it, than to have no cry and yet kill in the form.<sup>3</sup> Whereby I guess there cometh greater delight in the hunting than in the eating.”

“ It may be,” said Philautus. “ But I were then very unfit for such pastimes ; for what sport soever I have all the day, I love to have the game in my dish at night.”

“ And truly,” answered Euphues, “ you are worse made for a hound than a hunter, for you mar your scent with carrion <sup>4</sup> before you start your game ; which maketh you hunt oftentimes counter, whereas if you had kept it pure you might ere this time have turned(b) the hare you winded and caught the game you coursed.”

“ Why then I perceive,” quoth Philautus, “ that to talk with gentlewomen touching the discourses of love, to eat with them, to confer with them, to laugh with them, is as great pleasure as

<sup>1</sup> *Go against the hair* : sometimes, ‘ against the wool ’ (see Nashe’s *Works*, i. 307, 1-2 ; iii. 53, 9). M’Kerrow quotes Lodge’s *Rosalynde* (ed. Greg, 141) : “ Cut it against the hair.”

(a) *maketh me* So 1580B, etc. 1580A omits *me*.

<sup>2</sup> *In running after two hares I catch neither* : Düringsfeld, ii., no. 754, gives the proverb in all European languages. — Lyly may have had it from Erasmus’ *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 790A).

<sup>3</sup> *In the form* : in the lair where the animal hides or crouches : usually used in connection with a hare or a deer.

<sup>4</sup> *You mar your scent with carrion* [etc.]. / So Nashe, *Anat. of Absurditie* (*Works*, i. 30) : “ Hunters . . suffer not their dogs to taste or smell of anything by the way, no carrion especially, but reserve them wholly to their approaching disport.” Both Lyly and Nashe probably derive this figure from Erasmus’ *Similia* (*Works*, i. 589D ; ed. Basle, 1540, i. 494). M’Kerrow cites Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, § 11.

(b) *turned* 1580A *tourned*.

to enjoy them ; to the which thou mayest by some fallacy drive me, but never persuade me. For then were it as pleasant to behold fruit as to eat them, or to see fair bread as to taste it."

"Thou errest, Philautus," said Euphues, "if thou be not of that mind. For he that cometh into fine gardens is as much recreated to smell the flower as to gather it. And many we see more delighted with pictures than desirous to be painters. The effect of love is faith not lust, delightful conference not detestable concupiscence, which beginneth with folly and endeth with repentance. For mine own part I would wish nothing, if again I should fall into that vein, than to have the company of her in common conference that I best loved, to hear her sober talk, her wise answers, to behold her sharp capacity, and to be persuaded of her constancy. And in these things do we only differ from brute beasts, who have no pleasure but in sensual appetite."

"You preach heresy," quoth Philautus ; "and besides so repugnant to the text you have taken that I am more ready to pull thee out of thy pulpit than to believe thy glosses."<sup>1</sup>

"I love the company of women well, yet to have them in lawful matrimony I like much better. If thy reasons should go as current then were love no torment ; for hardly doth it fall out with him that is denied the sight and talk of his lady. Hungry stomachs are not to be fed with sayings against surfeitings, nor thirst to be quenched with sentences<sup>2</sup> against drunkenness. To love women and never enjoy them is as much as to love wine and never taste it, or to be delighted with fair apparel and never wear it. An idle love is that, and fit for him that hath nothing but ears, that is satisfied(a) to hear her speak, not desirous to have himself speed. Why then, Euphues, to have the picture of his lady is as much as to enjoy her presence, and to read her letters of as great force as to hear her answers. Which if it be, my suit in love should be as much to the painter to draw her with an amiable face, as to my lady to write an amorous letter ; both which with little suit being obtained, I may live with love and never wet my foot, nor break my sleeps, nor waste my money, nor torment my mind.

"But this worketh as much delight in the mind of a lover as the apples that hang at Tantalus' nose or the river that runneth close by his chin. And in one word, it would do me no more good

<sup>1</sup> *Glosses* : comments or paraphrases on a text. The word is more or less confused in 16th-century use with the word *gloze* (see p. 11, note 1).

<sup>2</sup> *Sentences* : aphorisms, *sententiae, dicta*.

(a) *satisfied* 1580A (and 1623) *satisfied* ; other early editions *satisfied*.

to see my lady and not embrace her in the heat of my desire, than to see fire and not warm me in the extremity of my cold.

"No, no, Euphues, thou makest love nothing but a continual wooing if thou bar it of the effect, and then is it infinite; or if thou allow it and yet forbid it, a perpetual warfare, and then is it intolerable. From this opinion no man shall withdraw me, that the end of fishing is catching, not angling; of birding, taking, not whistling; of love, wedding, not wooing. Otherwise it is no better than hanging."

Euphues, smiling to see Philautus so earnest, urged him again in this manner: "Why, Philautus, what harm were it in love if the heart should yield his right to the eye, or the fancy his force to the ear? I have read of many, and some I know, between whom there was as fervent affection as might be, that never desired anything but sweet talk and continual company at banquets, at plays, and other assemblies; as Phrigius and Pieria,<sup>1</sup> whose constant faith was such that there was never word nor thought of any uncleanness. Pygmalion loved his ivory image, being enamoured only by the sight. And why should not the chaste love of others be builded rather in agreeing in heavenly meditations than temporal actions? Believe me, Philautus, if thou knewest what it were to love thou wouldest be as far from the opinion thou holdest as I am."

Philautus, thinking no greater absurdity to be held in the world than this, replied before the other could end, as followeth:—

"Indeed, Euphues, if the King would resign his right to his legate<sup>2</sup> then were it not amiss for the heart to yield to the eyes. Thou knowest, Euphues, that the eye is the messenger of love not the master, that the ear is the carrier of news, the heart the digester. Besides this, suppose one have neither ears to hear his lady speak nor eyes to see her beauty, shall he not therefore be subject to the impression of love? If thou answer no, I can allege divers both deaf and blind that have been wounded; if thou grant it, then confess the heart must have his hope, which is neither seeing nor hearing—and what is the third?

"Touching Phrigius and Pieria, (a) think them both fools in

<sup>1</sup> *Phrigius and Pieria*: see above, p. 108. Probably Lyly here alludes to the fact that when Phrigius, meeting Pieria in a temple of Diana, asked what he could do to please her, she answered, "Let me and others with me come here when we will." No Platonic intention in her remark, but Lyly might take it so.

<sup>2</sup> *Legate*: delegate or representative.

(a) *Pieria* 1580A–1582 *Peria* (though *Pieria* is the form used a few lines above); corrected later.

this ; for he that keepeth a hen in his house to cackle and not lay, or a cock to crow and not to tread, is not unlike unto him that having sown his wheat never reapeth it, or reaping it never thresheth it, taking more pleasure to see fair corn than to eat fine bread. Pygmalion maketh against this, for Venus, seeing him so earnestly to love and so effectually to pray, granted him his request ; which had he not by importunate suit obtained, I doubt not but he would rather have hewed her in pieces than honoured her with passions, and set her up in some temple for an image not kept her in his house for a wife. He that desireth only to talk and view without any farther suit is not far different from him that liketh to see a painted rose better than to smell to a perfect violet, or to hear a bird sing in a bush rather than to have her at home in his own cage. This will I follow, (a) that to plead for love and request nothing but looks and to deserve works and live only by words is as one should plow his ground and never sow it, grind his colours and never paint, saddle his horse and never ride."

As they were thus communing, there came from the Lady Flavia a gentleman who invited them both that night to supper. Which they, with humble thanks given, promised to do so. (b) And till supper time I leave them debating their question.

Now, gentlewomen, in this matter I would I knew your minds—and yet I can somewhat guess at your meanings. If any of you should love a gentleman of such perfection as you can wish, would it content you only to hear him, to see him dance, to mark his personage, to delight in his wit, to wonder at all his qualities, and desire no other solace ? If you like to hear his pleasant voice to sing, his fine fingers to play, his proper personage to undertake any exploit, would you covet no more of your love ? As good it were to be silent and think no, as to blush and say aye.

I must needs conclude with Philautus, though I should cavil with Euphues, that the end of love is the full fruition of the party beloved, at all times and in all places. For it cannot follow in reason that because the sauce is good which should provoke mine appetite, therefore I should forsake the meat for which it was made. Believe me, the qualities of the mind, the beauty of the body, either in man or woman, are but the sauce to whet our stomachs, not the meat to fill them. For they that live by

(a) *his own cage*. This will I follow 1580A makes paragraph after *owne*, placing *cage* before *This*. Later editions make paragraph after *cage*.

(b) *so* 1597 and later editions omit *so*.

the view of beauty still look very lean, and they that feed only upon virtue at board will go with an hungry belly to bed.

But I will not crave herein your resolute answer, because between them it was not determined ; but everyone as he liketh,<sup>1</sup> and then——!

Euphues and Philautus being now again sent for to the Lady Flavia her house they came presently, where they found the worthy gentleman, Surius, Camilla, Mistress Frances, with many other gentlemen and gentlewomen.

At their first entrance doing their duty they saluted all the company and were welcomed. The Lady Flavia entertained them both very lovingly, thanking Philautus for his last company, saying, "Be merry, gentleman ; at this time of the year a violet is better than a rose." (a) And so she arose and went her way, leaving Philautus in a muse at her words, who before was in a maze at Camilla's looks. Camilla came to Euphues in this manner :—

"I am sorry, Euphues, that we have no green rushes,<sup>2</sup> considering you have been so great a stranger. You make me almost to think that of you, which commonly I am not accustomed to judge of any, that either you thought yourself too good or our cheer too bad ; other cause of absence I cannot imagine, unless seeing us very idle you sought means to be well employed. But I pray you hereafter be bold, and those things which were amiss shall be redressed ; for we will have quails<sup>3</sup> to amend your

<sup>1</sup> *Everyone as he liketh.* Of course many phrases containing the same thought are or have been proverbial, and the Elizabethans were fond of using them for titles, etc. Camden's *Remains* gives : 'Every one after his fashion' (ed. 1870, p. 321) ; and 'Every man as he loveth, quoth the good man when he kist his cow' (*ib.*). Shakespeare has 'As You Like It,' and 'What You Will.' Probably the phrase *and then* suggested to Lyly's readers a form of the saying then current which he did not wish to complete.

(a) *Be merry, gentleman ; at this time of the year a violet is better than a rose.* 1580A and 1580C *be merry Gentleman at this time of the yeare, a Uiolette is better then a Rose.* 1580B, 1581, etc. punctuate after *gentleman* and not after *year*, thus giving the interpretation of the present text.

<sup>2</sup> *Green rushes.* Floors in halls of entertainment were covered with rushes, and it was a sign of special honour to distinguished or formal visitors to renew them. Hence, "green rushes" became proverbial as a symbol of hospitality to strangers. Heywood, 432, has : "Green rushes for this stranger straw here," and Heywood's editor quotes Beaumont and Fletcher, *Valentinian*, ii. 4 : "Rushes as green as summer for this stranger." Bond quotes also *Sappho and Phao*, II. 4, 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Quail.* Quail and mallard are spoken of in the 16th century as meats

commons and some questions to sharpen your wits, so that you shall neither find fault with your diet for the grossness nor with your exercise for the easiness. As for your fellow and friend, Philautus, we are bound to him for he would oftentimes see us, but seldom eat with us; which made us think that he cared more for our company than our meat."

Euphues, as one that knew his good,<sup>1</sup> answered her in this wise: "Fair lady, it were unseemly to strew green rushes for his coming whose company is not worth a straw, or to account him a stranger whose boldness hath been strange to all those that knew him to be a stranger.<sup>2</sup> The small ability in me to requite, compared with the great cheer I received, might haply make me refrain; which is contrary to your conjecture. Neither (a) was I ever so busied in any weighty affairs which I accounted not as lost time in respect of the exercise I always found in your company; which maketh me think that your latter objection proceeded rather to convince me for a truant than to manifest a truth.

"As for the quails you promise me, I can be content with beef, and for the questions, they must be easy, else shall I not answer them. For my wit will show with what gross diet I have been brought up, so that conferring my rude replies with my base birth you will think that mean cheer will serve me, and reasonable questions deceive me; so that I shall neither find fault for my repast, nor favour for my reasons. Philautus, indeed, taketh as much delight in good company as in good cates; who shall answer for himself."

With that Philautus said: "Truly, Camilla, where I think myself welcome I love to be bold, and when my stomach is filled I care for no meat; so that I hope you will not blame me if I come often and eat little." (b)

"I do not blame you, by my faith," quoth Camilla. "You mistake me; for the oftener you come the better welcome, and the less you eat the more is saved."

Much talk passed, which being only as it were a repetition of for the rich alone; it may be that some piquant sauce is added here by the slang use of quail (after the French) in the sense of a courtesan, or the frequent allusions to the amorousness of the bird. See Nares' *Glossary* for illustrations.

<sup>1</sup> *Knew his good*: understood etiquette and manners. In Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, v. 106, it is 'conde his good,' in Spenser, *F. Q.*, i. 10, 7, as here.

<sup>2</sup> *A stranger*: i.e., a foreigner.

(a) *Neither* So 1581, etc. 1580A, B, C, *Whether*.

(b) *I hope you will not blame me if I come often and eat little*. So 1580B, etc. 1580A *I hope you will not blame if I came often and ate little*.



former things I omit as superfluous. But this I must note, that Camilla earnestly desired Surlus to be acquainted with Euphues ; who very willingly accomplished her request, desiring Euphues for the good report he had heard of him that he would be as bold with him as with anyone in England. Euphues, humbly showing his duty, promised also as occasion should serve to try him.

It now grew toward supper time. When, the table being covered and the meat served in, Lady Flavia placed Surlus over against Camilla and Philautus next Mistress Frances ; she took Euphues and the rest and placed them in such order as she thought best. What cheer they had I know not, what talk they used I heard not ; but supper being ended they sate still, the Lady Flavia speaking as followeth :—

“ Gentlemen and gentlewomen,<sup>1</sup> these Lenten evenings be long, and a shame it were to go to bed ; cold they are, and therefore folly it were to walk abroad ; to play at cards is common, at chess tedious, at dice unseemly, with Christmas games untimely. In my opinion therefore, to pass away these long nights I would have some pastime that might be pleasant but not unprofitable, rare but not without reasoning ; so shall we all account the evening well spent, be it never so long, which otherwise would be tedious, were it never so short.”

Surlus, the best in the company, and therefore best worthy to answer, and the wisest, and therefore best able, replied in this manner :—

“ Good madam, you have prevented my request with your own. For, as the case now standeth, there can be nothing either more agreeable to my humour or these gentlewomen’s desires than (a) to use some discourse as well to renew old traditions, which have been heretofore used, as to increase friendship, which hath been by the means of certain odd persons defaced.”

Everyone gave his consent with Surlus, yielding the choice of that night’s pastime to the discretion of the Lady Flavia ; who thus proposed her mind :—

“ Your task, Surlus, shall be to dispute with Camilla, and

<sup>1</sup> *Gentlemen and gentlewomen.* Bond has an interesting note concerning the custom of formal conversation described in the following pages. He cites Boccaccio’s *Filocolo* (transl. into Eng. 1567) and Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano* (transl. 1561) as the most important literary models for this society diversion, but thinks that Lyly is copying closely from Tynney’s *Flower of Friendship* (1568) in this opening paragraph. De Vocht, p. 127, adds the suggestion that the *Colloquia* of Erasmus may have also served as models, though he does not cite particular parallels.

(a) *than* Omitted in 1580A–1582 editions. Added later (in form *then*).

choose your own argument ; Philautus shall argue with Mistress Frances, Martius <sup>1</sup> with myself. And all having finished their discourses, Euphues shall be as judge who hath done best ; and whatsoever he shall allot, either for reward to the worthiest or for penance to the worst, shall be presently accomplished."

This liked them all exceedingly. And thus Surius with a good grace and pleasant speech began to enter the lists with Camilla :—

" Fair lady, you know I flatter not. I have read that the sting of an asp <sup>2</sup> were incurable, had not nature given them dim eyes, and the beauty of a woman no less infectious, had not nature bestowed upon them gentle hearts ; which maketh me ground my reason upon this commonplace, that beautiful women are ever merciful, if merciful virtuous, if virtuous constant, if constant though no more than goddesses yet no less than saints. All these things granted, I urge my question without condition.

" If, Camilla, one wounded with your beauty (for under that name I comprehend all other virtues) should sue to open his affection, serve to try it, and drive you to so narrow a point that were you never so incredulous he should prove it, yea so far to be from suspicion of deceit that you would confess he were clear from distrust, what answer would you make if you gave your consent, or what excuse if you deny his courtesy ? "

Camilla, who desired nothing more than to be questioning with Surius, with a modest countenance yet somewhat bashful (which added more commendation to her speech than disgrace), replied in this manner :—

" Though there be no cause, noble gentleman, to suspect an injury where a good turn hath been received, yet is it wisdom to be careful what answer be made where the question is difficult.

" I have heard that the tortoise in India <sup>3</sup> when the sun shineth swimmeth above the water with her back, and being delighted with the fair weather forgetteth herself until the heat of the sun so harden her shell that she cannot sink when she would, whereby she is caught. And so may it fare with me, that in this good company displaying my mind, having more regard to my delight in talking than to the ears of the hearers, I forget what I speak and so be taken in some thing I should not utter ; which haply the itching ears of young gentlemen would so canvass

<sup>1</sup> *Martius*. See note on p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> *The sting of the asp* [etc.] : immediately from Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 611F), ultimately from Pliny, viii. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *The tortoise in India* [etc.] : Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 613A), ultimately Pliny, xi. 12. Lyly's translation is close to the original.

that when I would call it in I cannot, and so be caught with the tortoise when I would not. Therefore if anything be spoken either unawares or unjustly I am to crave pardon for both, having but a weak memory and a worse wit; (a) which you cannot deny me, for that we say women are to be borne withal if they offend against their wills, and not much to be blamed if they trip with their wills; the one proceeding of forgetfulness, the other of their natural weakness. But to the matter.

"If my beauty (which God knows how simple it is) should entangle any with desire, then should I thus think: that either he were enflamed with lust rather than love, for that he is moved by my countenance, not inquiring of my conditions, or else that I gave some occasion of lightness, because he gathereth a hope to speed where he never had the heart to speak. But if at the last I should perceive that his faith were tried like gold in the fire, that his affection proceeded from a mind to please not from a mouth to delude, then would I either answer his love with liking or wean him from it by reason.

"For, I hope, sir, you will not think this, but that there should be in a woman as well a tongue to deny as in a man to desire; that as men have reason to like for beauty where they love, so women have wit to refuse for sundry causes where they love not. Otherwise were we bound to such an inconvenience that whosoever served us we should answer his suit, when in every respect we mislike his conditions; so that nature might be said to frame us for others' humours, not for our own appetites. Wherein to some<sup>1</sup> we should be thought very courteous, but to the most scarce honest.

"For mine own part, if there be anything in me to be liked of any, I think it reason to bestow on such a one as hath also somewhat to content me; so that where I know myself loved and do love again, I would upon just trial of his constancy take him."

Surius, without any stop or long pause, replied presently: "Lady, if the tortoise you spake of in India were as cunning in swimming as you are in speaking, he would neither fear the heat of the sun nor the gin<sup>2</sup> of the fisher. But that excuse was brought in rather to show what you could say than to crave pardon for that you have said. But to your answer.

(a) *Therefore if anything be spoken . . . a worse wit* The punctuation of this passage in the present text differs from that of all the earlier texts. The older editions have a colon after *both* and a comma after *witte*.

<sup>1</sup> *To some*: i.e., in the opinion of some. Compare p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> *Gin*: trap, device, tackle.

"What your beauty is I will not here dispute, lest either your modest ears should glow to hear your own praises, or my smooth tongue trip in being curious to <sup>1</sup> your perfection; so that what I cannot commend sufficiently I will not cease continually to marvel at.

"You wander in one thing out of the way, where you say that many are enflamed with the countenance, not inquiring of the conditions; when this position was before grounded, that there was none beautiful but she was also merciful, and so drawing by the face of her beauty(a) all other moral virtues. For as one ring being touched with the loadstone <sup>2</sup> draweth another, and that his fellow, till it come to a chain, so a lady endued with beauty pulleth on courtesy, courtesy mercy, and one virtue links itself to another until there be a rare perfection.

"Besides, touching your own lightness, you must not imagine that love breedeth in the heart of man by your looks but by his own eyes,<sup>3</sup> neither by your words when you speak wittily but by his own ears which conceive aptly. So that were you dumb and could not speak, or blind and could not see, yet should you be beloved; which argueth plainly that the eye of the man is the arrow,<sup>4</sup> the beauty of the woman the white, which shooteth not but receiveth, being the patient not the agent.

"Upon trial you confess you would trust<sup>5</sup>; but what trial you require you conceal, which maketh me suspect that either you would have a trial without mean or without end, either not to be sustained being impossible or not to be finished being infinite. Wherein you would have one run in a circle where there is no way out, or build in the air where there is no means how. This trial, Camilla, must be sifted to narrower points, lest in seeking to try your lover like a jennet you tire him like a jade.

"Then you require this liberty (which truly I cannot deny

<sup>1</sup> *Curious to*: attentive to, careful in noting or observing. The use with a noun following is rare.

(a) *the face of her beauty* So all early texts. Bond conjectures *force*.

<sup>2</sup> *One ring being touched with the loadstone* [etc.]: Pliny, xxxiv. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Love breedeth . . . by his own eyes*: see note on p. 260. In addition to the passages cited there, Shakespeare's song in *Mer. of Ven.*, III. 2, "Tell me where is fancy bred," may be mentioned. Plutarch in *Quaest. Nat.* quotes Empedocles to the effect that desire is created by an emanation from the eyes.

<sup>4</sup> *The eye of the man is the arrow*. The passage from Erasmus cited p. 260 might be taken as justifying the peculiar turn which Surius has given to the classical adage, but on the other hand another of Erasmus' adages (*Works*, ii. 818F) is as follows: *Mulieris oculus spiculum juvenibus est*.

<sup>5</sup> *Trial . . . trust*. See note on p. 31.

you) that you may have the choice as well to refuse as the man hath to offer; requiring by that reason some qualities in the person you would bestow your love on, yet craftily hiding what properties either please you best or like women well. Wherein again you move a doubt, whether personage or wealth or wit or all are to be required. So that what with the close trial of his faith, and the subtle wishing of his qualities, you make either your lover so holy that for faith he must be made all of truth, or so exquisite that for shape he must be framed in wax. Which if it be your opinion, the beauty you have will be withered before you be wedded, and your wooers old gentlemen before they be speeders."

Camilla, not permitting Surius to leap over the hedge which she set for to keep him in, with a smiling countenance shaped him this answer:—

"If your position be granted, that where beauty is there is also virtue, then might you add that where a fair flower is there is also a sweet savour; which how repugnant it is to our common experience there is none but knoweth, and how contrary the other is to truth there is none but seeth. Why then do you not set down this for a rule, which is as agreeable to reason, that Rhodopis<sup>1</sup> being beautiful (if a good complexion and fair favour be termed beauty) was also virtuous? That Lais excelling was also honest? That Phryne surpassing them both in beauty was also courteous? But it is a reason among your philosophers, that the disposition of the mind<sup>2</sup> followeth the composition of the body. How true in arguing it may be, I know not; how false in trial it is, who knoweth not? Beauty, though it be amiable, worketh many things contrary to her fair show; not unlike unto silver which being white draweth black lines,<sup>3</sup> or resembling the tall trees in Ida<sup>4</sup> which allured many to rest in

<sup>1</sup> *Rhodopis*: i.e., Rhodope, an Alexandrian courtesan, mentioned by Pliny, xxxvi. 17 (Bond).

<sup>2</sup> *The disposition of the mind* [etc.]. The same statement occurs on p. 50. Of course the thought is often elaborated in classical writers, Plutarch, Seneca, etc., and parallels to Lyly's form of words could easily be found. Those which De Vocht cites from Erasmus' *Colloquium Puerpera* are not striking.

<sup>3</sup> *Silver . . . draweth black lines*: repeated in *Sapho and Phao*, II. 4, 125. Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 602A) gives both the figure and the application. Erasmus' source is Pliny, xxxiii. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Tall trees in Ida* [etc.]. *Ida* is probably a mistake for *India*, Lyly's source here being apparently Pliny, xii. 18, where a poisonous thorny shrub, something like myrrh, is described: "By its powerful odour it attracts horses, and was very nearly depriving Alexander of all his cavalry."

them under their shadow(*a*) and then infected them with their scent.

" Now whereas you set down that love cometh not from the eyes of the woman but from the glances of the man (under correction be it spoken), it is as far from the truth as the head from the toe. For were a lady blind, in what can she be beautiful? If dumb, in what manifest her wit? Whenas the eye hath ever been thought the pearl of the face, and the tongue the ambassador of the heart. If there were such a lady in this company, Surius, that should wink with both eyes when you would have her see your amorous looks, or be no blab of her tongue when you would have answer of your questions, I cannot think that either her virtuous conditions(*b*) or her white and red complexion could move you to love. Although this might somewhat procure your liking, that doing what you list she will not see it, and speaking what you would she will not utter it; two notable virtues and rare in our sex, patience and silence.

" But why talk I about ladies that have no eyes, when there is no man that will love them if he himself have eyes? More reason there is to woo one that is dumb, for that she cannot deny your suit; and yet having ears to hear she may as well give an answer with a sign as a sentence. But to the purpose.

" Love cometh not from him that loveth, but from the party loved; else must he make his love(*c*) upon no cause, and then it is lust, or think himself the cause, and then it is no love. Then must you conclude thus: if there be not in women the occasion, they are fools to trust men that praise them; if the cause be in them, then are not men wise to arrogate it to themselves. It is the eye of the woman(*d*) that is made of adamant, the heart of the man that is framed of iron; and I cannot think you will say that the virtue attractive is in the iron which is drawn by force, but in the adamant that searcheth it perforce. And this is the reason that many men have been entangled against their wills with love, and kept it with their wills. You know, Surius, that the fire is in the flint that is stricken, not in the steel that striketh, the light in the sun that lendeth, not in the moon that borroweth, the love in the woman that is served, not in the man that sueth.

(*a*) to rest in them under their shadow 1597 and later editions omit *in*.

(*b*) conditions 1580A *condititions*. The misprint was corrected later (though it is still found in the 1581 text).

(*c*) make his love So 1580A. 1580B, etc. take his love.

(*d*) woman So 1581. 1580A women.

"The similitude you brought in of the arrow flew nothing right to beauty, wherefore I must shoot that shaft at your own breast. For if the eye of man be the arrow and beauty the white (a fair mark for him that draweth in Cupid's bow), then must it necessarily ensue that the archer desireth with an aim to hit the white, not the white the arrow, that the mark allureth the archer, not the shooter the mark; and therefore is Venus said in one eye to have two apples,<sup>1</sup> which is commonly applied to those that witch with the eyes, not to those that woo with their eyes.

"Touching trial, I am neither so foolish to desire things impossible, nor so froward to request that which hath no end. But words shall never make me believe without works, lest in following a fair shadow I lose the firm substance. And in one word to set down<sup>(a)</sup> the only trial that a lady requireth of her lover, it is this: that he perform as much as he sware, that every oath be a deed, every gloze<sup>2</sup> a gospel,<sup>(b)</sup> promising nothing in his talk that he perform not in his trial.

"The qualities that are required of the mind are good conditions; as temperance not to exceed in diet, chastity not to sin in desire, constancy not to covet change, wit to delight, wisdom to instruct, mirth to please without offence, and modesty to govern without preciseness.

"Concerning the body, as there is no gentlewoman so curious to have him in print,<sup>3</sup> so is there no one so careless to have him a wretch; only his right shape to show him a man, his Christendom to prove his faith, indifferent wealth to maintain his family, expecting all things necessary, nothing superfluous. And to conclude with you, Surius, unless I might have such a one I had as lief be buried as married, wishing rather to have no beauty and die a chaste virgin than no joy and live a cursed wife."

Surius, as one daunted, having little to answer, yet delighted to hear her speak, with a short speech uttered these words: "I perceive, Camilla, that be your cloth never so bad it will take some colour, and your cause never so false it will bear some show

<sup>1</sup> *Two apples.* Thomas Lupton, in his *A Thousand Notable Things*, vi. 22, says: "Women that have double apples in their eyes or strales, do everywhere hurt with their looking: Which is called of some overlooking." He adds 'Cicero' as his authority.

(a) *in one word to set down* 1580A-1597 omit *to*. Inserted later.

<sup>2</sup> *Gloze*: fine or flattering speech. See note on p. 11.

(b) *gospel* 1580A *glospell*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *In print*: in an exactly perfect style—'letter-perfect.' The phrase is still in use dialectally in this sense. See *NED*. Compare note on p. 9.

of probability; wherein you manifest the right nature of a woman, who, having no way to win, thinketh to overcome with words. This I gather by your answer, that beauty may have fair leaves and foul fruit, that all that are amiable are not honest, that love proceedeth of the woman's perfection and the man's follies, that the trial looked for is to perform whatsoever they promise, that in mind he be virtuous, in body comely—such a husband in my opinion is to be wished for, but not looked for. Take heed, Camilla, that seeking all the wood for a straight stick you choose not at the last a crooked staff, or prescribing a good counsel to others thou thyself follow the worst; much like to Chius, who, selling the best wine to others, drank himself of the lees.”<sup>1</sup>

“Truly,” quoth Camilla, “my wool was black and therefore it could take no other colour, and my cause good and therefore admitted no cavil; as for the rules I set down of love, they were not coined of me but learned and, being so true, believed. If my fortune be so ill that searching for a wand I gather a cammock,<sup>2</sup> or selling wine to other I drink vinegar myself, I must be content that of the worst poor help patience<sup>3</sup>; which by so much the more is to be borne, by how much the more it is perforce.”<sup>4</sup>

As Surius was speaking the Lady Flavia prevented him, saying, “It is time that you break off your speech, lest we have nothing to speak; for should you wade any further you would both waste the night and leave us no time, and take our reasons and leave us no matter. That everyone, therefore, may say somewhat, we command you to cease; that you have both said so well, we give you thanks.” Thus letting Surius and Camilla to whisper by themselves (whose talk we will not hear), the lady began in this manner to greet Martius(a):—

<sup>1</sup> *Chius . . . the lees.* Lyly takes this from Erasmus (*Similia*; *Works*, i. 590b), who had it from Plutarch, *De Tranq. Animi*, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Cammock*: see note on p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Of the worst poor help patience.* The text must be corrupt, though the reading is the same in all early editions. But it is clear that there is allusion to a proverb such as ‘Patience . . . is all a poor man’s remedy’ (Ray, ed. Bohn, p. 123), or ‘Patience is a poor man’s virtue’ (Lean, *Collectanea*, iv. 80). Perhaps the right reading is: ‘Of the worst poor the help is patience,’ or, ‘Of the worst the poor help is patience.’

<sup>4</sup> *Perforce.* The proverbial phrase ‘patience perforce’ is extremely common in the 16th and 17th centuries. See many illustrations in Lean, *Collectanea*, ii. 698, and Nares’ *Glossary*.

(a) *Martius* 1580a *Matius*; corrected in later editions.



" We see, Martius,<sup>1</sup> that where young folks are they treat of love, when soldiers meet they confer of war, painters of their colours, musicians of their crotchets, and everyone talketh of that most he liketh best. Which seeing it is so, it behoveth us that have more years to have more wisdom, not to measure our talk by the affections we have had but by those we should have.

" In this, therefore, I would know thy mind, whether it be convenient for women to haunt such places where gentlemen are or for men to have access to gentlewomen. Which methinketh in reason cannot be tolerable, knowing that there is nothing more pernicious to either than love, and that love breedeth by nothing sooner than looks. They that fear water will come near no wells, they that stand in dread of burning fly from the fire ; and ought not they that would not be entangled with desire to refrain company ? If love have the pangs which the passionate set down, why do they not abstain from the cause ? If it be pleasant, why do they dispraise it ? We shun the place of pestilence for fear of infection, the eyes of Catoblepas <sup>2</sup>(a) because of diseases, the sight of the Basilisk <sup>3</sup> for dread of death, and shall we not eschew the company of them that may entrap us in love, which is more bitter than any destruction ? If we fly thieves that steal our goods, shall we follow murderers that cut our throats ? If we be heedful to come where wasps be, lest we be stung, shall we hazard to run where Cupid is, where we shall be stifled ? Truly, Martius, in my opinion there is nothing either more repugnant to reason or abhorring from nature than to seek that we should shun, leaving the clear stream to drink of the muddy ditch, or in the extremity of heat to lie in the parching sun when we may sleep(b) in the cold shadow, or being free from fancy to seek after love ; which is as much as to cool a hot liver with strong wine, or to cure a weak stomach with raw flesh.

" In this I would hear thy sentence, induced the rather to this discourse for that Surius and Camilla have begun it, than I like

<sup>1</sup> *Martius*. Named, without introduction, on p. 386, this character disappears after his duologue with Flavia. It appears that he is no longer young, and his name probably indicates his character.

<sup>2</sup> *Catoblepas*. Though this emendation of Bond's is rather violent it seems to be justified. The fact used by Lyly is found in Pliny, viii. 32, and Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 611D), in each case in conjunction with the statement about the basilisk which immediately follows in Lyly.

(a) *Catoblepas* Bond's emendation for 1580A *Cathritiuss*, 1580B-1582 *Catherismes*, 1597, etc. *Catharismes*.

<sup>3</sup> *The sight of the Basilisk* : see above, note 2.

(b) *when we may sleep* So 1580A. 1581 *when he may sleep*.

it. Love in me hath neither power to command nor persuasion to entreat. Which how idle a thing it is, and how pestilent to youth, I partly know and you I am sure can guess."

Martius, not very young to discourse of these matters yet desirous to utter his mind, whether it were to flatter Surius in his will or to make trial of the lady's wit, began thus to frame his answer :—

"Madam, there is in Chio the image of Diana,<sup>1</sup> which to those that enter seemeth sharp and sour, but returning after their suits made looketh with a merry and pleasant countenance. And it may be that at the entrance of my discourse ye will bend your brows as one displeased, but hearing my proof be delighted and satisfied.

"The question you move is whether it be requisite that gentlemen and gentlewomen should meet. Truly among lovers it is convenient to augment desire, amongst those that are firm necessary to maintain society. For to take away all meeting for fear of love were to kindle amongst all the fire of hate. There is greater danger, madam, by absence, which breedeth melancholy, than by presence, which engendereth affection.

"If the sight be so perilous that the company should be barred, why then admit you those to see banquets that may thereby surfeit, or suffer them to eat their meat by a candle that have sore eyes? To be separated from one I love would make me more constant, and to keep company with her I love not would not kindle desire. Love cometh as well in at the ears, by the report of good conditions, as in at the eyes, by the amiable countenance; which is the cause that divers have loved those they never saw, and seen those they never loved.

"You allege that those that fear drowning come near no wells, nor they that dread burning near no fire. Why then let them stand in doubt also to wash their hands in a shallow brook, for that Serapus<sup>2</sup> falling into a channel was drowned; and let him that is cold never warm his hands, for that a spark fell into the eyes of Actina<sup>3</sup> whereof she died. Let none come into the company of women, for that divers have been allured to love and, being refused, have used violence to themselves. Let

<sup>1</sup> *There is in Chio the image of Diana*: not an invention, as Bond supposed, but founded on Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 599B): *In Chio Dianae facies est in sublimi posita, cujus vultus intrantibus tristis, exeuntibus exhilarata videtur*. Pliny describes it the same way in xxxvi. 4. Compare note on p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> *Serapus*: "not to be identified" (Bond).

<sup>3</sup> *Actina*. Bond thinks that Lyly invented the name, using the stem of *ἀκτίς*, a ray of light. He refers to *Lavia*, p. 415, which he thinks is made by the same kind of process.

this be set down for a law, that none walk abroad in the day but men, lest meeting a beautiful woman he fall in love and lose his liberty.

"I think, madam, you will not be so precise to cut off all conference because love cometh by often communication. Which if you do, let us all now presently depart, lest in seeing the beauty which dazzleth our eyes and hearing the wisdom which tickleth our ears we be enflamed with love.

"But you shall never beat the fly from the candle<sup>1</sup> though he burn, nor the quail from the hemlock<sup>2(a)</sup> though it be poison, nor the lover from the company of his lady though it be perilous.

"It falleth out sundry times that company is the cause to shake off love; working the effects of the root rhubarb<sup>3</sup> which, being full of choler, purgeth choler, or of the scorpion's sting<sup>4</sup> which, being full of poison, is a remedy for poison.

"But this I conclude, that to bar one that is in love of the company of his lady maketh him rather mad than mortified; for him to refrain that never knew love is either to suspect him of folly without cause, or the next way for him to fall into folly when he knoweth the cause. A lover is like the herb *Heliotropium*,<sup>5</sup> which always inclineth to that place where the sun shineth; and being deprived of the sun dieth. For as *Lunaris* herb<sup>6</sup> as long as the moon waxeth bringeth forth leaves, and in the waning shaketh them off; so a lover whilst he is in the

<sup>1</sup> *The fly from the candle*: see note on p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *The quail from the hemlock*: see note on p. 62.

(a) *from the hemlock* So 1580B, etc. 1580A omits *the*.

<sup>3</sup> *The root rhubarb* [etc.]: translating Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 606B), founded on Pliny, xxvii. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *The scorpion's sting*: see note on p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> *The herb Heliotropium*: a translation of Erasmus' simile (*Works*, i. 605F), the substance of which is drawn from Pliny, xxii. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Lunaris herb*. No such plant is mentioned in classical authors, but in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance the herb *lunary* (moonwort, or moonfern) is the recipient of many magic properties: it opens locks, draws the shoes from horses' feet, inspires love-dreams, etc. It is this of course that Lyly means in *Sapho and Phao*, III. 3. 43-5, and *Endim.* II. 3. Concerning it see *NED.*, Nares' *Glossary*, Lean's *Collectanea*, II. 407-8. There is often uncertainty whether moonwort, or the garden plant honesty, *Lunaria biennis*, is meant. But probably by *Lunaris* here Lyly does not mean either. He has made up the name from some medieval Latin text in which "lunary" qualities are attributed to certain plants. Here, for example, is Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philos.*, Book I. ch. xxiv.: *Lunaris [est] agnus castus . . . Similiter et herba chinostares, quae crescit et decrescit cum luna, scilicet in substantia et numero foliorum* [etc.]. There was a Latin treatise by Conrad Gesner on "Herbs called Lunary," which Lyly may have been familiar with.

company of his lady, where all joys increase, uttereth many pleasant conceits, but banished from the sight of his mistress, where all mirth decreaseth, either liveth in melancholy or dieth with desperation."

The Lady Flavia, speaking in his cast,<sup>1</sup> proceedeth in this manner: "Truly, Martius, I had not thought that as yet your colt's tooth stuck in your mouth, or that so old a truant in love could hitherto remember his lesson. You seem not to infer that it is requisite they should meet, but being in love that it is convenient, lest falling into a mad mood they pine in their own peevishness. Why then, let it follow that the drunkard which surfeiteth with wine be always quaffing because he liketh it, or the epicure which glutteth himself with meat be ever eating for that it contenteth him; not seeking at any time the means to redress their vices, but to renew them.

"But it fareth with the lover as it doth with him that poureth in much wine, who is ever more thirsty than he that drinketh moderately; for having once tasted the delights of love he desireth most the thing that hurteth him most, not laying a plaster to the wound but a corrosive. I am of this mind, that if it be dangerous to lay flax to the fire, salt to the eyes, sulphur to the nose, that then it cannot be but perilous to let one lover come in presence of the other."

Surius(a) overhearing the lady and seeing her so earnest, although he were more earnest in his suit to Camilla, cut her off with these words:—

"Good madam, give me leave either to depart or to speak. For in truth you gall me more with these terms than you wist, in seeming to inveigh so bitterly against the meeting of lovers which is the only marrow<sup>2</sup> of love; and though I doubt not but that Martius is sufficiently armed to answer you, yet would I not have those reasons refelled which I loathe to have repeated. It may be you utter them not of malice you bear to love, but only to move controversy where there is no question. For if thou envy to have lovers meet, why did you grant us; if allow it, why seek you to separate us?"

The good lady could not refrain from laughter when she saw Surius so angry, who in the midst of his own tale was troubled with hers. Whom she thus again answered:—

"I cry you mercy, gentleman. I had not thought to have

<sup>1</sup> *In his cast*: see note on p. 255.

(a) *Surius* 1580A–1582 *For Surius*: *For* omitted in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Marrow*: the seat of love, according to many 16th-century poets.

caught you when I fished for another ; but I perceive now that with one bean it is easy to get two pigeons,<sup>1</sup> and with one bait to have divers bites.(a) I see that others may guess where the shoe wrings <sup>2</sup> besides him that wears it."

"Madam," quoth Surius, "you have caught a frog<sup>3</sup> if I be not deceived, and therefore as good it were not to hurt him as not to eat him. But if all this while you angled to have a bite at a lover, you should have used no bitter medicines but pleasant baits."

"I cannot tell," answered Flavia, "whether my bait were bitter or not, but sure I am I have the fish by the gill. That doth me good."

Camilla not thinking to be silent put in her spoke<sup>4</sup> as she thought into the best wheel, saying(b): "Lady, your cunning may deceive you in fishing<sup>5</sup> with an angle, therefore to catch him you would have you were best to use a net."

"A net," quoth Flavia, "I need none ; for my fish playeth in a net already."

With that Surius began to wince, replying immediately : "So doth many a fish, good lady, that slippeth out when the fisher thinketh him fast in ; and it may be that either your net is too weak to hold him, or your hand too wet."

"A wet hand," quoth Flavia, "will hold a dead herring."

"Aye," quoth Surius. "But eels are no herrings."

"But lovers are,"<sup>6</sup> said Flavia.

<sup>1</sup> *With one bean . . . to get two pigeons.* It may mean that the bean is used to attract the pigeons ; or there may be an allusion to the game known as *pigeon-holes* (see Nares' *Glossary* and *NED.*), in which something was rolled with the object of getting it into one of a number of holes. Little is known of the way the game was played.

(a) *bites* 1580A-1581 *bites*. *Bites* in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Where the shoe wrings* : see note on p. 268 and compare p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> *You have caught a frog.* Heywood, p. 32 : "He hath well fished and caught a frog." Heywood's editor quotes Latimer's *Remains* : "Well I have fished and caught a frog, Brought little to pass with much ado." See also Dekker's *Patient Grissil*, v. 1. Nashe has the proverb in mind (*Works*, i. 261, 9-10) when he speaks of "angling for frogs in a clear fountain" as an example of useless labour over minutiae.

(b) *saying* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *and began in this manner.*

<sup>4</sup> *Put in her spoke . . . into the best wheel* : see note 6 on p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> *Fishing.* Here, as often, Lyly unwinds the bottom of a proverb and weaves his web of the threads. See, for instance, in Heywood, p. 38, 'It is ill fishing before the net,' and other fishing proverbs.

<sup>6</sup> *But lovers are* [sc. *herrings*]. There is an allusion here which I cannot explain, though it may have something to do with the common saying, 'neither fish nor flesh.' The various proverbs concerning the herring mentioned by

Surius, not willing to have the grass mown whereof he meant to make his hay, began thus to conclude : " Good lady, leave off fishing for this time ; and though it be Lent rather break a statute,<sup>1</sup> which is but penal, than sew <sup>2</sup> a pond, that may be perpetual."

" I am content," quoth Flavia, " rather to fast for once than to want a pleasure for ever. Yet, Surius, betwixt us two I will at large prove that there is nothing in love more venomous than meeting, which filleth the mind with grief and the body with diseases ; for having the one, he cannot fail of the other. But now, Philautus and Niece Frances, since I am cut off, begin you. But be short, because the time is short, and that I was more short than I would."

Frances, who was ever of wit quick and of nature pleasant, seeing Philautus all this while to be in his dumps, began thus to play with him :—

" Gentleman, either you are musing who shall be your second wife or who shall father your first child, else would you not all this while hang your head, neither attending to the discourses that you have heard nor regarding the company you are in ; or it may be (which of both conjectures is likeliest) that hearing so much talk of love you are either driven to the remembrance of the Italian ladies, which once you served, or else to the service of those in England, which you have since your coming seen. For as Andromache whensoever she saw the tomb of Hector could not refrain from weeping, or as Laodamia could never behold the picture of Protesilaus in wax<sup>3</sup> but she always fainted, so lovers whensoever they view the image of their ladies, though not the same substance yet the similitude in shadow, they are so benumbed in their joints and so bereft of their wits that they have neither the power to move their bodies to show life nor their tongues to make answer. So that I, thinking that with your other senses you had also lost your smelling, thought rather to be a

Nashe (*Works*, iii. 222) do not throw light. Possibly the meaning is to be found in the common notion that amorous people, especially women, were fond of salt and salt meat. For this see Lupton, *A Thousand Notable Things*, i., no. 93.

<sup>1</sup> *A statute* : namely, the one against buying or selling meat in Lent.

<sup>2</sup> *Sew* : draw the water from. Compare Worlidge, *Syst. Agric.* (1681), p. 268 (quoted by *NED.*): "A good time to sew Fish-ponds, and take Fish." The word comes from Old Fr. *sewer*, which is from a supposed popular L. *exaquare*. Compare Eng. *sewer*.

<sup>3</sup> *The picture of Protesilaus in wax*. See the account of the image Laodamia made of her husband during his absence at Troy, and her adoration of it, in Ovid's *Heroides*, xiii. 151 ff.

thorn whose point might make you feel somewhat, than a violet whose savour could cause you to smell nothing."

Philautus, seeing this gentlewoman so pleasantly disposed, with a merry countenance and quick wit began to make answer in this manner(a) :—

"Gentlewoman, to study for a second wife before I know my first were to resemble the good housewife in Naples, who took thought to bring forth her chickens before she had hens to lay eggs<sup>1</sup>; and to muse who should father my first child were to doubt when the cow is mine who should own the calf. But I will neither be so hasty to beat my brains about two wives before I know where to get one, nor so jealous to mistrust her fidelity when I have one. Touching the view of ladies or the remembrance of my loves, methinketh it should rather sharpen the point in me than abate the edge. My senses are not lost, though my labour be; and therefore, my good Violet, prick not him forward with sharpness whom thou shouldest rather comfort with savours.

"But to put you out of doubt that my wits were not all this while a wool-gathering, I was debating with myself whether in love it were better to be constant, bewraying all the counsels, or secret, being ready every hour to flinch. And so many reasons came to confirm either that I could not be resolved of any. To be constant what thing more requisite in love, when it shall always be green like the ivy though the sun parch it, that shall ever be hard like the true diamond though the hammer<sup>2</sup> beat it, that still groweth with the good vine though the knife cut it<sup>3</sup>? Constancy is like unto the stork,<sup>4</sup> who wheresoever she fly cometh into no nest but her own, or the lapwing,<sup>5</sup> whom nothing can drive from her young ones but death.

"But to reveal the secrets of love, the counsels, the conclusions, what greater despite to his lady or more shameful discredit to himself can be imagined, when there shall no letter pass but it shall be disclosed, no talk uttered but it shall be again

(a) *with a merry countenance . . . make answer in this manner* So 1597, etc. 1580A *replied in this manner*.

<sup>1</sup> *To bring forth her chickens before she had hens to lay eggs.* The proverb 'To count one's chickens before they be hatched' is in Gosson's *Ephemerides of Phialo* (1579), 19a, and is common in the 17th century. Walker, *Paraemologia* (1672) has it. See Düringsfeld, i., no. 333, for foreign parallels.

<sup>2</sup> *Diamond . . . the hammer*: see quot. from Erasmus on p. 22, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> *The . . . vine though the knife cut it*: see note on p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Constancy is like unto the stork*: after Erasmus' simile (*Works*, i. 614c), which is drawn from Pliny, x. 31.

<sup>5</sup> *The lapwing*: see note on p. 193.

repeated, nothing done but it shall be revealed? Which when I considered, methought it better to have one that should be secret though fickle, than a blab though constant. For what is there in the world that more delighteth a lover than secrecy, which is void of fear, without suspicion, free from envy, the only hope a woman hath to build both her honour and honesty upon? The tongue of a lover should be like the point in the dial,<sup>1</sup> which though it go none can see it going, or a young tree, which though it grow none can perceive it growing; having always the stone in their mouth(a) which the cranes use<sup>2</sup> when they fly over mountains lest they make a noise.

"But to be silent and lightly to esteem of his lady, to shake her off though he be secret, to change for everything though he bewray nothing, is the only thing that cutteth the heart in pieces of a true and constant lover. Which deeply weighing with myself, I preferred him that would never remove though he revealed all, before him that would conceal all and ever be sliding. Thus wafting(b) to and fro, I appeal to you, my good Violet, whether in love be more required, secrecy or constancy."

Frances with her accustomable boldness, yet modestly, replied as followeth: "Gentleman, if I should ask you whether in the making of a good sword iron were more to be required or steel, sure I am you would answer that both were necessary. Or if I should be so curious to demand whether, in a tale told to your ladies, disposition<sup>3</sup> or invention(c) be(d) most convenient, I cannot think but you would judge them both expedient. For as one metal is to be tempered with another in fashioning a good blade, lest either being all of steel it quickly break or all of iron it never cut, so fareth it in speech, which if it be not seasoned as well with wit to move delight as with art to manifest cunning, there is no eloquence. And in no other manner standeth it with love; for to be secret and not constant or constant and not secret were to build a house of mortar without stones, or a wall of stones

<sup>1</sup> Like the point in the dial. Compare *Hen. IV.*, First Part, v. 2, 84: "If life did ride upon a dial's point."

(a) their mouth So 1580A. 1597, etc. *his mouth*.

<sup>2</sup> The stone . . . which the cranes use: see note on p. 195. To the sources there mentioned may be added the additions made to Alciati's *Emblems* in the Venice ed. of 1546.

(b) wafting So 1597, etc. 1580A *wasting*.

<sup>3</sup> Disposition or invention. *Invention* corresponds to *wit* below, *disposition* to *art*.

(c) invention So 1606, etc. 1580A *mention*.

(d) be Omitted in 1580A-1582. Supplied in later editions.



without mortar. There is no lively picture drawn with one colour, (a) no curious image wrought with one tool, no perfect music played with one string. And wouldest thou have love, the pattern of eternity, coloured either with constancy alone or only secrecy?

"There must in every triangle be three lines, the first be-ginneth, the second augmenteth, the third concludeth it a figure; so in love three virtues, affection which draweth the heart, secrecy which increaseth the hope, constancy which finisheth (b) the work. Without any of these lines there can be no triangle, without any of these virtues no love. There is no man that runneth with one leg, no bird that flieth with one wing, no love that lasteth with one limb. Love is likened to the emerald,<sup>1</sup> which cracketh rather than consenteth to any disloyalty. And can there be any greater villainy than being secret not to be constant, or being constant not to be secret? But it falleth out with those that being constant and yet full of babble (c) as it doth with the serpent jaculus and the viper,<sup>2</sup> who burst with their own brood, as these are torn with their own tongues.

"It is no question, Philautus, to ask which is best when, being not joined, there is never a good. If thou make a question where there is no doubt, thou must take an answer where there is no reason. Why then also dost thou not inquire whether it were better (d) for a horse to want his forelegs or his hinder, when having not all he cannot travel? Why art thou not inquisitive whether it were more convenient for the wrestlers in the games of Olympia to be without arms or without feet, or for trees to want roots or lack tops, when either is impossible? There is no true lover, believe me Philautus—sense telleth me so, not trial—that hath not faith, secrecy, and constancy. If thou

(a) *with one colour* So 1582. 1580A *without colour*.

(b) *finisheth* So 1581. 1580A *finish*.

<sup>1</sup> *The emerald*: compare note 5 on p. 62. The property of the emerald here mentioned is frequently described, e.g., Albertus Magnus (*Works*, v. 46) tells a story, often repeated, of a King of Hungary to illustrate it.

(c) *that being constant and yet full of babble* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *that be constant and yet full of babble*. Bond emends *that being constant are yet full of bable*.

<sup>2</sup> *The serpent jaculus and the viper*. Not only the mention of both these kind of serpents, but also the moral application of the simile, shows that Erasmus (*Works*, i. 570D) is Lyly's source. For the ultimate source see note on p. 194.

(d) *better* 1580A *betther*; corrected in later editions.

want either, it is lust not love ; and that thou hast not them all thy profound question assureth me. Which if thou didst ask to try my wit, thou thoughtest me very dull ; if thou resolve thyself of a doubt, I cannot think thee very sharp."

Philautus that perceived her to be so sharp thought once again like a whetstone to make her sharper, and in these words returned his answer :—

" My sweet Violet, you are not unlike unto those who, having gotten the start in a race, think none to be near their heels because they be foremost. For having the tale in your mouth you imagine it is all truth, and that none can control it."

Frances, who was not willing(a) to hear him go forward in so fond an argument, cut him off before he should come to his conclusion(b) :—

" Gentleman, the faster you run after me, the farther you are from me ; therefore I would wish you to take heed that in seeking to strike at my heels you trip not up your own. You would fain with your wit cast a white upon black,<sup>1</sup> wherein you are not unlike unto those that seeing their shadow very short in the sun think to touch their head with their heel, and putting forth their leg are farther from it than when they stood still. In my opinion it were better to sit on the ground with little ease, than to rise and fall with great danger."

Philautus, being in a maze to what end this talk should tend, thought that either Camilla had made her privy to his love or that she meant by suspicion to entrap him. Therefore, meaning to leave his former question and to answer her speech, proceeded thus :—

" Mistress Frances, you resemble in your sayings the painter Timanthes,<sup>2</sup> in whose pictures there was ever more understood than painted ; for with a gloze you seem to shadow that which in colours you will not show. It cannot be, my Violet, that the faster I run after you the farther I should be from you, unless that either you have wings tied to your heels or I thorns thrust into mine. The last dog oftentimes catcheth the hare,<sup>3</sup> though

(a) *who was not willing* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *who was very much unwilling*.

(b) *conclusion* 1597, etc. *add in this manner*.

<sup>1</sup> *Cast a white upon black*. The proverb is classical. Ovid (*Met.* xi. 313) : *Candida de nigris et de candentibus atra qui facere adsuerat*. Juvenal (x. 30) : *qui nigrum in candida vertunt*. See Otto, p. 243. Of course Heywood's 'To say the crow is white' (p. 69 and 203) is about the same thing.

<sup>2</sup> *The painter Timanthes* : see note on p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> *The last dog . . . catcheth the hare . . . ; the slow snail climbeth the*

the fleetest turn him ; the slow snail climbeth the tower at last, though the swift swallow mount it ; the laziest winneth the goal, sometimes, though the lightest be near it. In hunting I had as lief stand at the receipt<sup>1</sup> as at the loosing, in running rather endure long with an easy amble than leave off being out of wind with a swift gallop ; especially when I run as Hippomenes did with Atalanta,<sup>2</sup> who was last in the course but first at the crown. So that I guess that women are either easy to be outstripped, or willing.

" I seek not to trip at you, because I might so hinder you and hurt myself; for in letting your course by striking at your short heels<sup>3</sup> you would, when I should crave pardon, show me a high instep.<sup>4</sup>

" As for my shadow, I never go about to reach it but when the sun is at the highest, for then is my shadow at the shortest; so that it is not difficult to touch my head with my heel, when it lieth almost under my heel.

" You say it is better to sit still than to arise and fall. And I say, he that never climbeth for fear of falling is like unto him that never drinketh for fear of surfeiting.

" If you think either the ground so slippery wherein I run that I must needs fall, or my feet so chill that I must needs founder,<sup>5</sup> it may be I will change my course hereafter; but I mean to end it now. For I had rather fall out of a low window<sup>6</sup> to the ground than hang in the midway<sup>(a)</sup> by a brier."

Frances, who took no little pleasure to hear Philautus talk, began to come on roundly in these terms : " It is a sign, gentleman, that your footmanship is better than your stomach<sup>7</sup> ;

*tower* [etc.]. These seem to be proverbial sayings of Lyly's invention. The latter Bohn and Hazlitt copy verbatim in their collections, but without saying that they have it from Lyly.

<sup>1</sup> *The receipt* : " a position taken up to await driven game with fresh hounds " (*NED.*). Heywood, p. 72, says : " If ye can hunt, and will stand at receipt."

<sup>2</sup> *As Hippomenes did with Atalanta* : see note on p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Your short heels*. *Short-heeled* meant 'wanton.' See Bond's note, and M'Kerrow's *Nashe*, iv. 477, and *NED.*, s.v. *short*, adj.

<sup>4</sup> *A high instep* : see note on p. 36, and compare note 1 on p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> *Founder*. *NED.* gives two cases earlier in the 16th century of the confusion of *founder* with the old verb *found*, to grow numb with cold. This is another case of the same thing.

<sup>6</sup> *Rather fall out of a low window* [etc.]. That is, he would rather come to an abrupt end of his discourse than to wait until he is caught in some mistake or indiscretion.

<sup>(a)</sup> *in the midway* So 1580B, etc. 1580A omits *the*.

<sup>7</sup> *Footmanship . . . better than your stomach* : you are able to leave us, but you do not want to. *Stomach* : appetite, desire.

for whatsoever you say, methinketh you had rather be held in a slip<sup>1</sup> than let slip. Wherein you resemble the greyhound that seeing his game leapeth upon him that holdeth him, not running after that he is held for ; or the hawk which being cast off at a partridge taketh a stand to prune her feathers, when she should take her flight. For it seemeth you bear(a) good will to the game you cannot play at, or will not, or dare not ; wherein you imitate the cat that leaveth the mouse to follow the milk-pan ; for I perceive that you let the hare go by to hunt the badger.”<sup>2</sup>

Philautus, astonished at this speech, knew not which way to frame his answer ; thinking now that she perceived his tale to be addressed to her, though his love were fixed on Camilla. But to rid her of suspicion, though loath that Camilla should conceive any inkling, he played fast and loose in this manner :—

“Gentlewoman,(b) you mistake me very much, for I have been better taught than fed<sup>3</sup> and therefore I know how to follow my game, if it be for my gain. For were there two hares to run at, I would endeavour not to catch the first that I followed but the last that I started ; yet so as the first should not scape, nor the last be caught.”

“You speak contraries,” quoth Frances, “and you will work wonders. But take heed your cunning in hunting make you not to lose both.”

“Both ? ” said Philautus. “Why, I seek but for one.”

“And yet of two,” quoth Frances, “you cannot tell which to follow ; one runneth so fast you will never catch her, the other is so at the squat<sup>4</sup> you can never find her.”

The Lady Flavia, whether desirous to sleep or loath these jests should be too broad, as moderator commanded them both to silence, willing Euphues as umpire in these matters briefly to speak his mind. Camilla and Surius are yet talking, Frances and Philautus are not idle, yet all attentive to hear Euphues, as well for the expectation they had of his wit as to know the drift of their discourses. Who thus began the conclusion of all their speeches :—

“It was a law among the Persians that the musician should

<sup>1</sup> Slip : a leash, especially one for a greyhound.

(a) *it seemeth you bear* So 1580B. 1580A *you seeme you beare.*

<sup>2</sup> *The badger.* This seems to allude to Frances herself, who thinks that Philautus has transferred his suit from Camilla to her.

(b) *Gentlewoman* So 1580B. 1580A (and 1609) *Gentleman.*

<sup>3</sup> *Better taught than fed* : still alluding to hunting-dogs.

<sup>4</sup> *At the squat* : hid in a hole or lair.

not judge of the painter, nor anyone meddle in that handicraft wherein he was not expert; which maketh me marvel, good madam, that you should appoint him to be an umpire in love who never yet had skill in his laws. For although I seemed to consent by my silence before I knew the argument whereof you would dispute, yet hearing nothing but reasons for love I must either call back my promise or call in your discourses; and better it were, in my opinion, not to have your reasons concluded than to have them confuted. But sure I am that neither a good excuse will serve where authority is rigorous, nor a bad one be heard where necessity compelleth. But lest I be longer in breaking a web than the spider is in weaving it, your pardons obtained if I offend in sharpness, and your patience granted if molest in length, I thus begin to conclude against you all; not as one singular in his own conceit, but to be tried by your gentle constructions.

"Surius beginneth with love which proceedeth by beauty (under the which he comprehendeth all other virtues); Lady Flavia moveth a question whether the meeting of lovers be tolerable; Philautus cometh in with two branches in his hand, as though there were no more leaves on that tree, asking whether constancy or secrecy be most to be required. Great hold<sup>1</sup> there hath been who should prove his love best, when in my opinion there is none good. But such is the vanity of youth that it thinketh nothing worthy either of commendation or conference but only love; whereof they sow much and reap little, wherein they spend all and gain nothing, whereby they run into dangers before they wist, and repent their desires before they would. I do not discommend honest affection which is grounded upon virtue as the mean,<sup>2</sup> but disordinate fancy which is builded upon lust as an extremity; and lust I must term that which is begun in an hour and ended in a minute, the common love in this our age, where ladies are courted for beauty not for virtue, men loved for proportion in body not perfection in mind. It fareth with lovers as with those that drink of the river Gallus(a) in Phrygia,<sup>3</sup> whereof sipping moderately is a medicine, but swilling with excess it breedeth madness.

<sup>1</sup> *Great hold*: much and hard contention. Usually 'hard hold.'

<sup>2</sup> *Virtue as the mean*: see Plutarch's essay on *Virtue*, where the doctrine of the mean was probably studied by Lyly.

(a) *Gallus* So Bond. Early editions *Iellus*.

<sup>3</sup> *The river Gallus in Phrygia* [etc.]: an exact translation from Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 602c), Erasmus deriving his information from Pliny, xxxi. 5.

"Lycurgus<sup>1</sup> set it down for a law that where men were commonly drunken the vines should be destroyed; and I am of that mind that where youth is given to love the means should be removed. For as the earth wherein the mines of silver and gold are hidden is profitable for no other thing but metals,<sup>2</sup> so the heart wherein love is harboured receiveth no other seed but affection. Lovers seek not those things which are most profitable but most pleasant, resembling those that make garlands, who choose the fairest flowers not the wholesomest; and being once entangled with desire they always have the disease, not unlike unto the goat who is never without an ague.<sup>3</sup> Then being once in, they follow the note of the nightingale,<sup>4</sup> which is said with continual straining to sing to perish in her sweet lays, as they do in their sugared lives. Where is it possible either to eat or drink or walk but he shall hear some question of love? Insomuch that love is become so common that there is no artificer of so base a craft, no clown so simple, no beggar so poor, but either talketh of love or liveth in love, when they neither know the means to come by it, nor the wisdom to increase it. And what can be the cause of these loving worms<sup>5</sup> but only idleness?

"But to set down as a moderator the true perfection of love, not like an enemy to talk of the infection (which is neither the part of my office nor pleasant to your ears), this is my judgement.

"True and virtuous love is to be grounded upon time, reason, favour, and virtue. Time, to make trial; not at the first glance so to settle his mind as though he were willing to be caught when he might escape, but so by observation and experience to build and augment his desires that he be not deceived with beauty but persuaded with constancy. Reason, that all his doings and proceedings seem not to flow from a mind inflamed with lust, but a true heart kindled with love. Favour, to delight his eyes, which are the first messengers of affection. Virtue, to allure the soul, for the which all things are to be desired.

"The arguments of faith in a man are constancy not to be

<sup>1</sup> *Lycurgus set it down . . . the vines* [etc.]. The source is Plutarch, *De Aud. Poetis*, § 1. Erasmus mentions Lycurgus's law in his *Similia* (*Works*, i. 580c).

<sup>2</sup> *The earth . . . no other thing but metals*: see note on p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *The goat . . . never without an ague*. Bond quotes Pliny, viii. 76.

<sup>4</sup> *The note of the nightingale* [etc.]. The source is either Pliny, x. 43, or Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 614D).

<sup>5</sup> *Loving worms*. Lyly uses the phrase twice in his plays, *Campaspe*, v. 4, 127, and *Mother Bombe*, II. 2, 15. As to the idea that idleness is the nurse of love, see note 3 on p. 98.

removed, secrecy not to utter, security not to mistrust, credulity to believe ; in a woman patience to endure, jealousy to suspect, liberality to bestow, fervency, faithfulness. One of the which branches if either the man want or the woman, it may be a liking between them for the time, but no love to continue for ever.

" Touching Surius his question, whether love come from the man or the woman, it is manifest that it beginneth in both ; else can it not end in both.

" To the Lady Flavia's demand concerning company, it is requisite they should meet ; and though they be hindered by divers means, yet is it impossible but that they will meet.

" Philautus must this think, that constancy without secrecy availeth little, and secrecy without constancy profiteth less.

" Thus have I, good madam, according to my simple skill in love, set down my judgement, which you may at your ladyship's pleasure correct, for he that never took the oar in hand must not think scorn to be taught."

" Well," quoth the lady, " you can say more if you list, but either you fear to offend our ears or to bewray your own follies. One may easily perceive that you have been of late in the painter's shop,<sup>1</sup> by the colours that stick in your coat. But at this time I will urge nothing, though I suspect somewhat."

Surius gave Euphues thanks, allowing his judgement in the description of love, especially in this, that he would have a woman if she were faithful to be also jealous<sup>2</sup> ; which is as necessary to be required in them as constancy.

Camilla, smiling, said that Euphues was deceived, for he would have said that men should have been jealous ; and yet that had been but superfluous, for they are never otherwise.

Philautus, thinking Camilla to use that speech to gird him, for that all that night he viewed her with a suspicious eye, answered that jealousy in a man was to be pardoned, because there is no difference in the look of a lover that can distinguish a jealous eye from a loving.

Frances, who thought her part not to be the least, said that in all things Euphues spake gospel, saving in that he bound a woman to patience—which is to make them fools.

Thus everyone gave his verdict, and so, with thanks to the

<sup>1</sup> *In the painter's shop.* On p. 203 Lyly had mentioned 'viewing the ladies in a painter's shop' as a form of idleness in Italy.

<sup>2</sup> *If she were faithful to be also jealous.* Compare Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 583A): *Non est verus amor qui caret zelotypia.*

Lady Flavia, they all took their leave for that night. Surius went to his lodging, Euphues and Philautus to theirs, Camilla accompanied with her women and her waiting-maid departed to her home; whom I mean to bring to her chamber, leaving all the rest to their rest.

Camilla no sooner had entered in her chamber but she began in strange terms to utter this strange tale, her door being close shut and her chamber voided:—

“Ah Camilla, ah wretched wench Camilla! I perceive now that when the hop groweth high it must have a pole, when the ivy spreadeth it cleaveth to the flint, when the vine riseth it wreatheth about the elm, when virgins wax in years they follow that which belongeth to their appetites,<sup>(a)</sup> love. Love? Yea love, Camilla, the force whereof thou knowest not, and yet must endure the fury. Where is that precious herb Panace,<sup>1</sup> which cureth all diseases? Or that herb Nepenthes, that procureth all delights? No, no, Camilla. Love is not to be cured by herbs which cometh by fancy, neither can plasters take away the grief which is grown so great by persuasions. For as the stone Draconites<sup>2</sup> can by no means be polished unless the lapidary burn it, so the mind of Camilla<sup>(b)</sup> can by no means be cured<sup>(c)</sup> except Surius ease it.

“I see that love is not unlike unto the stone Pantura,<sup>3</sup> which draweth all other stones be they never so heavy, having in it the three roots which they attribute to music<sup>4</sup>—mirth, melancholy, madness.

(a) *appetites* 1580A *appeties*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>1</sup> *That precious herb Panace . . . Or that herb Nepenthes.* Pliny is the source from which Erasmus drew both of these similes, the first from xxv. 11, the second from xxv. 5. But Lyly uses Erasmus (*Works*, i. 606c), who puts them side by side in his *Similia*.

<sup>2</sup> *The stone Draconites.* Pliny (xxxvii. 57) and Erasmus (*Similia*; *Works*, i. 599A) merely say that it cannot be polished; Lyly adds the burning.

(b) *the mind of Camilla* So 1580c, etc. 1580A & B omit *of*.

(c) *cured* 1580A *cursed*; changed in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *The stone Pantura.* Bond changes to *Pansura*, considering that Lyly has made one of his etymological inventions, from the verb *πίπτω*, to draw. But Cornelius Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, i. ch. xxiii., says: *lapis, quem invenisse fertur Apollonius, nomine pantaura, qui alios lapides ad se trahit, quemadmodum magnes ferrum.* This is probably the same as the *pantarbe* (Gr. παντάρβη), known as the stone of the sun (Cornelius Agrippa says that *pantaura* is *solaris*), which is supposed to attract gold. See Cotgrave's *Fr.-Eng. Dict.* Rabelais mentions it, v. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *The three roots which they attribute to music.* The source is Plutarch,



"Aye but, Camilla, dissemble thy love, though it shorten thy life; for better it were to die with grief than live with shame. The sponge is full of water yet is it not seen, the herb *Adyaton*<sup>1</sup> though it be wet looketh always dry, and a wise lover be she never so much tormented behaveth herself as though she were not touched.

"Aye, but fire cannot be hidden in the flax without smoke, nor musk in the bosom without smell, nor love in the breast without suspicion. Why then, confess thy love to *Surius*, Camilla, who is ready to ask before thou grant. But it fareth in love as it doth with the root of the reed,<sup>2</sup> which being put into the fern taketh away all his strength, and likewise the root of the fern put to the reed depriveth it of all his force; so the looks of *Surius* having taken all freedom from the eyes of Camilla, it may be the glances of Camilla have bereaved *Surius* of all liberty. Which if it were so how happy shouldst thou be; and that it is so why shouldst thou hope?

"Aye, but *Surius* is noble. Aye, but love regardeth no birth. Aye, but his friends will not consent. Aye, but love knoweth no kindred. Aye, but he is not willing to love, nor thou worthy to be wooed. Aye, but love maketh the proudest to stoop, and to court the poorest."

Whilst she was thus debating, one of her maidens chanced to knock. Which she hearing left off that which all you gentlewomen would gladly hear; for no doubt she determined to make a long sermon, had not she been interrupted. But by the preamble you may guess to what purpose the drift tended. This I note, that they that are most wise, most virtuous, most beautiful, are not free from the impressions of fancy. For who would have thought that Camilla, who seemed to disdain love, should so soon be entangled? But as the straightest wands are to be bent<sup>3</sup> when they be small, so the precisest virgins are to be won

*Quaest. Conviv.* i. 5. In Holland's translation, quoted by Bond, the word 'roots' is used as here. Amyot translates it '*principes*.' The Greek is ἀρχαί.

<sup>1</sup> The herb *Adyaton*: should be *Adyantos*; but Lyly is following Erasmus' simile (*Works*, i. 605F), in which the accus. case occurs: *Adianton herbam etiam si perfundas aqua, aut immergas, tamen siccae similis est*. Erasmus gets the fact from Pliny, xxii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> The root of the reed . . . fern . . . all his force. Erasmus (*Similia*, i. 605D) and Pliny (xxiv. 50) say that the root of the reed extracts the prickles of the fern from the body, and that the root of the fern has the same effect on prickles of the reed. Lyly perhaps misread one of these passages.

<sup>3</sup> The straightest wands are to be bent [etc.]: see note on p. 26.

when they be young. But I will leave Camilla, with whose love I have nothing to meddle, for that it maketh nothing to my matter. And return we to Euphues, who must play the last part.

Euphues, bestowing his time in the court, began to mark diligently the men and their manners; not as one curious to misconstrue, but desirous to be instructed. Many days he used speech with the ladies, sundry times with the gentlewomen,<sup>1</sup> with all became so familiar that he was of all earnestly beloved.

Philautus had taken such a smack in the good entertainment of the Lady Flavia that he began to look askew upon Camilla, driving out the remembrance of his old love with the recording of the new. Who now but his Violet, who but Mistress Frances! Whom if once every day he had not seen, he would have been so sullen that no man should have seen him.

Euphues, who watched his friend, demanded how his love proceeded with Camilla. Unto whom Philautus gave no answer but a smile; by the which Euphues thought his affection but small. At the last, thinking it both contrary to his oath and his honesty to conceal anything from Euphues, he confessed that his mind was changed from Camilla to Frances.

"Love," quoth Euphues, "will never make thee mad, for it cometh by fits, not like a quotidian<sup>2</sup> but a tertian."

"Indeed," quoth Philautus, "if ever I kill myself for love it shall be with a sigh, not with a sword."

Thus they passed the time many days in England, Euphues commonly in the court to learn fashions, Philautus ever in the country to love Frances; so sweet a violet to his nose that he could hardly suffer it to be an hour from his nose.

But now came the time that Euphues was to try Philautus's truth. For it happened that letters were directed from Athens to London concerning serious and weighty affairs of his own, which incited him to hasten his departure. The contents of the which when he had imparted to Philautus, and requested his company, his friend was so fast tied by the eyes that he had found thorns in his heel<sup>3</sup>—which Euphues knew to be thoughts(a) in his heart—and by no means he could persuade him to go into Italy, so sweet was the very smoke of England.

<sup>1</sup> *Gentlewomen*: ladies-in-waiting, as contrasted with the 'ladies,' their mistresses. Compare the form of address used on pp. 199 and 415.

<sup>2</sup> *A quotidian*: a fever that comes every day.

<sup>3</sup> *Thorns in his heel*. Compare p. 402, bottom.

(a) *thoughts* 1580a *thoughtes*; corrected in later editions.

Euphues, knowing the tide would tarry for no man, and seeing his business to require such speed, being for his great preferment, determined suddenly to depart; yet not without taking of his leave courteously, and giving thanks to all those which since his coming had used him friendly. Which that it might be done with one breath, he desired the merchant with whom all this while he sojourned to invite a great number to dinner, some of great calling, many of good credit, among the which Surius as chief, the Lady Flavia, Camilla, and Mistress Frances were not forgotten.

The time being come of meeting, he saluted them all in this manner: "I was never more desirous to come into England than I am loath to depart, such courtesy have I found, which I looked not for, and such qualities, as I could not look for; which I speak not to flatter any, when in truth it is known to you all. But now the time is come that Euphues must pack from those whom he best loveth, and go to the seas which he hardly brooketh. But I would Fortune had dealt so favourably with a poor Grecian, that he might have either been born here or able to live here. Which seeing the one is past and cannot be, the other unlikely and therefore not easy to be, I must endure the cruelty of the one, and with patience bear the necessity of the other.

"Yet this I earnestly crave of you all, that you will instead of a recompense accept thanks, and of him that is able to give nothing take prayer for payment. What my good mind is to you all my tongue cannot utter, what my true meaning is your hearts cannot conceive; yet as occasion shall serve I will show that I have not forgotten any, though I may not requite one.<sup>(a)</sup>

"Philautus, not wiser than I in this though bolder, is determined to tarry behind. For he saith that he had as lief be buried in England as married in Italy, so holy doth he think the ground here, or so homely the women there. Whom although I would gladly have with me, yet seeing I cannot I am most earnestly to request you all, not for my sake who ought to desire nothing, nor for his sake who is able to deserve little, but for the courtesy's sake of England, that you use him, not so well as you have done, which would make him proud, but no worse than I wish him, which will make him pure. For though I speak before his face you shall find true behind his back that he is yet but wax, which must be wrought whilst

(a) *one* 1580A *on*; corrected in later editions.

the water is warm, and iron, which, being hot,<sup>1</sup> is apt either to make a key or a lock.

"It may be, ladies and gentlewomen all, that though England be not for Euphues to dwell in, yet it is for Euphues to send to."

When he had thus said, he could scarce speak for weeping. All the company were sorry to forgo him; some proffered him money, some lands, some houses. But he refused them all, telling them that not the necessity of lack caused him to depart,<sup>(a)</sup> but of importance.

This done they sate down all to dinner; but Euphues could not be merry for that he should so soon depart. The feast being ended, which was very sumptuous, as merchants never spare for cost when they have full coffers, they all heartily took their leaves of Euphues. Camilla, who liked very well of his company, taking him by the hand desired him that being in Athens he would not forget his friends in England. "And the rather for your sake," quoth she, "your friend shall be better welcome."

"Yea, and to me for his own sake," quoth Flavia. Whereat Philautus rejoiced, and Frances was not sorry, who began a little to listen to the lure of love.

Euphues, having all things in a readiness, went immediately toward Dover, whither Philautus also accompanied him; yet not forgetting by the way to visit the good old father Fidus, whose courtesy they received at their coming. Fidus, glad to see them, made them great cheer according to his ability, which had it been less would have been answerable to their<sup>(b)</sup> desires. Much communication they had of the court; but Euphues cried quittance, for, he said, things that are commonly known it were folly to repeat, and secrets it were against mine honesty to utter.

The next morning they went to Dover, where Euphues being ready to take ship, he first took his farewell of Philautus in these words:—

"Philautus, the care that I have had of thee from time to time hath been tried by the counsel I have always given thee; which if thou have forgotten I mean no more to write in water, if thou remember imprint it still.<sup>(c)</sup> But seeing my departure

<sup>1</sup> Iron . . . being hot: see note on p. 14.

(a) *caused him to depart* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *caused him not to departe*.

(b) *their* So 1580B, etc. 1580A has *either*, but both sense and rhetorical form demand *their*.

(c) *imprint it still* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *imprint it in steele*.

from thee is as it were my death, for that I know not whether ever I shall see thee, take this as my last testament of good will.

"Be humble to thy superiors, gentle to thy equals, to thy inferiors favourable; envy not thy betters, jostle not thy fellows, oppress not the poor.

"The stipend that is allowed to maintain thee use wisely, be neither prodigal to spend all nor covetous to keep all. Cut thy coat according to thy cloth;<sup>1</sup> and think it better to be accounted thrifty among the wise than a good companion among the riotous.

"For thy study or trade of life use thy book in the morning, thy bow after dinner,<sup>2</sup> or what other exercise shall please thee best. But always have an eye to the main,<sup>3</sup> whatsoever thou art chanced<sup>4</sup> at the by.

"Let thy practice be law; for the practice of physic is too base for so fine a stomach as thine, and divinity too curious for so fickle a head as thou hast.

"Touching thy proceedings in love, be constant to one and try but one; otherwise thou shalt bring thy credit into question, and thy love into derision. Wean thyself from Camilla, deal wisely with Frances; for in England thou shalt find those that will decipher thy dealings, be they never so politic. Be secret to thyself and trust none in matters of love as thou lovest thy life.

"Certify me of thy proceedings(a) by thy letters; and think that Euphues cannot forget Philautus, who is as dear to me as myself. Commend me to all my friends. And so farewell, good Philautus; and well shalt thou fare, if thou follow the counsel of Euphues."

Philautus, the water standing in his eyes, not able to answer one word until he had well wept, replied at the last as it were in one word, saying that his counsel should be engraven in

<sup>1</sup> *Cut thy coat according to thy cloth*: Heywood, p. 20; Düringsfeld, ii., no. 320. It has been extremely common since the middle of the 16th century. See quotations in Lean, *Collectanea*, iii. 445-6. Farmer (Heywood's editor) suggests that it arose from a sumptuary statute.

<sup>2</sup> *Thy bow after dinner*: probably a tacit reference to Ascham and his *Toxophilus*.

<sup>3</sup> *The main*: see note on p. 89. *The by*: a side-stake or bet in dicing. Compare: "Refuseth me and all the wealth, and bars me by and main" (Turberville, transl. Ovid's *Epp.*, 13b: quoted by NED.).

<sup>4</sup> *Thou art chanced*: thou hast ventured or laid as a wager. This use of the verb is very rare, and is not cited by NED.

(a) of thy proceedings 1580A of the proceedings. Changed in later editions.

his heart and he would follow every thing that was prescribed him, certifying him of his success as either occasion or opportunity should serve. But when friends at departing would utter most, then tears hinder most; which brake off both his answer, and stayed Euphues' reply. So after many millions of embracings, at the last they departed, Philautus to London, where I leave him, Euphues to Athens,<sup>1</sup> where I mean to follow him; for he it is that I am to go with, not Philautus.

There was nothing that happened on the seas worthy the writing. But within few days Euphues, having a merry wind, arrived at Athens; where, after he had visited his friends and set an order in his affairs, he began to address his letters to Livia, touching the state of England, in this manner.

*Livia*, I salute thee in the Lord, etc. I am at length returned out of England, a place in my opinion (if any such may be in the earth) not inferior to a Paradise.

I have here enclosed sent thee the description, the manners, the conditions, the government, and entertainment of that country. I have thought it good to dedicate it to the ladies of Italy. If thou think it worthy, as thou canst not otherwise, cause it to be imprinted, that the praise of such an isle may cause those that dwell elsewhere both to commend it and marvel at it.

Philautus I have left behind me, who like an old dog followeth his old scent, love. Wiser he is than he was wont but as yet nothing more fortunate.

I am in health; and that thou art so I hear nothing to the contrary. But I know not how it fareth with me, for I cannot as yet brook mine own country, I am so delighted with another.

Advertise me by letters what estate thou art in, also how thou likest the state of England which I have sent thee. And so farewell.

*Thine to use,  
Euphues.*

<sup>1</sup> *Athens*. Of course it is strange that Lyly should use this as the name of the place really so called, when he had used it of Oxford in the *Anatomy of Wit*.

*To the ladies and gentlewomen of Italy Euphues wisheth  
health and honour*

If I had brought, ladies, little dogs from Malta <sup>1</sup> or strange stones from India or fine carpets from Turkey, I am sure that either you would have wooed me to have them or wished to see them. But I am come out of England with a Glass, <sup>2</sup> wherein you shall behold the things which you never saw, and marvel at the sights when you have seen; not a glass to make you beautiful but to make you blush, yet not at your vices but others virtues; not a glass to dress your hairs but to redress your harms. By the which if you every morning correct your manners, being as careful to amend faults in your hearts as you are curious to find faults in your heads, you shall in short time be as much commended for virtue of the wise as for beauty of the wanton.

Yet at the first sight if you seem (a) deformed by looking in this Glass, you must not think that the fault is in the glass, but in your manners; not resembling Lavia, <sup>3</sup> who, seeing her beauty in a true glass to be but deformity, washed her face and broke the glass.

Here shall you see beauty accompanied with virginity, temperance, mercy, justice, magnanimity, and all other virtues whatsoever (b); rare in your sex, and but one, and rarer than the phoenix where I think there is not one. (c)

In this Glass shall you see that the glasses which you carry

<sup>1</sup> *Little dogs from Malta.* Harrison says, in *The Description of England* (see note 1, p. 417), p. 43: "The third sort of the dogs of the gentle kind is the spaniel gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the fisting hound, and called *Melitei*, of the Island Malta, from whence they are brought hither. These are little and pretty, proper and fine, and sought out far and near to satisfy the nice delicacy of dainty dames, and wanton women's wills. . . . These Sybraritical puppies, the smaller they be . . . the better they are accepted" [etc.].

<sup>2</sup> *A Glass*: i.e., a looking-glass. Many medieval books bore the title *specula*, and hence 'mirror' or 'glass' became also a common name for English books, e.g., 'The Mirror of Man's Salvation,' 'The Glass of Government,' etc.

(a) *if you seem* 1580A omits *if*; supplied in later texts.

<sup>3</sup> *Lavia.* See note on *Actina*, p. 394.

(b) *whatsoever* 1580A *whatsouwer*; corrected in later editions.

(c) *where I think there is not one* So 1580A. 1597 *where I think there is not two* 1606, etc. *whereof I think there is not two.* The passage scarcely makes sense in either reading, and it may be one of several cases in which Lyly seems to ridicule the natural history he is fond of using.

in your fans of feathers <sup>1</sup> show you to be lighter than feathers, that the glasses wherein you carouse your wine <sup>2</sup> make you to be more wanton than Bacchus, that the new-found glass chains that you wear about your necks argue you to be more brittle than glass. But your eyes being too old to judge of so rare a spectacle, my counsel is that you look with spectacles; for ill can you abide the beams of the clear sun, being scant able to view the blaze of a dim candle. The spectacles I would have you use are, for the one eye, judgement without flattering yourselves, for the other eye, belief without mistrusting of me. And then I doubt not but you shall both thank me for this Glass (which I send also into all places of Europe), and think worse of your garish glasses, which maketh you of no more price than broken glasses.

Thus, fair ladies, hoping you will be as willing to pry in this Glass for amendment of manners as you are to prank yourselves in a looking-glass for commendation of men, I wish you as much beauty as you would have, so as you would endeavour to have as much virtue as you should have. And so farewell.

.

*Euphues.*

<sup>1</sup> *The glasses . . . in your fans of feathers.* Perhaps small mirrors were sometimes set in the handles or sticks of fans, or perhaps the framework itself was of glass.

<sup>2</sup> *Carouse your wine.* On the grammatical construction, compare p. 307.



EUPHUES' GLASS FOR EUROPE<sup>1</sup>

There is an isle <sup>2</sup> lying in the Ocean Sea directly against that part of France which containeth Picardy and Normandy, called now England, heretofore named Britain. It hath Ireland upon the west side, on the north the main sea, on the east side the German Ocean. This island(a) is in circuit 1720 miles, in form like unto a triangle, being broadest in the south part and gathering narrower and narrower till it come to the farthest point of Caithness northward, where it is narrowest, and there endeth in manner of a promontory.

To repeat the ancient manner of this island, or what sundry nations have inhabited there, to set down the giants <sup>3</sup> which in bigness of bone have passed the common size and almost common credit, to rehearse what diversities of languages have been used, into how many kingdoms it hath been divided, what religions have been followed before the coming of Christ, although it would breed great delight to your ears yet might it haply seem tedious ; for that honey taken excessively cloyeth the stomach, though it be honey. But my mind is briefly to touch such things as at my being there I gathered by mine own study and inquiry, not meaning to write a Chronicle but to set down in a word what I heard by conference.

It hath in it twenty and six cities,<sup>4</sup> of the which the chiefest is named London ; a place both for the beauty of building,

<sup>1</sup> *Euphues' Glass for Europe*. The source for the materials and often for the language of this piece is William Harrison's *Description of England*, first published with Holinshed's *Chronicle* in 1577, and revised in an edition of 1587. Books ii. and iii., with parts of Book i., have been published by the New Shakespeare Soc., ed. Furnivall, in two volumes, 1877 and 1878.

<sup>2</sup> *There is an isle* [etc.]. This first paragraph, says Bond, is "verbally from Harrison's second chapter [Book i.], which names the promontory 'Calcedonium & Orchas.'"

(a) *island* 1580A *Islade*. Altered in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *The giants*. Harrison, i. 5, discusses giants that have been said to live in England, and mentions some huge bones which are still preserved as evidence.

<sup>4</sup> *Twenty and six cities*. Harrison, ii. 13, says: "As in old time we read that there were eight and twenty flamens and arch flamens in the fourth part of this isle, and so many great cities under their jurisdiction ; so in these our days there is but one or two fewer."

infinite riches, variety of all things, that excelleth all the cities in the world, insomuch that it may be called the storehouse and mart of all Europe. Close by this city runneth the famous river called the Thames, which from the head where it riseth, named Isis, unto the fall Medway<sup>1</sup> (a) it is thought to be an hundred and fourscore miles. What can there be in any place under the heavens that is not in this noble city either to be bought or borrowed?

It hath divers hospitals for the relieving of the poor, six score fair churches for divine service, a glorious Burse, which they call the Royal Exchange,<sup>2</sup> for the meeting of merchants of all countries where any traffic is to be had. And among all the strange and beautiful shows, methinketh there is none so notable as the bridge which crosseth the Thames; which is in manner of a continual street well replenished with large and stately houses on both sides, and situate upon twenty arches whereof each one is made of excellent free-stone squared, every one of them being threescore foot in height and full twenty in distance one from another.

To this place the whole realm hath his recourse, whereby it seemeth so populous that one would scarce think so many people to be in the whole island as he shall see sometimes in London. This maketh gentlemen brave and merchants rich, citizens to purchase and sojourners(b) to mortgage<sup>3</sup>; so that it is to be thought that the greatest wealth and substance of the whole realm is couched within the walls of London, where they that be rich keep it from those that be riotous,<sup>4</sup> not detaining it from the lusty youths of England by rigour, but increasing it until

<sup>1</sup> *Unto the fall Medway*: i.e., to the place where the Medway falls into it.

(a) *the fall Medway* 1580*a fall midway*; 1582 *full midway*. Lyly was evidently basing his statement on chapter eleven of Harrison's *Description of Britain*, where the name "Isis," the "Medwaie"—one of the "brookes" which "fall into" the Thames—and the length, "one hundreth and eightie miles," are mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *The Royal Exchange*: "on Cornhill, erected 1566" (Bond).

(b) *sojourners* So 1581. 1580*a sojourns*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mortgage*. Why sojourners should mortgage is not clear. It looks as if *mortgage* is equivalent to *rent* here, but there is no authority for such a meaning. But perhaps Lyly means that the gentlemen who come up from the country to stay in London have to mortgage their lands to do so.

<sup>4</sup> *Where they that be rich keep it from those that be riotous*. The rest of this paragraph is a very curious tribute to the honesty and complaint of the strictness of those citizens who held money in trust for well-born young gentlemen. It is not impossible that there is a personal allusion, either to Lyly's own affairs or to those of one of his patrons.

young men shall savour of reason ; wherein they show themselves treasurers for others, not hoarders for themselves. Yet although it be sure enough, would they had it ; in my opinion it were better to be in the gentleman's purse than in the merchant's hands.

There are in this isle two and twenty Bishops,<sup>1</sup> which are, as it were, superintendents over the church ; men of great zeal and deep knowledge, diligent preachers of the Word, earnest followers of their doctrine, careful watchmen that the wolf devour not the sheep, in civil government politic, in ruling the spiritual(a) sword (as far as to them under their Prince appertaineth) just, cutting off those members from the church by rigour that are obstinate in their heresies and instructing those that are ignorant, appointing godly and learned ministers in every of their sees that in their absence may be lights to such as are in darkness, salt to those that are unsavoury, leaven to such as are not seasoned. Visitations are holden oftentimes, whereby for abuses and disorders, either in the laity for negligence or in the clergy for superstition or in all for wicked living, there(b) are punishments, by due execution whereof the divine service of God is honoured with more purity and followed with greater sincerity.

There are also in this island two famous Universities, the one Oxford, the other Cambridge ; both for the profession of all sciences, for divinity, physick, law, and all kind of learning, excelling all the universities in Christendom. I was myself in either of them,<sup>2</sup> and like them both so well that I mean not in the way of controversy to prefer any for the better in England, but both for the best in the world ; saving this, that colleges in Oxford<sup>3</sup> are much more stately for the building, and Cambridge

<sup>1</sup> *Two-and-twenty Bishops.* Harrison (ii. 1) says that the Archbishop of Canterbury has twenty-one under him, and the Archbishop of York four, and in summing up says these "twenty-seven sees." It is possible that Lyly intentionally, or by error, includes only Canterbury and its dependent sees.

(a) *spiritual* 1580A *spirituall*; corrected in later editions.

(b) *there* 1580A *three*; changed in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *I was myself in either of them.* As Feuillerat points out (p. 76, n. 5), the value of this statement as evidence concerning Lyly's own career is weakened by the fact that Harrison, whom Lyly is using as his source, says the same thing, though not in the same words. Still this is not the kind of statement that Lyly would borrow for his hero unless there was a significance in it.

<sup>3</sup> *Colleges in Oxford . . . more stately . . . Cambridge [etc.].* Harrison (ii. 3, ed. Furnivall, vol. i. p. 73) says: "The colleges of Oxford . . . are much more stately, magnificent, and commodious than those of Cambridge: and thereunto the streets of the town for the most part more large and

much more sumptuous for the houses in the town. But the learning neither lieth in the free-stones of the one nor the fine streets of the other ; for out of them both do daily proceed men of great wisdom to rule in the commonwealth, of learning to instruct the common people, of all singular kind of professions to do good to all. And let this suffice, not to inquire which of them is the superior but that neither of them have their equal, neither to ask which of them is the most ancient but whether any other be so famous.

But to proceed in England. Their buildings are not very stately, unless it be the houses of noblemen and here and there the place of a gentleman, but much amended, as they report that have told me. For their munition they have not only great store, but also great cunning to use them and courage to practise them. Their armour <sup>1</sup> is not unlike unto that which in other countries they use, as corselets, Almain-rivets, shirts of mail, jacks quilted and covered over with leather, fustian, or canvas, over thick plates of iron that are sewed in the same. The ordnance they have is great, and thereof great store.

Their navy <sup>2</sup> is divided as it were into three sorts, of the which the one serveth for wars, the other for burden, the third for fishermen. And some vessels there be (I know not by experience and yet I believe by circumstance) that will sail nine hundred miles in a week,<sup>3</sup> when I should scarce think that a bird could fly four hundred.

Touching other commodities, they have four baths, the first called Saint Vincent's,<sup>4</sup> the second Holywell,<sup>5</sup> the third Buxton,<sup>6</sup> the fourth, as in old time they read, Cair Bledud, but now, taking his name of a town near adjoining it, is called the Bath.<sup>7</sup>

comely. But for uniformity of building, orderly compaction, and regiment, the town of Cambridge exceedeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is, and hath been, the greater of the two) by many a fold, although I know diverse that are of a contrary opinion."

<sup>1</sup> *Their armour . . . sewed in the same*: from Harrison (ii. 16, ed. Furnivall, vol. i. p. 279) with very slight verbal changes.

<sup>2</sup> *Their navy* [etc.]. The sentence is from Harrison (ii. 17, ed. Furnivall, vol. i. p. 287).

<sup>3</sup> *That will sail nine hundred miles in a week*: from Harrison (ii. 17, ed. Furnivall, vol. i. p. 293).

<sup>4</sup> *Saint Vincent's*: "St. Vincent's rocks near the Clifton suspension-bridge preserve the name" (Bond).

<sup>5</sup> *Holywell*: in Flintshire, near the river Dee.

<sup>6</sup> *Buxton*: "near unto Buxton, a town in Derbyshire" (Harrison, ii. 23).

<sup>7</sup> *Bath*. "At first it was called Cair Bledud" (Harrison, ii. 23, ed. Furnivall, vol. i. p. 350).

Besides this, many wonders there are to be found in this island, (a) which I will not repeat because I myself never saw them, and you have heard of greater.

Concerning their diet, in number of dishes and change of meat the nobility of England do exceed most,<sup>1</sup> having all things that either may be bought for money or gotten for the season. Gentlemen and merchants<sup>2</sup> feed very finely; and a poor man it is that dineth with one dish, and yet so content with a little that having half dined<sup>3</sup> they say, as it were in a proverb, that they are as well satisfied as the Lord Mayor of London, whom they think to fare best, though he eat not most. In their meals<sup>4</sup> there is great silence and gravity, using wine rather to ease the stomach than to load it; not like unto other nations, who never think that they have dined till they be drunken.

The attire they use<sup>5</sup> is rather led by the imitation of others than their own invention; so that there is nothing in England more constant than the inconstancy of attire, now using the French fashion, now the Spanish, then the Morisco gowns, then one thing, than another. Insomuch that in drawing of an Englishman the painter setteth him down naked, having in the one hand a pair of shears, in the other a piece of cloth; who having cut his collar after the French guise, is ready to make his sleeve after the Barbarian manner.<sup>6</sup> And although this

(a) *Besides this, many wonders there are to be found in this island* So 1580A. 1597 (etc.) *Besides, in this Iland are many wonders to be founde.*

<sup>1</sup> *In number . . . do exceed most:* word for word from Harrison, ii. 6 (ed. Furnivall, vol. i. p. 144).

<sup>2</sup> *Gentlemen and merchants* [etc.]. Harrison, ii. 6 (ed. Furnivall, vol. i. p. 148): "The gentlemen and merchants . . . each of them contenteth himself with four, five, or six dishes . . . or peradventure with one, two, or three at the most, when they have no strangers to accompany them at their tables."

<sup>3</sup> *Having half dined* [etc.]. "If they happen to stumble upon a piece of venison, and a cup of wine or very strong beer or ale . . . they think their cheer so great, and themselves to have fared so well, as the Lord Mayor of London, with whom, when their bellies be full, they will often make comparison" (Harrison, ii. 6, ed. Furnivall, vol. i. p. 151).

<sup>4</sup> *In their meals* [etc.]. These details are all from Harrison, p. 151-2.

<sup>5</sup> *The attire they use . . . after the Barbarian manner.* All the substance of this is from Harrison, ii. 7 (ed. Furnivall, i. pp. 167-8). Harrison describes the picture, and Furnivall, in a note, gives a copy of it from Andrew Boorde's *Dietary* (1542). Perhaps the painting mentioned by Bond was made after this drawing.

<sup>6</sup> *The Barbarian manner:* i.e., of Barbary. Harrison has the same adjective.

were the greatest enormity that I could see in England, yet is it to be excused ; for they that cannot maintain this pride must leave of necessity, and they that be able will leave when they see the vanity.

The laws they use <sup>1</sup> are different from ours, for although the common and civil law(a) be not abolished, yet are they not had in so great reputation as their own common laws, which they term the laws of the Crown. The regiment that they have dependeth upon statute law, and that is by Parliament which is the highest court, consisting of three several sorts of people, the nobility, clergy, and commons of the realm ; so as whatsoever be among them enacted the Queen striketh the stroke,<sup>2</sup> allowing such things as to Her Majesty seemeth best. Then upon common law, which standeth upon maxims and principles, years and terms ; the cases in this law are called pleas or actions and they are either criminal or civil, the mean to determine are writs, some original, some judicial. Their trials and recoveries are either by verdict or demur, confession or default ; wherein if any fault have been committed either in process or form, matter or judgement, the party grieved may have a writ of error. Then upon customable law, which consisteth upon laudable customs used in some private country. Last of all upon prescription, which is a certain custom continued time out of mind ; but it is more particular than their customary law. Murderers and thieves are hanged, witches burnt, all other villainies that deserve death punished with death ; insomuch that there are very few heinous offences practised, in respect of those that in other countries are commonly used.

Of savage beasts and vermin <sup>3</sup> they have no great store, nor any that are noisome. The cattle <sup>4</sup> they keep for profit are oxen, horses, sheep, goats, and swine, and such like, whereof they have abundance. Wild-fowl and fish they want none, nor

<sup>1</sup> *The laws they use* . . . *customary law* : all almost in Harrison's words, but greatly condensed. See Harrison, ii. 9 (ed. Furnivall, vol. i. pp. 199-203).

(a) *common and civil law* So early editions. Bond queries *canon and civil law*.

<sup>2</sup> *Striketh the stroke* : has the final or greatest authority. See Bond's note.

<sup>3</sup> *Of savage beasts and vermin* : the title of Harrison's Book iii. ch. iv. He says "This island . . . is void of noisome beasts."

<sup>4</sup> *The cattle* . . . *Wild-fowl and fish*. The title of the first chapter of Harrison's Book iii. is *Of Cattle Kept for Profit*, of his second, *Of Wild and Tame Fowls*, of his third, *Of Fish*.

anything that either may serve for pleasure or profit. They have more store of pasture than tillage, their meadows better than their cornfield; which maketh more graziers than corn-mongers, yet sufficient store of both.

They excel for one thing, their dogs of all sorts,<sup>1</sup> spaniels, hounds, mastiffs, and divers such; the one they keep for hunting and hawking, the other for necessary uses about their houses, as to draw water, to watch thieves, etc. And thereof they derive the word mastiff of *mase* and *thief*.

There is in that isle salt<sup>2</sup> made and saffron. There are great quarries of stone for building, sundry minerals<sup>3</sup> of quicksilver, antimony, sulphur, black lead, and orpiment red and yellow. Also there groweth the finest alum that is, vermilion, bitumen, chrysocola, copperas, the mineral stone whereof petroleum is made; and that which is most strange, the mineral pearl, which as they are for greatness and colour most excellent, so are they digged out of the mainland in places far distant from the shore. Besides these,<sup>4</sup> though not strange, yet necessary, they have coal mines, saltpetre for ordnance, salt-soda for glass. They want no tin nor lead, there groweth iron, steel, and copper, and what not. So hath God blessed that country as it should seem not only to have sufficient to serve their own turns but also others' necessities; whereof there was an old saying, "All countries<sup>5</sup> stand in need of Britain, and Britain of none."

Their air is very wholesome and pleasant, their civility not inferior to those that deserve best, their wits very sharp and quick; although I have heard that the Italian and Frenchman have accounted them but gross and dull-pated, which I think came not to pass by the proof they made of their wits but by the Englishman's report. For this is strange (and yet how true it is there is none that ever travelled thither but can report) that it is always incident to an Englishman to think worst of his own nation, either in learning, experience, common reason, or wit;

<sup>1</sup> *Their dogs of all sorts*: founded on Harrison, iii. 7 (ed. Furnivall, vol. ii. pp. 40-45). On p. 45, Harrison says: "They (mastiffs) take also their name of the word 'mase' and 'thief' (or 'master thief,' if you will) because they often put such persons to their shifts in towns and villages, and are the principal causes of their apprehension and taking."

<sup>2</sup> *Salt*: the subject of Harrison's iii. 13, as saffron is of iii. 8, and stone-quarries of iii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Sundry minerals . . . distant from the shore*: almost word for word from Harrison, iii. 10 (ed. Furnivall, vol. ii. pp. 67-8).

<sup>4</sup> *Besides these . . . what not*: all details from Harrison, iii. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *All countries* [etc.]: Harrison, iii. 11.

preferring always a stranger rather for the name than the wisdom. I for mine own part think that in all Europe there are not lawyers more learned, divines more profound, physicians more expert than are in England. But that which most allureth a stranger is their courtesy, their civility, and good entertainment. I speak this by experience, that I found more courtesy in England among those I never knew in one year than I have done in Athens or Italy among those I ever loved in twenty.

But having entreated sufficiently of the country and their conditions, let me come to the Glass I promised, being the Court. Where although I should as order requireth begin with the chieftest, yet I am enforced with the painter to reserve my best colours to end Venus, and to lay the ground with the basest.

First, then, I must tell you of the grave and wise counsellors, whose foresight in peace warranteth safety in war, whose provision in plenty maketh sufficient in dearth, whose care in health is as it were a preparative against sickness; how great their wisdom hath been in all things the twenty-two years' peace<sup>1</sup> doth both show and prove. For what subtlety hath there been wrought so closely, what privy attempts so craftily, what rebellions stirred up so disorderly, but they have by policy bewrayed, prevented by wisdom, repressed by justice? What conspiracies abroad, what confederacies at home, what injuries in any place hath there been<sup>(a)</sup> contrived, the which they have not either foreseen before they could kindle, or quenched before they could flame?

If any wily Ulysses<sup>2</sup> should feign madness, there was among them always some Palamedes to reveal him; if any Thetis<sup>3</sup> went about to keep her son from the doing of his country service, there was also a wise Ulysses in the court to bewray it. If Sinon

<sup>1</sup> *The twenty-two years' peace*: from 1558 to 1580.

<sup>(a)</sup> *hath there been* So 1580A. 1597, *hath at any time been* 1606, etc. *have at any time*.

<sup>2</sup> *If any wily Ulysses* [etc.]. According to a legend (not in Homer), Ulysses assumed madness so as to escape going to Troy, ploughed with an ass and an ox hitched together, and sowed salt. Palamedes placed the child Telemachus before the plough and revealed his sanity. There are variations of the story. Ovid, in *Met.* xiii. 35 ff., tells of Ulysses' assumed madness and alludes to Palamedes' part in the story.

<sup>3</sup> *If any Thetis* [etc.]. The story (again not Homeric) is that Achilles was disguised by Thetis and placed among the daughters of Lycomedes, with the name Pyrrha, in order to prevent his going to Troy. Ulysses discovered him. Ovid tells the story in *Met.* xiii. 162-171, not many lines after the story of Palamedes. Nashe couples the two incidents, as Lyly does (see his *Works*, ii. 221).



came with a smooth tale to bring in the horse into Troy, there hath been always some courageous Laocoon<sup>1</sup> to throw his spear against the bowels, which being not bewitched with Laocoon hath unfolded that which Laocoon suspected. If Argus with his hundred eyes went prying to undermine Jupiter,<sup>2</sup> yet met he with Mercury who whistled all his eyes out. Insomuch as there could never yet any craft prevail against their policy, or any challenge against their courage. There hath always been Achilles at home to buckle with Hector abroad, Nestor's gravity to countervail Priam's counsel, Ulysses' subtleties to match with Antenor's policies. England hath all those that can and have wrestled with all others, whereof we can require no greater proof than experience.

Besides, they have all a zealous care for the increasing of true religion; whose faiths for the most part have been tried<sup>(a)</sup> through the fire which they had felt<sup>3</sup> had not they fled over the water. Moreover the great study they bend towards schools of learning doth sufficiently declare that they are not only furtherers of learning but fathers of the learned. O thrice happy England, where such counsellors are, where such people live, where such virtue springeth!

Among these shall you find Zopyrus<sup>4</sup> that will mangle himself to do his country good, Achates that will never start an inch from his Prince Aeneas, Nausicaa that never wanted a shift<sup>5</sup> in extremity, Cato that ever counselled to the best, Ptolemaeus Philadelphus that always maintained learning. Among the number of all which noble and wise counsellors I cannot but for his honour's sake remember the most prudent and right honourable, the Lord Burleigh,<sup>6</sup> High Treasurer of that Realm; no

<sup>1</sup> *Some courageous Laocoon.* The familiar story in Vergil probably served as Lyly's source.

<sup>2</sup> *Argus . . . Jupiter.* The allusion is to the fact that Argus was set to guard the cow Io. When Mercury had slain him his eyes were transferred by Juno to the peacock's tail. See Ovid, *Met.* i. 624 ff.

(a) *have been tried* So 1606, etc. 1580A *hath*.

<sup>3</sup> *They had felt*: i.e., during the Marian persecutions.

<sup>4</sup> *Zopyrus.* Plutarch, *Apoph. Reg. et Imper.*, *Darius*, tells that he had allowed his body to be torn with whips and had cut his nostrils and ears so that he might succeed in being admitted among the Babylonians and winning their belief in his hostility to Darius; he then betrayed the city to Darius.

<sup>5</sup> *Shift*: a pun is meant on the two meanings, shirt or petticoat, and trick, stratagem.

<sup>6</sup> *Lord Burleigh.* On Lyly's relations to this statesman see Bond's *Life (Works of Lyly)*, i. 12, 17, etc.). Feuillerat adds a number of particulars, pp. 22, n. 3; 23; 35; 36, n. 2; 43; 44; 69; 70; 71, n. 2; 79, notes 4 and 6; etc.

less revered for his wisdom than renowned for his office, more loved at home than feared abroad, and yet more feared for his counsel among other nations than sword or fire; in whom the saying of Agamemnon<sup>1</sup> may be verified, who rather wished for one such as Nestor than many such as Ajax. This noble man I found so ready, being but a stranger, to do me good that neither I ought to forget him, neither cease to pray for him that as he hath the wisdom of Nestor so he may have the age, that having the policies of Ulysses he may have his honour; worthy to live long by whom so many live in quiet, and not unworthy to be advanced by whose care so many have been preferred.

Is not this a Glass, fair ladies, for all other countries(a) to behold, where there is not only an agreement in faith, religion, and counsel, but in friendship, brotherhood, and living; by whose good endeavours vice is punished, virtue rewarded, peace established, foreign broils repressed, domestical cares appeased? What nation can of counsellors desire more? What dominion, that excepted, hath so much, when neither courage can prevail against their chivalry, nor craft take place against their counsel, nor both joined in one be of force to undermine their country?

When you have dazzled your eyes with this Glass, behold here another. It was my fortune to be acquainted with certain English gentlemen, which brought me to the court. Where when I came I was driven into a maze to behold the lusty and brave gallants, the beautiful and chaste ladies, the rare and goodly orders<sup>2</sup>; so as I could not tell whether I should most commend virtue or bravery. At the last coming oftener thither than it beseemed one of my degree, yet not so often as they desired my company, I began to pry after their manners, natures, and lives(b); and that which followeth I saw, whereof whoso doubteth I will swear.

The ladies spend the morning in devout prayer; not resembling the gentlewomen in Greece and Italy, who begin their morning at midnoon and make their evening at midnight, using sonnets for psalms and pastimes for prayers, reading the epistle of a lover when they should peruse the Gospel of our Lord, drawing

<sup>1</sup> *The saying of Agamemnon.* Bond quotes Plutarch's *An sit seni gerenda respublica*, § 10.

(a) *countries* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *countrie*.

<sup>2</sup> *Orders*: prob. means here 'established usages, customs, rules.'

(b) *manners, natures, and lives* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *manners and natures*.

wanton lines <sup>1</sup> when death is before their face, as Archimedes <sup>2</sup> did triangles and circles when the enemy was at his back. Behold, ladies, in this Glass that the service of God is to be preferred before all things. Imitate the English damosels, who have their books tied to their girdles, not feathers,<sup>3(a)</sup> who are as cunning in the Scriptures as you are in Ariosto or Petrarch or any book that liketh you best and becometh you worst.

For bravery I cannot say that you exceed them, for certainly it is the most gorgeousest <sup>4(b)</sup> court that ever I have seen, read, or heard of. But yet do they not use their apparel so nicely as you in Italy, who think scorn to kneel at service for fear of wrinkles in your silks, who dare not lift up your head to heaven for fear of rumpling the ruffs in your neck; yet your hands, I confess, are holden up—rather, I think, to show your rings than to manifest your righteousness. The bravery they use is for the honour of their Prince, the attire you wear for the alluring of your prey; the rich apparel maketh their beauty more seen, your disguising causeth your faces to be more suspected; they resemble in their raiment the estrich,<sup>5</sup> who being gazed on closeth her wings and hideth her feathers, you in your robes are not unlike the peacock,<sup>6</sup> who being praised spreadeth her tail and bewrayeth her pride. Velvets and silks in them are like gold about a pure diamond, in you like a green hedge about a filthy dunghill.

Think not, ladies, that because you are decked with gold you are endued with grace, imagine not that shining like the sun in earth ye shall climb<sup>7</sup> the sun in heaven. Look diligently

<sup>1</sup> *Wanton lines*. The allusion may be to the lines of the letters which the ladies write, or to the lines and shadows which they artificially arrange in their faces.

<sup>2</sup> *Archimedes*. The story is told by Plutarch, in his life of Marcellus, ch. xxix.; this passage, however, resembles the sentence from Cicero's *De Finibus* (v. 19) quoted by Bond.

<sup>3</sup> *Feathers*: prob. alluding to the fans spoken of on p. 416.

(a) *who have their books tied to their girdles, not feathers* So 1580A. Omitted by 1597 and later editions, prob. because of a change in fashions.

<sup>4</sup> *Gorgeousest*. The reading *gorgeoust* (see note (b) below) may actually represent an Elizabethan pronunciation.

(b) *gorgeousest* 1580A *gorgeoust* 1582 *gorgeous*.

<sup>5</sup> *The estrich*. Perhaps this statement is only an allusion to the ostrich's custom of hiding its head, when observed, in the sand, which Erasmus (*Similia*, 613E; *Works*, vol. i.) and Pliny (x. 1) describe.

<sup>6</sup> *The peacock* [etc.]: a literal translation of Erasmus' simile (*Works*, i. 614A), which is from Pliny, x. 22. The phenomenon is also described in almost the same words by Ovid; *Ars Amat*. i. 626.

<sup>7</sup> *Climb*. Compare *Two Gent. of Ver.*, II. 4, 181: "I must climb her window."

into this English Glass and then shall you see that the more costly your apparel is the greater your courtesy should be, that you ought to be as far from pride as you are from poverty, and as near to princes in beauty as you are in brightness. Because you are brave disdain not those that are base, think with yourselves that russet coats have their Christendom,<sup>1</sup> that the sun when he is at his height shineth as well upon coarse kersey as cloth of tissue; though you have pearls in your ears, jewels in your breasts, precious stones on your fingers, yet disdain not the stones in the street, which although they are nothing so noble, yet are they much more necessary. Let not your robes hinder your devotions; learn of the English ladies that God is worthy to be worshipped with the most price, to Whom you ought to give all praise. Then shall you be like stars to the wise, who now are but staring-stocks to the foolish, then shall you be praised of most, who are now pointed at of all, then shall God bear with your folly, Who now abhorreth your pride.

As the ladies in this blessed island are devout and brave, so are they chaste and beautiful; insomuch that when I first beheld them I could not tell whether some mist had bleared mine eyes or some strange enchantment altered my mind. "For it may be," thought I, "that in this island either some Artemidorus or Lisimandro<sup>2</sup> or some odd necromancer did inhabit, who would show me fairies, or the body of Helen,<sup>3</sup> or the new shape of Venus." But coming to myself and seeing that my senses were not changed, but hindered, that the place where I stood was no enchanted castle, but a gallant Court, I could scarce restrain my voice from crying, "*There is no beauty but in England!*" There did I behold them of pure complexion exceeding the lily and the rose, of favour (wherein the chiefest

<sup>1</sup> *Russet-coats have their Christendom.* This charming phrase seems to be of Lyly's invention. *Russet-coat* was a familiar appellation of a poor plain person in the 16th century (see *NED.*, s.v. *russet-coat*). *Christendom* may mean 'Christianity,' 'Christian spirit,' or, as is perhaps more likely here, 'baptism,' and hence 'baptismal name.' On these latter senses see Nashe, *III.* 161, 12, and *III.* 71, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Artemidorus or Lisimandro.* Artemidorus Daldianus (fl. 2nd cent. A.D.) was the author of a book on the interpretation of dreams. It is extant. Cornelius Agrippa speaks of him among authors who have written on dreams in *De Vanitate Scientiarum*, ch. xxxix., as if he were two authors, "*Daldianus et Arthemidorus.*" Concerning Lisimandro I can find nothing in Cornelius Agrippa's lists of writers on necromancy, or elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> *The body of Helen.* Mephistopheles shows this to Faustus in the *Faust-book* and in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*.

beauty consisteth) surpassing the pictures that were feigned or the magician that would feign, their eyes piercing like the sunbeams yet chaste, their speech pleasant and sweet yet modest and courteous, their gait comely, their bodies straight, their hands white ; all things that man could wish or women would have, which how much it is none can set down, whenas the one desireth as much as may be, the other more. And to these beautiful moulds, chaste minds, (a) to these comely bodies, temperance, modesty, mildness, sobriety ; whom I often beheld merry yet wise, conferring with courtiers yet warily, drinking of wine yet moderately, eating of delicacies yet but their ear-full,<sup>1</sup> listing (b) to discourses of love but not without reasoning of learning. For there it more delighteth them to talk of Robin Hood <sup>2</sup> than to shoot in his bow, and greater pleasure they take to hear of love than to be in love.

Here ladies is a Glass that will make you blush for shame and look wan for anger. Their beauty cometh by nature, yours by art ; they increase their favours with fair water, you maintain yours with painters' colours ; the hair they lay out groweth upon their own heads, your seemliness hangeth upon others ; theirs is always in their own keeping, yours often in the dyer's ; their beauty is not lost with a sharp blast, yours fadeth with a soft breath : not unlike unto paper flowers which break as soon as they are touched, resembling the birds in Egypt called Ibes <sup>3</sup> who being handled lose their feathers, or the serpent Serapie <sup>4</sup> which being but touched with a brake bursteth. They use their beauty because it is commendable, you because you would be common ; they if they have little do not seek to make it more, you that have none endeavour to bespeak most ; if theirs wither by age they nothing esteem it, if yours waste by years you go about to keep

(a) *chaste minds* 1580A *chast minds to*.

<sup>1</sup> *But their ear-full.* So, p. 256 : "The virgins in Rome, who drink but their eye-full."

(b) *listing* So 1580A. 1580B, etc., *lystning*.

<sup>2</sup> *To talk of Robin Hood* [etc.]. Heywood, p. 75, says : "Many a man speaketh of Robin Hood that never shot in his bow." Camden, *Remains* (1614), adds : "Many speak of Little John that never did him know." Hazlitt (p. 287) gives a number of citations from 17th-century literature.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibes*. The ibis has many marvellous properties in medieval science, but not this one.

<sup>4</sup> *Serapie* : unidentified. Bond suggests that there is an error for *Cerastes* ; but Lyly is evidently using some authority in these pages which has not been discovered. See note on p. 359 concerning the serpent and the ash-tree.

it ; they know that beauty must fail if life continue, you swear that it shall not fade if colours last.

But to what end, ladies, do you alter the gifts of nature by the shifts of art ? Is there no colour but white, no planet bright but Venus, no linen fair but lawn ? Why go ye about to make the face fair by those means that are most foul, a thing loathsome to man and therefore not lovely, horrible before God and therefore not lawful. Have you not heard that the beauty of the cradle is most brightest, that paintings are for pictures without sense, not for persons with true reason ? Follow at the last, ladies, the gentlewoman of England, who being beautiful do those things as shall become so amiable faces, if of an indifferent hue those things as shall(a) make them lovely, not adding an ounce to beauty that may detract a dram from virtue.

Besides this, their chastity and temperance is as rare as their beauty ; not going in your footsteps that drink wine before you rise to increase your colour, and swill it when you are up to provoke your lust. They use their needle to banish idleness, not the pen to nourish it ; not spending their times in answering the letters of those that woo them, but forswearing the company of those that write them ; giving no occasion, either by wanton looks, unseemly gestures, unadvised speech, or any uncomely behaviour, of lightness or liking ; contrary to the custom of many countries where filthy words are accounted to savour of a fine wit, broad speech of a bold courage, wanton glances of a sharp eyesight, wicked deeds of a comely gesture, all vain delights of a right courteous courtesy. And yet are they not in England precise but wary, not disdainful to confer but careful to offend,(b) not without remorse where they perceive truth but without replying where they suspect treachery ; whenas among other nations there is no tale so loathsome to chaste ears but it is heard with great sport and answered with great speed.

Is it not then a shame, ladies, that that little island should be a mirror to you, to Europe, to the whole world ?

Where is the temperance you profess when wine is more common than water ? Where the chastity when lust is thought lawful, where the modesty when your mirth turneth to uncleanness, uncleanness to shamelessness, shamelessness to all sinfulness ? Learn, ladies, though late yet at length, that the chiefest title of honour in earth is to give all honour to Him that is in heaven, that the greatest bravery in this world is to be burning lamps in

(a) *as shall* 1580A *as they shall* ; *they* omitted in later editions.

(b) *careful to offend* So 1580A. 1580C, etc. *fearful*.

the world to come, that the clearest beauty in this life is to be amiable to Him that shall give life eternal.

Look in the Glass of England, too bright I fear me for your eyes. What is there in your sex that they have not, and what that you should not have. They are in prayer devout, in bravery humble, in beauty chaste, in feasting temperate, in affection wise, in mirth modest, in all their actions though courtly because women, yet angels because virtuous.

Ah good ladies—good I say, for that I love you—I would ye could a little abate that pride of your stomachs, that looseness of mind, that licentious behaviour, which I have seen in you with no small sorrow and cannot remedy with continual sighs. They in England pray when you play, sew when you sleep, fast when you feast, and weep for their sins when you laugh at your sensuality. They frequent the church to serve God, you to see gallants; they deck themselves for cleanliness, you for pride; they maintain their beauty for their own liking, you for others' lust; they refrain wine because they fear to take too much, you because you can take no more. Come ladies,—with tears I call you,—look in this Glass, repent your sins past, refrain your present vices, abhor vanities to come, say this with one voice, "*We can see our faults only in the English Glass*"; a Glass of grace to them, of grief to you, to them in the stead of righteousness, to you in place of repentance.

The lords and gentlemen in that court are also an example for all others to follow, true types of nobility, the only stay and staff to honour, brave courtiers, stout soldiers, apt to revel in peace and ride in war; in fight fierce not dreading death, in friendship firm not breaking promise, courteous to all that deserve well, cruel to none that deserve ill. Their adversaries they trust not, that sheweth their wisdom; their enemies they fear not, that argueth their courage. They are not apt to proffer injuries, nor fit to take any; loath to pick quarrels, but longing to revenge them. Active they are in all things, whether it be to wrestle in the games of Olympia or to fight at barriers in Palaestra,<sup>1</sup> able to carry as great burthens as Milo, of strength to throw as big stones as Turnus,<sup>2</sup> and what not that either man hath done or may do; worthy of such ladies, and none but

<sup>1</sup> *To fight at barriers in Palaestra.* 'To fight at barriers' was to take part in a tournament or in some game with sticks or the like resembling a tournament. The palaestra was of course a place for wrestling-matches. Lyly uses it as if it were a proper name.

<sup>2</sup> *Turnus: Aeneid, vii.*

they, and ladies willing to have such lords, and none but such.

This is a Glass for our youth in Greece, for your young ones in Italy, the English Glass<sup>(a)</sup> ; behold it, ladies and lords and all<sup>(b)</sup> that either mean to have piety, use bravery, increase beauty, or that desire temperancy, chastity, wit, wisdom, valour, or anything that may delight yourselves or deserve praise of others.

But another sight there is in my Glass, which maketh me sigh for grief I cannot show it ; and yet had I rather offend in derogating from my Glass than my good will.

Blessed is that land that hath all commodities to increase the commonwealth, happy is that island that hath wise counsellors to maintain it, virtuous courtiers to beautify it, noble gentlemen to advance it ; but to have such a Prince to govern it as is their Sovereign Queen, I know not whether I should think the people to be more fortunate or the Prince famous, whether their felicity be more to be had in admiration, that have such a ruler, or her virtues to be honoured, that hath such royalty. For such is their estate there that I am enforced to think that every day is as lucky to the Englishmen as the sixth day of February<sup>1</sup> hath been to the Grecians.

But I see you gaze until I show this Glass, which you having once seen will make you giddy. Oh ladies, I know not when to begin nor where to end. For the more I go about to express the brightness, the more I find mine eyes bleared, the nearer I desire to come to it, the farther I seem from it ; not unlike unto Simonides,<sup>2</sup> who being curious to set down what God was, the more leisure he took the more loath he was to meddle, saying that in things above reach it was easy to catch a strain but impossible to touch a star, and therefore scarce tolerable to point at that which one can never pull at.

When Alexander<sup>3</sup> had commanded that none should paint

(a) for our youth in Greece, for your young ones in Italy, the English Glass So 1580A. 1597, etc. for youth in Greece and Italy.

(b) ladies and lords and all So 1580A. 1580B Ladies and Lordes all.

<sup>1</sup> The sixth day of February. Bond traces this passage to Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 25, or rather to Fleming's translation (publ. 1576), f. 21, in which the Greek *θεοφρηλίαν* is rendered 'February.' See Bond's note.

<sup>2</sup> Simonides. Cicero narrates (*De Nat. Deorum*, i. 22) that when the tyrant Hiero asked what is the nature of God, Simonides said he would reply after a day's thought, but on the next day asked for two days more, then for four days more, and so on, and finally said that the more he thought the more obscure it seemed. Bond quotes the passage.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander . . . Pyrgoteles : see note on p. 234.



him but Apelles, none carve him but Lysippus, none engrave him but Pyrgoteles, Parrhasius<sup>1</sup> framed a table<sup>2</sup> squared every way two hundred foot, which in the borders he trimmed with fresh colours and limned with fine gold, leaving all the other room without knot or line; which table he presented to Alexander. Who, no less marvelling at the bigness than at the bareness, demanded to what end he gave him a frame without face, being so naked, and without fashion, being so great.

Parrhasius answered him, "Let it be lawful for Parrhasius, O Alexander, to show a table wherein he would paint Alexander if it were not unlawful, and for others to square timber<sup>3</sup> though Lysippus carve it, and for all to cast brass though Pyrgoteles engrave it."

Alexander, perceiving the good mind of Parrhasius, pardoned his boldness and preferred his art. Yet inquiring why he framed the table so big, he answered that he thought that frame to be but little enough for his picture, when the whole world was too little for his person; saying that Alexander must as well be praised as painted, and that all his victories and virtues were not for to be drawn in the compass of a signet but in a field. This answer Alexander both liked and rewarded, insomuch that it was lawful ever after for Parrhasius both to praise that noble king and to paint him.

In the like manner I hope that though it be not requisite that any should paint their Prince in England that cannot sufficiently perfect her, yet it shall not be thought rashness or rudeness for Euphues to frame a table for Elizabeth, though he presume not to paint her. Let Apelles show his fine art, Euphues will manifest his faithful heart; the one can but prove his conceit to blaze his cunning, the other his good will to grind his colours. He that whetteth the tools is not to be misliked though he cannot carve the image, the worm that spinneth the silk is to be esteemed though she cannot work the sampler, they that fell timber for ships are not to be blamed because they cannot build ships. He that carrieth mortar furthereth the building though he be no expert mason, he that diggeth the garden is to be considered though he cannot tread the knots,<sup>4</sup> the goldsmith's boy must

<sup>1</sup> *Parrhasius*. This story is probably, as Bond suggests, an invention of Lyly's, and a plea for patronage at court.

<sup>2</sup> *Table*: a board or other surface for a picture, sometimes the picture itself. See *NED*.

<sup>3</sup> *Square timber*. Why does Lyly make Lysippus a carver in *wood*?

<sup>4</sup> *Tread the knots*: make the flower-beds, by beating down the soil with the feet.

have his wages for blowing the fire though he cannot fashion the jewel. Then, ladies, I hope poor Euphues shall not be reviled, though he deserve not to be rewarded.

I will set down this Elizabeth as near as I can. And it may be that as the Venus of Apelles <sup>1</sup> not finished, the Tyndarides of Nicomachus not ended, the Medea of Timomachus not perfected, the table of Parrhasius not coloured brought greater desire to them to consummate them and to others to see them; so the Elizabeth of Euphues, being but shadowed for others to varnish, but begun for others to end, but drawn with a black coal for others to blaze with a bright colour, may work either (a) a desire in Euphues hereafter if he live to end it, or a mind in those that are better able to amend it, or in all (if none can work it) a will to wish it. In the mean season I say as Zeuxis did,<sup>2</sup> when he had drawn the picture of Atalanta, "More will envy me than imitate me, and not commend it though they cannot amend it." But I come to my England.

There were for a long time civil wars in this country, by reason of several claims to the crown between the two famous and noble houses of Lancaster and York, either of them pretending to be of the royal blood—which caused them both to spend their vital blood. These jars continued long, not without great loss both to the nobility and commonalty; who, joining not in one but divers parts, turned the realm to great ruin, having almost destroyed their country before they could anoint a King. But the living God, Who was loath to oppress England, at last began to repress injuries, and to give an end by mercy to those that could find no end of malice nor look for any end of mischief; so tender a care hath He always had of that England as of a new Israel, his chosen and peculiar people.

This peace began by a marriage solemnized by God's special Providence between Henry, Earl of Richmond, heir of the house of Lancaster, and Elizabeth, daughter to Edward the Fourth, the undoubted issue and heir of the house of York; whereby (as they term it) the red rose and the white were united and joined together. Out of these roses sprang two noble buds, Prince

<sup>1</sup> *Apelles . . . Nicomachus . . . Timomachus.* All these instances are repeated from an earlier passage: see pp. 196-7, and note.

(a) *either* 1580a *either*; changed in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *As Zeuxis did.* In Pliny (xxxv. 36) the picture is said to have been that of an athlete, not of Atalanta. Zeuxis said, concerning this picture, *Invisurum aliquem facilius quam imitaturum*. Plutarch (*Bellone an pace clariores fuerint Athenienses*, §2) represents Apollodorus as saying *Μαμῆσται τις μᾶλλον ἢ μιμήσται*. These phrases are just in Lyly's own style. (The change from *athleta* to *Atalanta* is probable, not to carelessness, but to intention, Atalanta representing Elizabeth.)

Arthur and Henry ; the eldest dying without issue, the other, of most famous memory, leaving behind him three children, Prince Edward, the Lady Mary, the Lady Elizabeth.

King Edward lived not long, which could never for that realm have lived too long. But sharp frosts bite forward springs,<sup>1</sup> easterly winds blast(a) towardly blossoms, cruel death spareth not those which we ourselves living cannot spare.<sup>2</sup>

The elder sister, the Princess Mary, succeeded as next heir to the crown and, as it chanced, next heir to the grave. Touching whose life I can say little because I was scarce born, and what others say of me shall be forborne.

This Queen being deceased, Elizabeth, being of the age of twenty-two years, of more beauty than honour, and yet of more honour than any earthly creature, was called from a prisoner to be a prince, from the castle to the crown, from the fear of losing her head to be supreme head. And here, ladies, it may be you will move a question why this noble lady was either in danger of death or cause of distress ; which had you thought to have passed in silence I would notwithstanding have revealed.

This lady all the time of her sister's reign was kept close, as one that tendered not those proceedings which were contrary to her conscience. Who having divers enemies endured many crosses, but so patiently as in her deepest sorrow she would rather sigh for the liberty of the Gospel than her own freedom ; suffering her inferiors to triumph over her, her foes to threaten her, her dissembling friends to undermine her ; learning in all this misery only the patience that Zeno taught Eretricus,<sup>3</sup> to bear and forbear,

<sup>1</sup> *Sharp frosts bite forward springs.* Compare *Richard III.*, III. 1, 94 : "Short summers lightly have a forward spring." Lean, *Collectanea*, i. 368, quotes a number of sayings to the same effect ; thus, from Fuller's *Gnomologia*, 'Better late ripe and bear than early blossom and blast.'

(a) *blast* So 1606, etc. 1580A *blasteth*.

<sup>2</sup> *Spare*: do without, dispense with. There is a play on the two meanings of the word in this sentence.

<sup>3</sup> *Eretricus*. Bond says that this must be Lyly's invention. But it is unlikely that he would invent in a passage so likely to be carefully scanned as this one. There was a school of Eretrian (*Eretrici*) philosophers, mentioned in connection with Zeno in Cicero's *Acad.* ii. 42 ; and in Cicero's *Tusc.* v. 39, a story is told of Asclepiades, who is called *Eretricus* (i.e., an Eretrian), that when he was asked what he had suffered by being blind he replied that he was at the expense of another servant. Lyly's source, however, is Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ix. 33 : *Adolescentulus quidam Eretricus* [i.e., an Eretrian] *Zenonem longo tempore frequentaverat. . . Indignante autem patre, et verbera ipsi intente, ille quietem agens, patienterque ferens, hoc ipsum ait se didicisse iram patris ferre.*

never seeking revenge but, with good Lycurgus,<sup>1</sup> to lose her own eye rather than to hurt another's eye.

But being now placed in the seat royal she first of all established religion, banished popery, advanced the Word that before was so much defaced. Who, having in her hand the sword to revenge, used rather bountifully to reward, being as far from rigour when she might have killed as her enemies were from honesty when they could not; giving a general pardon when she had cause to use particular punishments, preferring the name of pity before the remembrance of perils, thinking no revenge more princely than to spare when she might spill,<sup>2</sup> to stay when she might strike, to proffer to save with mercy when she might have destroyed with justice. Here is the clemency worthy commendation and admiration; nothing inferior to the gentle disposition of Aristides,<sup>3</sup> who after his exile did not so much as note them that banished him, saying with Alexander<sup>4</sup> that there can be nothing more noble than to do well to those that deserve ill. This mighty and merciful Queen, having many bills of private persons that sought beforetime to betray her, burnt them all; resembling Julius Caesar,<sup>5</sup> who, being presented with the like complaints of his commons, threw them into the fire, saying that he had rather not know the names of rebels than have occasion to revenge, thinking it better to be ignorant of those that hated him than to be angry with them.

This clemency did Her Majesty not only show at her coming to the crown but also throughout her whole government, when she hath spared to shed their bloods that sought to spill hers, not racking the laws to extremity but mitigating the rigour with mercy; insomuch as it may be said of that Royal Monarch as it

<sup>1</sup> *Lycurgus*. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 23, alludes to, and Plutarch, *Apophth. Laconica*, *Lycurgus*, tells the story that Lycurgus' eye was once put out during an uprising by one Alcander, who was later given into his hands for any punishment he should ordain. But Lycurgus took him into his house and educated him. In memory of the misfortune that had befallen him he ordered a shrine in the temple of Minerva which he called 'Minerva Optiletis.'

<sup>2</sup> *Spill*: kill, destroy, ruin. Sixteen lines below, it is used in a more modern sense.

<sup>3</sup> *Aristides*. The source is probably Plutarch's *Life*, § 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Alexander*. The nearest thing to this saying is Plutarch's *Apophth. Reg. et Imper.*, *Alexander*, 32: "It is a kingly thing to do well and be ill spoken of."

<sup>5</sup> *Julius Caesar*. See Erasmus' *Apophthegms*, iv. 26 (*Works*, iv. 215), translated by Udall (ed. 1877, p. 306): "When likelihood appeared treason and conspiracy on every side to be wrought against him, and warning was given him that he should take good heed to himself, he answered that better it was once for altogether to die, than to be in perpetual care of taking heed."

was of Antoninus,<sup>1</sup> (a) surnamed the godly Emperor, who reigned many years without the effusion of blood. What greater virtue can there be in a Prince than mercy, what greater praise than to abate the edge which she should whet, to pardon where she should punish, to reward where she should revenge.

I myself, being in England when Her Majesty was for her recreation in her barge upon the Thames,<sup>2</sup> heard of a gun that was shot off, though of the party unwittingly, (b) yet to her noble person dangerously. Which fact she most graciously pardoned, accepting a just excuse before a great amends, taking more grief for her poor bargeman that was a little hurt than care for herself that stood in greatest hazard. O rare example of pity, O singular spectacle of piety !

Divers besides have there been which, by private conspiracies, open rebellions, close wiles, cruel witchcrafts, have sought to end her life, which saveth all their lives. Whose practices by the divine providence of the Almighty have ever been disclosed, insomuch that He hath kept her safe in the whale's belly when her subjects went about to throw her into the sea, preserved her in the hot oven when her enemies increased the fire, not suffering a hair to fall from her, much less any harm to fasten upon her. These injuries and treasons of her subjects, these policies and undermining of foreign nations so little moved her that she would often say, " Let them know that though it be not lawful for them to speak what they list, yet it is lawful for us to do with them what we list " ; being always of that merciful mind which was in Theodosius,<sup>3</sup> who wished rather that he might call the dead to life than put the living to death ; saying with Augustus <sup>4</sup> when she should set her hand to any condemnation, " I would to God we could not write." Infinite were the ensamples that might

<sup>1</sup> *Antoninus*. The title *Pius* given him by the Senate was not in recognition of his godliness, but rather of his devotion to his father.

(a) *Antoninus* So Bond. Early texts *Antonius*, except 1597 *Antonus*.

<sup>2</sup> *For her recreation in her barge upon the Thames*. Bond quotes Camden's account of the incident here related, which exactly agrees with Lyly's. It happened in the summer of 1579, and by some persons it was thought that the shot was aimed at Simier, the Duke of Anjou's representative, who was with the Queen in her barge.

(b) *unwittingly* 1580A *unwittingly* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Theodosius*. This is Theodosius the Younger, and the source of the saying is Erasmus' *Apophthegms*, viii., *Trajanus*. 18 (*Works*, iv. 326F.).

<sup>4</sup> *Saying with Augustus*. It was Nero who said this (see Erasmus, *Apophth.* ; *Works*, iv. 257E, from Suetonius' *Nero*, ch. x.) ; but Lyly's reason for changing the fact is apparent.

be alleged and almost incredible ; whereby she hath showed herself a lamb in meekness when she had cause to be a lion in might, proved a dove in favour when she was provoked to be an eagle in fierceness, requiting injuries with benefits, revenging grudges with gifts, in highest majesty bearing the lowest mind, forgiving all that sued for mercy, and forgetting all that deserved justice.

O divine nature, O heavenly nobility ! What thing can there more be required in a Prince than in greatest power to show greatest patience, in chiefest glory to bring forth chiefest grace, in abundance of all earthly pomp(a) to manifest abundance of all heavenly piety ? O fortunate England that hath such a Queen ! Ungrateful if thou pray not for her, wicked if thou do not love her, miserable if thou lose her.

Here, ladies, is a Glass for all Princes to behold, that being called to dignity they use moderation not might, tempering the severity of the laws with the mildness of love, not executing all they will but showing what they may. Happy are they and only they that are under this glorious and gracious sovereignty ; insomuch that I account all those abjects that be not her subjects.

But why do I tread still in one path when I have so large a field to walk, or linger about one flower when I have many to gather ? Wherein I resemble those that being delighted with the little brook neglect the fountain's head, or that painter that being curious to colour Cupid's bow forgot to paint the string.

As this noble Prince is endued with mercy, patience, and moderation, so is she adorned with singular beauty and chastity, excelling in the one Venus, in the other Vesta. Who knoweth not how rare a thing it is, ladies, to match virginity with beauty, a chaste mind with an amiable face, divine cogitations with a comely countenance ? But such is the grace bestowed upon this earthly goddess that, having the beauty that might allure all Princes, she hath the chastity also to refuse all, accounting it no less praise to be called a virgin than to be esteemed a Venus, thinking it as great honour to be found chaste as thought amiable. Where is now Electra, the chaste daughter of Agamemnon ? Where is Lala,<sup>1</sup> that renowned virgin ? Where is Aemilia,<sup>2</sup> that through her chastity wrought wonders in maintaining con-

(a) *pomp* 1580A *pome* ; 1580B *pompe* ; 1597 *felicities*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lala* : one of the women who have been painters mentioned by Pliny, xxxv. 40 : *Lala* (in some texts *Iaia*) *Cyzicena, perpetua virgo . . . Romae et penicillo pinxit*.

<sup>2</sup> *Aemilia*. Bond refers to Valerius Maximus, i. 1, 7, for the story of how Aemilia recovered the Vestal fire when it had been extinguished.

tinual fire at the altar of Vesta? Where is Claudia,<sup>1</sup> that to manifest her virginity set the ship on float with her finger that multitudes could not remove by force? Where is Tuccia,<sup>2</sup> one of the same order, that brought to pass no less marvels by carrying water in a sieve, not shedding one drop from Tiber to the Temple of Vesta?

If virginity have such force then what hath this chaste virgin Elizabeth done, who by the space of twenty and odd years with continual peace against all policies, with sundry miracles contrary to all hope, hath governed that noble island? Against whom neither foreign force nor civil fraud, neither discord at home nor conspiracies abroad could prevail. What greater marvel hath happened since the beginning of the world than for a young and tender maiden to govern strong and valiant men, than for a virgin to make the whole world, if not to stand in awe of her, yet to honour her; yea, and to live in spite of all those that spite her, with her sword in the sheath, with her armour in the Tower, with her soldiers in their gowns? Insomuch as her peace may be called more blessed than the quiet reign of Numa Pompilius, in whose government the bees have made their hives in the soldiers' helmets.<sup>3</sup> Now is the Temple of Janus removed from Rome to England, whose door hath not been opened this twenty years<sup>4</sup>; more to be marvelled at than the regiment of Deborah who ruled twenty years with religion, or Semiramis that governed long with power, or Zenobia that reigned six years<sup>5</sup> in prosperity.

This is the only miracle that virginity ever wrought: for a

<sup>1</sup> *Claudia*: Claudia Quinta; in the year 204 B.C. a vessel conveying the image of Cybele to Rome from Pessinus grounded at the mouth of Tiber. Claudia, to prove her suspected chastity, drew it off with the aid of the goddess, after all efforts had failed. Ovid tells the story, *Fasti*, iv. 305 ff. M'Kerrow (*Nashe*, iv. pp. 12-13) gives a number of other classical allusions to the story. She was not a Vestal, as Lyly implies, but is often so called, through confusion with another Claudia, as for instance by St. Jerome in a passage cited by M'Kerrow.

<sup>2</sup> *Tuccia*. Her story is told by Valerius Maximus, viii. 1, 5, and mentioned by Petrarch, *Trionfo della Castità* (Bond). Valerius Maximus is obviously Lyly's source.

<sup>3</sup> *The bees . . . in the soldiers' helmets*. In *Campaspe*, iv. 3, 8, the same image is used. The source is Alciati's *Emblems*, no. 45, where the saying is pictured, and some good verses expound it. Lyly had doubtless read of Numa's peaceful reign in Plutarch's *Lives*.

<sup>4</sup> *This twenty years*. Compare p. 374, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Zenobia that reigned six years*: "from the death of her husband Odenathus, 267 A.D., to her overthrow by Aurelian in 273" (Bond).

little island environed round about with wars to stand in peace, for the walls of France to burn and the houses of England to freeze, for all other nations either with civil sword to be divided or with foreign foes to be invaded and that country neither to be molested with broils in their own bosoms nor threatened with blasts of other borderers; but always, though not laughing, yet looking through an emerald<sup>1</sup> at others' jars. Their fields have been sown with corn, strangers<sup>2</sup> theirs pitched with camps; they have their men reaping their harvest, when others are mustering in their harness; they use their pieces to fowl for pleasure, others their calivers for fear of peril.

O blessed peace, O happy Prince, O fortunate people! The living God is only the English God, where He hath placed peace which bringeth all plenty, anointed a virgin Queen which with a wand ruleth her own subjects and with her worthiness winneth the good wills of strangers; so that she is no less gracious among her own than glorious to others, no less loved of her people than marvelled at of other nations.

This is the blessing that Christ always gave to His people, *peace*. This is the curse that He giveth to the wicked, *There shall be no peace to the ungodly*. This was the only salutation He used to his disciples, *Peace be unto you*. And therefore is He called *The God of love and peace* in Holy Writ. In peace was the Temple of the Lord built by Solomon; Christ would not be born until there were peace throughout the whole world; this was the only thing that Ezechias prayed for, *Let there be truth and peace, O Lord, in my days*. All which examples do manifestly prove that there can be nothing given of God to man more notable than peace.

This peace hath the Lord continued with great and unspeakable goodness among his chosen people of England. How much is that nation bound to such a Prince! By whom they enjoy all benefits of peace, having their barns full when others famish, their coffers stuffed with gold when others have no silver, their wives without danger when others are defamed, their daughters chaste when others are deflowered, their houses furnished when others are fired, where they have all things for superfluity, others nothing to sustain their need. This peace

<sup>1</sup> *Not laughing, yet looking through an emerald*: alluding to Nero's custom of watching plays or combats through an emerald which he wore in a ring. Erasmus (*Similia*; *Works*, i. 598c) and Pliny (xxxvii. 16) mention it.

<sup>2</sup> *Strangers*: foreigners. The construction of 'strangers theirs' is curious. *Theirs* merely makes *strangers* possessive.



hath God given for her virtues, pity, moderation, virginity. Which peace the same God of peace continue for His name's sake.

Touching the beauty of this Prince, her countenance, her personage, her majesty, I cannot think that it may be sufficiently commended, when it cannot be too much marvelled at. So that I am constrained to say as Praxiteles did <sup>1</sup> when he began to paint Venus and her son, who doubted whether the world could afford colours good enough for two such fair faces ; and I whether our tongue can yield words to blaze that beauty, the perfection whereof none can imagine. Which seeing it is so, I must do like those that want a clear sight, who, being not able to discern the sun in the sky, are enforced to behold it in the water. Zeuxis, having before him fifty fair virgins of Sparta whereby to draw one amiable Venus,\* said that fifty more fairer than those could not minister sufficient beauty to show the goddess of beauty ; therefore, being in despair <sup>3</sup> either by art to shadow her or by imagination to comprehend her, he drew in a table a fair temple, the gates open, and Venus going in, so as nothing could be perceived but her back. Wherein he used such cunning that Apelles himself, seeing this work, wished that Venus would turn her face ; saying that if it were in all parts agreeable to the back, he would become apprentice to Zeuxis and slave to Venus.

In the like manner fareth it with me, for having all the ladies in Italy, more than fifty-hundred, whereby to colour Elizabeth, I must say with Zeuxis that as many more will not suffice ; and therefore, in as great an agony, paint her court with her back towards you, for that I cannot by art portray her beauty. Wherein though I want the skill to do it as Zeuxis did, yet, viewing it narrowly and comparing it wisely, you all will say that if her face be answerable to her back you will like my handicraft and become her handmaids. In the mean season I leave you gazing until she turn her face, imagining her to be such a one as nature

<sup>1</sup> Say as *Praxiteles did* : probably an invention.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeuxis . . . fifty fair virgins . . . Venus* : a story told by many classical authors : Cicero, *De Inventione*, II. I, 1 ; Dionysius Halic., *De Priscian. Script. Cens.*, i. ; Pliny, xxxv. 36 ; etc. Erasmus relates it in a Simile (*Works*, i. 600E). It was not a picture of Venus, but of Juno, according to most authorities, and the scene was not Sparta. Nashe uses the story, probably following Erasmus, at the beginning of his *Anat. of Absurditie*.

<sup>3</sup> *Therefore, being in despair* : an addition to the classical story. Bond quotes from Sannazarro's *Arcadia* an account of "a wary painter" who in despair of making his Venus more beautiful than his Juno and Minerva painted her with her back turned (*Prosa*, iii.). There is probably a common source for Sannazarro and Lyly.

framed to that end that no art should imitate ; wherein she hath proved herself to be exquisite and painters to be apes.

This beautiful mould when I beheld to be endued with chastity, temperance, mildness, and all other good gifts of nature (as hereafter shall appear), when I saw her to surpass all in beauty and yet a virgin, to excel all in piety and yet a Prince, to be inferior to none in all the lineaments of the body and yet superior to every one in all gifts of the mind, I began thus to pray, that as she hath lived forty years <sup>1</sup> a virgin in great majesty so she may live fourscore years a mother <sup>2</sup> with great joy, that as with her we have long time had peace and plenty so by her we may ever have quietness and abundance ; wishing this, even from the bottom of a heart that wisheth well to England, though feareth ill, that either the world may end before she die or she live to see her children's children in the world ; otherwise how tickle <sup>3</sup> their state is that now triumph, upon what a twist they hang that now are in honour, they that live shall see, which I to think on sigh. But God for His mercy's sake, Christ for His merit's sake, the Holy Ghost for His name's sake grant to that realm comfort without any ill chance and the Prince they have without any other change ; that the longer she liveth the sweeter she may smell, like the bird Ibis,<sup>4</sup> that she may be triumphant in victories like the palm-tree, fruitful in her age like the vine, in all ages prosperous, to all men gracious, in all places glorious ; so that there be no end of her praise until the end of all flesh. Thus did I often talk with myself and wish with mine whole soul.

What should I talk of her sharp wit, excellent wisdom, exquisite learning, and all other qualities of the mind ? Wherein she seemeth as far to excel those that have been accounted singular as the learned have surpassed those that have been thought simple.

In questioning not inferior to Nicaulia, the Queen of Saba,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Forty years.* As Bond notes, Elizabeth was now forty-seven.

<sup>2</sup> *A mother :* betraying the expectation in 1579 that Elizabeth would marry the Duc d'Anjou. See Bond's note.

<sup>3</sup> *Tickle :* uncertain, capricious (still in dialectal use).

<sup>4</sup> *The bird Ibis.* The source is probably Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 563f) : *Ibin aiunt, ubi consenuit, jamque quod erat turbidum exspiravit, magis aromaticè olere.* Erasmus' source is Plutarch, *An Seni Resp. Gerenda Sit*, § 13, where most modern editions read *Iris* instead of *Ibis*. De Vocht says, however, that all 16th-century editions had *Ibis*.

<sup>5</sup> *Nicaulia, the Queen of Saba.* Cornelius Agrippa, *De Nobil. et Praecell. Foeminei Sexus* (*Works*, Lyons, 1529(?), p. 537), has a page on the learned accomplishments of women, in which all of Lyly's examples are mentioned

that did put so many hard doubts to Solomon ; equal to Nicostrata<sup>1</sup> in the Greek tongue, who was thought to give precepts for the better perfection ; more learned in the Latin than Amalasuntha<sup>2</sup> ; passing Aspasia in philosophy, who taught Pericles ; exceeding in judgement Themistoclea,<sup>3</sup> who instructed Pythagoras. Add to these qualities those that none of these had, the French tongue, the Spanish, the Italian ; not mean in every one but excellent in all, readier to correct escapes in those languages than to be controlled, fitter to teach others than learn of any, more able to add new rules than to err in the old. Inso-much as there is no ambassador that cometh into her Court but she is willing and able both to understand his message and utter her mind ; not like unto the kings of Assyria, who answer ambassades by messengers while they themselves either dally in sin or snort in sleep.

Her goodly zeal to learning, with her great skill, hath been so manifestly approved that I cannot tell whether she deserve more honour for her knowledge or admiration for her courtesy ; who in great pomp hath twice directed her progress unto the universities,<sup>4</sup> with no less joy to the students than glory to her state. Where, after long and solemn disputations in law, physick, and divinity, not as one wearied with scholars' arguments but wedded to their orations, when everyone feared to

except Themistoclea. This or a similar list in one of the many books of the Renaissance in praise of women Lyly probably used. Cornelius Agrippa gives the names in the forms used by Lyly except that the first is *Nicaula* instead of *Nicaulia*. In Castiglione's *Courtier*, Book iii. (Lat. ed., pp. 226-31), all of Lyly's exemplars are mentioned except *Nicaulia* and Themistoclea. In Elyot's *Defence of Good Women* (reprinted in part in Foster-Watson's *Vives and the Renascence Educ. of Women*, 1912), Nicostrata, Aspasia, and Zenobia are celebrated.

<sup>1</sup> *Nicostrata* : a nymph, also called Themis, said to have been the mother of Evander (*Aen.* viii. 51) and a giver of oracles. See Plutarch, *Quaest. Roman.*, § 56. Cornelius Agrippa says (as above, p. 537) : *In rerum inventionibus exemplo sunt Isis, Minerva, Nycostrata*. Castiglione says : *Quae Latinos primum literis instruxit*.

<sup>2</sup> *Amalasuntha* : regina Ostrogothorum (Cornelius Agrippa), daughter of Theodoric (d. 522).

<sup>3</sup> *Themistoclea*. "Aristoxenus asserts that Pythagoras derived the greater part of his ethical doctrines from Themistoclea, the priestess at Delphi" (Diogenes Laertius, viii. 1, 5).

<sup>4</sup> *Twice . . . unto the universities*. Full accounts of Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge in 1564 and of her more elaborate entertainment at Oxford in 1566 will be found in Nichol's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. 1788, vol. i. Lyly's words are probably not meant to imply that she had gone twice to each university.

offend in length, she, in her own person, with no less praise to her majesty than delight to her subjects, with a wise and learned conclusion both gave them thanks and put herself to pains. O noble pattern of a princely mind! Not like to the kings of Persia,<sup>1</sup> who in their progresses did nothing else but cut sticks to drive away the time; nor like the delicate lives of the Sybarites,<sup>2</sup> who would not admit any art to be exercised within their city that might make the least noise.

Her wit so sharp, that if I should repeat the apt answers, the subtile questions, the fine speeches, the pithy(a) sentences which on the sudden she hath uttered, they would rather breed admiration than credit. But such are the gifts that the living God hath endued her withal that look in what art or language, wit or learning, virtue or beauty anyone hath particularly excelled most, she only hath generally(b) exceeded everyone in all; insomuch that there is nothing to be added that either man could wish in a woman or God doth give to a creature.

I let pass her skill in music, her knowledge in all the other sciences, whenas I fear lest by my simplicity I should make them less than they are, in seeking to show how great they are; unless I were praising her in the gallery of Olympia,<sup>3</sup> where giving forth one word I might hear seven. But all these graces although they be to be wondered at, yet her politic government, her prudent counsel, her zeal to religion, her clemency to those that submit, her stoutness to those that threaten so far exceed all other virtues that they are more easy to be marvelled at than imitated.

Two and twenty years(c) hath she borne the sword with such justice that neither offenders could complain of rigour nor the innocent of wrong, yet so tempered with mercy as malefactors have been sometimes pardoned upon hope of grace and

<sup>1</sup> *The kings of Persia.* The statement here is repeated in the Prol. (at Court) to *Campaspe*. The source is Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiv. 12, part of which Lyly translates with some literalness.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sybarites.* The source of this statement is Erasmus' *Apophth.* (*Works*, iv. 292c); Erasmus specifies the arts of ironworkers and carpenters. De Vocht quotes as Erasmus' source Athenaeus' *Dipnosophistae*, xii. 6.

(a) *the pithy* 1580A *ye pithie*; changed in later editions. See note (a), p. 229.

(b) *generally* 1580A *gnerally*; corrected in later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *The gallery of Olympia*: probably from Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 599F): *Olympiae porticus vocem acceptam arte septies reddit* [etc.]. But Lyly may have it directly from Pliny, xxxvi. 22. The gallery of Olympia was a portico called the Heptaphonon. Plutarch mentions it, *De Garrulitate*, § 1.

(c) *Two and twenty years* So 1580A. 1597, etc. *Five and twenty years.*

the injured requited to ease their grief; insomuch that in the whole course of her glorious reign it could never be said that either the poor were oppressed without remedy or the guilty repressed without cause; bearing this engraven in her noble heart, that justice without mercy were extreme injury<sup>1</sup> and pity without equity plain partiality, and that it is as great tyranny not to mitigate laws as iniquity to break them.

Her care for the flourishing of the Gospel hath well appeared, whenas neither the curses of the Pope<sup>2</sup> (which are blessings to good people) nor the threatenings of Kings (which are perilous to a Prince) nor the persuasions of Papists (which are honey to the mouth) could either fear her or allure her to violate the holy league contracted with Christ, or to maculate the blood of the ancient Lamb which is Christ. But always constant in the true faith, she hath, to the exceeding joy of her subjects, to the unspeakable comfort of her soul, to the great glory of God, established that religion, the maintenance whereof she rather seeketh to confirm by fortitude than leave off for fear; knowing that there is nothing that smelleth sweeter to the Lord than a sound spirit, which neither the hosts of the ungodly nor the horror of death can either remove or move. This Gospel, with invincible courage, with rare constancy, with hot zeal, she hath maintained in her own countries without change, and defended against all kingdoms that sought change; insomuch that all nations round about her threatening alteration, shaking swords, throwing fire, menacing famine, murder, destruction, desolation, she only hath stood, like a lamp(a) on the top of a hill, not fearing the blasts of the sharp winds, but trusting in His providence that rideth upon the wings of the four winds.

Next followeth the love she beareth to her subjects, who no less tendereth them than the apple of her own eye; showing herself a mother to the afflicted, a physician to the sick, a sovereign and mild governess to all. Touching her magnanimity,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Justice without mercy were extreme injury*: a paraphrase of a classical proverb of wide currency. Terence, *Heaut.* iv. 5, 48, has: *Jus summum saepe summa est malitia*. Cicero, *De Off.* i. 10, gives it: *Summum jus summa injuria*. And Voltaire (*Edip.* iii. 3) translates: "Mais l'extrême justice est une extrême injure." See Erasmus' *Adagia*, i. 10, 25 (*Works*, li. 374).

<sup>2</sup> *The curses of the Pope*: alluding to the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, issued in 1570.

(a) *like a lamp* So 1580A. 1581, etc. *like a lamb*.

<sup>3</sup> *Magnanimity*: used in the Aristotelian sense, akin to *magnificence*. In Elyot's *Governour* the twelve Aristotelian virtues are described, of which

her majesty, her estate royal, there was neither Alexander nor Galba the Emperor nor any that might be compared with her.

This is she that, resembling the noble Queen of Navarre,<sup>1</sup> useth the marigold for her flower, which at the rising of the sun openeth her leaves and at the setting shutteth them, referring all her actions and endeavours to Him that ruleth the sun. This is that Caesar that first bound the crocodile to the palm-tree,<sup>2</sup> bridling those that sought to rein(a) her. This is that good pelican<sup>3</sup> that to feed her people spareth not to rend her own person. This is that mighty eagle<sup>4</sup> that hath thrown dust into

Magnanimity is the sum and crown, and Spenser's Prince Arthur represents this virtue in the *F. Q.*

<sup>1</sup> *The noble Queen of Navarre . . . the marigold.* The property of the marigold here mentioned is commonly referred to in the 16th century. See Nashe, *Works*, ed. M'Kerrow, I. 218, 4; Overbury's *A Wife*, ed. 1638, p. 70. The "winking mary-buds" of Cloten's song in *Cymbeline* are marigolds, and there is a beautiful poem by Wither called *The Marigold*. Child's Bank in London, until the demolition of Temple Bar, bore the sign of the flower and the legend *Ainsi mon âme*. According to *NED.* the flower meant in all these allusions is the common marigold of present-day usage (*Calendula officinalis*), but there are indications that it was not always, perhaps not usually, so. Often the daisy seems to be meant (sometimes also the sunflower), and in Lyly's passage probably this is the case. Queen Marguerite of Navarre (not Henri IV.'s wife, but the author of the *Heptameron*) was known as 'Marguerite des Marguerites' sometimes in the sense 'pearl of pearls,' but usually with a double reference both to pearls and daisies; and, moreover, there is evidence that *marguerite* in French was sometimes 'marigold' rather than 'daisy.' This confusion of terms explains Lyly's passage. As to the facts here cited see *Notes and Queries*, Series iv. vol. xii. pp. 243, 283, 363, and Series v. vol. xii. p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> *Bound the crocodile to the palm-tree.* This figure may have been suggested by the fabulous belief that a bull tied to a fig-tree lost its strength. Lyly had used this above (see note on p. 64).

(a) *rein* 1580A, 1580B, 1582 have *rayne*; 1623 has *reigne*; 1630 *reine*.

<sup>3</sup> *That good pelican*: see note on p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> *That mighty eagle.* In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance it became customary to convey ideas concerning the nature, duties, etc., of princes through the well-known figures of the Bestiary, sometimes also to reprove or satirize them (see Lauchert, 196 ff.). By far the most interesting example of this custom among the later writers is the long satire and invective of Erasmus against bad princes which he insinuates in his *Adagia* under pretence of expounding the adage *Scarabaeus aquilam quaerit* (*Adagia*, III. 7, 1; *Works*, ii. 869 ff.). This remarkable production was evidently well known to Lyly, and a number of his fables which De Vocht traces to other passages in Erasmus he rather found here. But Lyly always turns them to the praise of monarchy and Elizabeth. Three passages of Erasmus are combined in the present sentence: the story of the eagle and the deer is told 873F; the power of the eagle's feathers to consume other birds' feathers (see above, pp. 40 and 192)

the eyes of the hart that went about to work destruction to her subjects; into whose wings although the blind beetle<sup>1</sup> would have crept, and so being carried into her nest destroyed her young ones, yet hath she with the virtue of her feathers consumed that fly in his own fraud. She hath exiled the swallow that sought to spoil the grasshopper,<sup>2</sup> and given bitter almonds<sup>3</sup> to the ravenous wolves that endeavoured to devour the silly lambs, burning even with the breath of her mouth, like the princely stag, the serpents that were engendered by the breath of the huge elephant.<sup>4</sup> So that now all her enemies are as whist as the bird Attagen,<sup>5</sup> who never singeth any tune after she is taken, nor they being so overtaken.

But whither do I wade, ladies, as one forgetting himself, thinking to sound the depth(a) of her virtues with a few fathoms, when

is found 872B, c; and the fable concerning the feud between the eagle and the beetle is narrated at length, 881-3. The first of these is as follows: "It [the eagle] rolls itself in the dust. Then settling itself between the horns of the stag it scatters the dust collected in its feathers into the eyes of the beast, and beats its face with its wings, until at last the stag is blinded and rushes over a precipice." Erasmus' source for this is Pliny, x. 5.

<sup>1</sup> *The blind beetle.* Erasmus ascribes the origin of the proverb *Scarabaeus aquilam quaerit* to a Greek fable ("said by Lucian to be one of Aesop's"). As Erasmus elaborates it, it is as follows: The beetle by clinging to the feathers of the eagle is borne up to his nest, and when the eagle has left it there, it destroys the eagle's eggs by rolling them out one by one, and also rolls out the precious stone Aetites which the eagle keeps there. In Erasmus' apologue the beetle represents the common people, inspired with democratic principles, and warring on princes, and instead of saying, as Lyly does, that the eagle easily and gloriously triumphs, he narrates repeated successes of the beetle until at last the feud has to be carried to the gods, where the strife continues.

<sup>2</sup> *The swallow . . . the grasshopper.* Bond cites Aelian, *De Natura Anim.* viii. 6; but Lyly's source is probably Alciati's *Emblems*, no. 99, where the swallow is represented carrying off a grasshopper, and the moral drawn is: *Doctos doctis obloqui nefas esse.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bitter almonds.* I have found no other case of the figurative use of this expression. 'An almond for a parrot' was proverbial in the sense of a retort to a person talking foolishly (see *NED.*).

<sup>4</sup> *The princely stag . . . the serpents . . . the huge elephant.* Pliny, xi. 115, says that the breath of elephants draws serpents from their holes, and the breath of stags burns them. Lyly may have misunderstood the word *extrahit* in some way, or he may have had a text in which a word meaning 'engender' was found. Compare p. 216, note 1. It seems almost certain that in all the figures in this paragraph Lyly is alluding to real events and personages easily recognized by his readers. The elephant, for instance, might be Rome or Spain.

<sup>5</sup> *The bird Attagen:* Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 608F), or Pliny, x. 68.

(a) *depth* 1580A *deph.*

there is no bottom? For I know not how it cometh to pass that being in this labyrinth I may sooner lose myself than find the end.

Behold, ladies, in this Glass a Queen, a woman, a virgin; in all gifts of the body, in all graces of the mind, in all perfection of either so far to excel all men that I know not whether I may think the place too bad for her to dwell among men.

To talk of other things in that court were to bring eggs after apples, or after the setting out of the sun to tell a tale of a shadow. But this I say, that all offices are looked to with great care, that virtue is embraced of all, vice hated, religion daily increased, manners reformed; that whoso seeth the place there will think it rather a church for divine service, than a Court for Princes' delight. (a)

This is the Glass, ladies, wherein I would have you gaze, wherein I took my whole delight. Imitate the ladies in England, amend your manners, rub out the wrinkles of the mind, and be not curious about the wems<sup>1</sup> in the face. As for their Elizabeth, sith you can neither sufficiently marvel at her, nor I praise her, let us all pray for her; which is the only duty we can perform, and the greatest that we can proffer.

*Yours to command,*

*Euphues.*

#### IOVIS ELIZABETH<sup>2</sup>

PALLAS, Iuno, Venus, cum Nympham numine plenam  
Spectarunt, "Nostra haec," quaeque triumphat, "erit."  
Contendunt avidae; sic tandem regia Iuno,  
"Est mea, de magnis stemma petivit avis."  
"Hoc leve (nec sperno tantorum insignia patrum);  
Ingenio pollet; dos mea," Pallas ait.  
Dulce Venus risit, vultusque in lumina fixit,  
"Haec mea," dixit, "erit, nam quod ametur habet,  
Iudicio Paridis, cum sit praelata venustas.  
Ingenium Pallas, Iuno quid urget avos?"  
Haec Venus. Impatiens veteris Saturnia damni,  
"Arbiter in coelis non Paris," inquit, "erit."  
Intumuit Pallas nunquam passura priorem,  
"Priamides Helenem," dixit, "adulter amet."  
Risit et erubuit mixto Cytherea colore,  
"Iudicium," dixit, "Iuppiter ipse ferat."

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(a) for Princes' delight So 158A. 1597, etc. for a Prince's delight.

<sup>1</sup> Wems: spots, moles, blemishes.

<sup>2</sup> *Jovis Elizabeth.* Bond, in a note in his life of Lyly (*Works*, i. 23) mentions a portrait of Elizabeth by a court painter, Lucas de Heere, in which she is attended by Juno, Minerva, and Venus, and suggests that this may have given Lyly the subject of these verses.



Assensere: Iovem compellant vocibus ultro ;

Incipit affari regia Iuno Iovem :

"Iuppiter, Elizabeth vestras si venit ad aures,

(Quam certe omnino coelica turba stupent)

Hanc propriam et merito semper vult esse Monarcham

Quaeque suam,(a) namque est pulchra, diserta,(b) potens.

Quod pulchra est Veneris, quod polleat arte Minervae,

Quod Princeps Nympham quis neget esse meam ?

Arbiter istius modo vis certaminis esto,

Sin minus est nullum lis habitura modum."

Obstupet Omnipotens, "Durum est quod poscitis," inquit.

"Est tamen arbitrio res peragenda meo.

Tu soror et coniux Iuno, tu filia Pallas,

Es quoque (quid simulem ?) ter mihi cara(c) Venus.

Non tua, da veniam, Iuno, nec Palladis illa est,

Nec Veneris, credas hoc licet alma Venus.

Haec Iuno, haec Pallas, Venus haec, et quaeque Dearum,

Divisum Elizabeth cum Iove numen(d) habet.

Ergo quid obstrepitis ? Frustra contenditis," inquit,

"Ultima vox haec est, Elizabetha mea est."

#### EUPHUES

Es Iovis Elizabeth, nec quid Iove maius habendum ;

Et Iove teste Iovi es(e) Iuno, Minerva, Venus.

These verses Euphues sent also under his Glass. Which having once finished he gave himself to his book, determining to end his life in Athens, although he had a month's mind<sup>1</sup> to England ; who at all times and in all companies was no niggard of his good speech to that nation, as one willing to live in that court and wedded to the manners of that country.

It chanced that, being in Athens not passing one quarter of a year, he received letters out of England from Philautus. Which I thought necessary also to insert, that I might give some end to the matters in England, which at Euphues' departure were but rawly left. And thus they follow.

(a) *suam* 1580A & B *sanam* ; changed in later editions.

(b) *diserta* So Bond ; old editions *deserta*.

(c) *cara* Earlier editions *chara*.

(d) *numen* 1580A *mumen* ; corrected in later editions.

(e) *es* So 1580A ; 1580C *est*.

<sup>1</sup> *A month's mind*. The phrase was (and still is in Ireland) in common use to describe a memorial feast and ceremony held for a dead person a month after his death. But this sense is not involved here. *Lyly* means only a keen desire and longing. See Nares' *Glossary* for a long discussion, and *NED.*, s.v. *month's mind*. *Lyly's* is the earliest use so far found in the second sense. Shakespeare has it, *Two Gent. of Ver.* 1. 2, 137, and it is quoted by *NED.* from Sir Walter Scott's *Journals*. It occurs several times in Nashe (see Index to M'Kerrow ed.).

*Philautus to his own Euphues*

I have oftentimes, Euphues, since thy departure complained of the distance of place that I am so far from thee, of the length of time that I could not hear of thee, of the spite of fortune that I might not send to thee. But time at length, and not too late because at last, hath recompensed the injuries of all, offering me both a convenient messenger by whom to send and strange news whereof to write.

Thou knowest how froward matters went when thou tookest ship, and thou wouldest marvel to hear how forward they were before thou struckest sail. For I had not been long in London, sure I am thou wast not then at Athens, whenas the corn which was green in the blade began to wax ripe in the ear, when the seed which I scarce thought to have taken root began to spring, when the love of Surius which hardly I would have guessed to have a blossom showed a bud. But so unkind<sup>1</sup> a year it hath been in England that we felt the heat of the summer before we could discern the temperature of the spring; insomuch that we were ready to make hay before we could mow grass, having in effect the Ides of May before the Calends of March. Which seeing it is so forward in these things, I marvelled the less to see it so ready in matters of love; where oftentimes they clap hands before they know the bargain, and seal the obligation before they read the condition.<sup>(a)</sup>

At my being in the house of Camilla, it happened I found Surius accompanied with two knights and the Lady Flavia with three other ladies. I drew back as one somewhat shamefast; when I was willed to draw near, as one that was wished for. Who thinking of nothing less than to hear a contract for marriage where I only expected a conceit for mirth, I suddenly yet solemnly heard those words of assurance between Surius and Camilla, in the which I had rather have been a party than a witness. I was not a little amazed to see them strike the iron<sup>2</sup> which I thought cold, and to make an end before I could hear a beginning. When they saw me as it were in a trance, Surius taking me by the hand began thus to jest:—

“ You muse, Philautus, to see Camilla and me to be assured.

<sup>1</sup> Where all is so contemporary as in *Euphues*, it is probable that we are to look here for an actual description of the spring of the year 1580. *Euphues and his England* appeared at Easter.

(a) condition 1580a conditon; changed in later editions.

<sup>2</sup> Strike the iron: see note on p. 352.

Not that you doubted it unlikely to come to pass but that you were ignorant of the practices, thinking the dial to stand still because you cannot perceive it to move. But had you been privy to all proofs, both of her good meaning towards me and of my good will towards her, you would rather have thought great haste to be made than long deliberation. For this understand, that my friends are unwilling that I should match so low, not knowing that love thinketh the juniper shrub to be as high as the tall oak, or the nightingale's lays to be more precious than the ostrich's feathers, or the lark that breedeth in the ground to be better than the hobby<sup>1</sup> that mounteth to the clouds. I have always hitherto preferred beauty before riches and honesty before blood, knowing that birth is the praise we receive of our ancestors, honesty the renown we leave to our successors; and of two(a) brittle goods, riches and beauty, I had rather choose that which might delight me than destroy me. Made marriages by friends, how dangerous they have been I know, Philautus, and some present have proved. Which can be likened to nothing else so well than<sup>2</sup> as if a man should be constrained to pull on a shoe by another's last, not by the length of his own foot; which being too little wrings him that wears it, not him that made it, if too big shameth him that hath it, not him that gave it. In meats I love to carve where I like<sup>3</sup>; and in marriage shall I be carved where I like not? I had as lief another should take measure by his back of my apparel, as appoint what wife I shall have by his mind.

"In the choice of a wife sundry men are of sundry minds. One looketh high as one that feareth no chips,<sup>4</sup> saying that the oil<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The hobby*: a kind of falcon. See p. 72.

(a) *two* So 1580B, etc. 1580A *to*.

<sup>2</sup> *Than*. See similar cases of misuse of this word in *NED*.

<sup>3</sup> *To carve where I like*: a proverb common in the 17th century. *NED*'s earliest quotation is *Hamlet*, 1. 3. 20. Compare 'to be mine own carver,' p. 37, an expression used also by Nashe in *The Unfort. Trav.* (*Works*, ii. 257).

<sup>4</sup> *Looketh high as one that feareth no chips*. In a poem from Clement Robinson's *Handefull of Pleasant Delights*, 1584, inserted by Bond in his edition of Lyly (iii. 465 ff.), we read: "Look not too high, Lest that a chip fall in thine eye." The proverb was common in the 14th and 15th centuries (see quotations in *NED*., s.v. *chip*, sb.<sup>1</sup>, and in Skeat, *Early Eng. Proverbs*, no. 132) in the form, 'He that hews too high, may lose his sight,' and similar forms. The idea is not, as Bond says, that one must not look up at a workman on a scaffold, but that one must not hew at a point above one's head, and with the face raised. See Düringsfeld, ii., no. 368.

<sup>5</sup> *The oil . . . the finest*. Bond quotes the title of Plutarch's *Quaest. Conviv.* vii. 3, 'Why the middle of the wine, the top of the oil, and the bottom of the honey are the best.'

that swimmeth in the top is the wholesomest ; another poreth in the ground as dreading all dangers that happen in great stocks, alleging that the honey that lieth in the bottom is the sweetest ; I assent to neither, as one willing to follow the mean, thinking that (a) the wine which is in the midst to be the finest. That I might therefore match to mine own mind I have chosen Camilla, a virgin of no noble race, nor yet the child of a base father, but between both ; a gentlewoman of an ancient and worshipful house, in beauty inferior to none, in virtue superior to a number.

"Long time we loved, but neither durst she manifest her affection because I was noble, nor I utter mine for fear of offence, seeing in her always a mind more willing to carry torches before Vesta than tapers before Juno.<sup>1</sup> But as fire when it bursteth out catcheth hold soonest of the driest wood,<sup>2</sup> so love when it is revealed fasteneth easiest upon the affectionate will. Which came to pass in both of us, (b) for talking of love, of his laws, of his delights, torments, and all other branches, I could neither so dissemble my liking but that she espied it, whereat I began to sigh, nor she so cloak her love but that I perceived it, whereat she began to blush. At the last, though long time straining courtesy who should go over the stile when we had both haste, I (for that I knew women would rather die than seem to desire) began first to unfold the extremities of my passions, the causes of my love, the constancy of my faith ; the which she knowing to be true easily believed, and replied in the like manner. Which I thought not certain, not that I misdoubted her faith, but that I could not persuade myself of so good fortune. Having thus made each other privy to our wished desires, I frequented more often to Camilla ; which caused my friends to suspect that which now they shall find true. And this was the cause that we all meet here, that before this good company we might knit that knot with our tongues that we shall never undo with our teeth."

This was Surius's speech unto me, which Camilla with the rest affirmed. But I, Euphues, in whose heart the stumps of love were yet sticking, began to change colour, feeling as it were new storms to arise after a pleasant calm ; but thinking with myself

(a) Early editions from 1606 on omit *that*.

<sup>1</sup> *Tapers before Juno* : perhaps suggested by some descriptions in Ovid's *Fasts*, though an exact source is hard to find.

<sup>2</sup> *Fire . . . the driest wood*. *The Diall (Certain Letters*, no. 5) says : "The hot fire doth not forbear the wood, be it wet or dry."

(b) *both of us* So 1580c, etc. 1580a omits *of*.

that the time was past to woo her that another was to wed, I digested the pill which had almost choked me. But time caused me to sing a new tune, as after thou shalt hear.

After much talk and great cheer I, taking my leave, departed, being willed to visit the Lady Flavia at my leisure. Which word was to me in stead of a welcome.

Within a while after it was noised that Surius was assured<sup>1</sup> to Camilla, which bred great quarrels. But he, like a noble gentleman, rejoicing more in his love than esteeming the loss of his friends, maugre them all was married, not in a chamber privately as one fearing tumults, but openly in the church as one ready to answer any objections. This marriage solemnized could not be recalled, which caused his allies<sup>2</sup> to consent. And so, all parties pleased, I think them the happiest couple in the world.

Now, Euphues, thou shalt understand that all hope being cut off from obtaining Camilla, I began to use the advantage of the word that Lady Flavia cast out; whom I visited more like to a sojourner than a stranger, being absent at no time from breakfast till evening. Draff was mine errand, but drink I would;<sup>3</sup> my great courtesy was to excuse my grievous torments. For I ceased not continually to court my Violet, whom I never found so coy as I thought nor so courteous as I wished. At the last, thinking not to spend all my wooing in signs, I fell to flat sayings, revealing the bitter sweets that I sustained, the joy at her presence, the grief at her absence, with all speeches that a lover might frame.

She, not degenerating from the wiles of a woman, seemed to accuse men of inconstancy, that the painted words were but wind, that feigned sighs were but sleights, that all their love was but to laugh, laying baits to catch the fish that they meant again to throw into the river, practising only cunning to deceive not courtesy to tell truth; wherein she compared all lovers to Mizaldus the poet,<sup>4</sup> which was so light that every wind would blow him

<sup>1</sup> *Assured*: see note on p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Allies*: here used in its original (now obsolete) sense, 'kindred, relatives.'

<sup>3</sup> *Draff was mine errand, but drink I would*: so in Heywood, p. 31, and Camden's *Remains*, ed. 1870, p. 321. *Draff* is the refuse produced in making malt liquors, and the meaning of the proverb is: "I came for a more important purpose than that which I named as my pretext."

<sup>4</sup> *Mizaldus the poet*. Aelian (*Varia Hist.* ix. 14) tells the story of Philetas, a Coan poet. Bond says that Lyly wittily substitutes Mizaldus (Antoine Mizauld), a physicist, astronomer, and Latin poet of the 16th century. But it is more likely that he has merely misread some such passage as that which M'Kerrow (*Nashe*, iv. p. 190) quotes from Lupton's *A Thousand Notable Things* (Book i., no. 2, ed. 1595, p. 2): "A certain poet by the report of Mizaldus

away unless he had lead tied to his heels, and to the fugitive stone in Cyzicus,<sup>1</sup> which runneth away if it be not fastened to some post. Thus would she dally, a wench evermore given to such disport. I answered for myself as I could, and for all men as I thought.

Thus oftentimes had we conference but no conclusion, many meetings but few pastimes. Until at the last Surius, one that could quickly perceive on which side my bread was buttered,<sup>2</sup> began to break with me touching Frances; not as though he had heard anything, but as one that would understand something. I durst not seem strange when I found him so courteous, knowing that in this matter he might almost work all to my liking. I unfolded to him from time to time the whole discourses I had with my Violet, my earnest desire to obtain her, my lands, goods, and revenues. Who, hearing my tale, promised to further my suit; wherein he so bestirred his study that within one month I was in possibility to have her I most wished and least looked for.

It were too long to write an history, being but determined to send a letter; therefore I will defer all the actions and accidents that happened until occasion shall serve either to meet thee or minister leisure to me. To this end it grew, that, conditions drawn for the performance of a certain jointure (for the which I had many Italians bound), we were both made as sure as Surius and Camilla. Her dowry was in ready money a thousand pounds and a fair house, wherein I mean shortly to dwell. The jointure I must make is four hundred pounds yearly, the which I must here purchase in England and sell my lands in Italy.

Now, Euphues, imagine with thyself that Philautus beginneth to change—although in one year to marry and to thrive<sup>3</sup>(a) it be hard.

did weare leaden soles under his shoes.” The first edition of Lupton’s book was published in 1579. M’Kerrow, *loc. cit.*, comments on a passage of Nashe where the same story is told of Accius, apparently without authority. Compare note on p. 194.

<sup>1</sup> *The fugitive stone in Cyzicus.* Pliny, xxxvi. 22, says: “In the same city [Cyzicus] also, there is a stone known as the ‘Fugitive Stone’ [*lapis fugitivus*]. . . . This stone having repeatedly taken flight from the Prytaneum . . . it has been fastened down with lead.”

<sup>2</sup> *On which side my bread was buttered:* in Heywood, p. 86. See Düringsfeld, ii., no. 666, for similar proverbs in foreign languages.

<sup>3</sup> *In one year to marry and to thrive:* founded on such proverbs as: “Who weddeth or he be wise shall die or he thrive” (Heywood, p. 19 and p. 172). Perhaps Lyly’s expression is itself proverbial.

(a) *thrive* 1580A *thrive*; corrected in later editions.

But would I might once again see thee here ; unto whom thou shalt be no less welcome than to thy best friend.

Surius, that noble gentleman, commendeth him unto thee, Camilla forgetteth thee not, both earnestly wish thy return, with great promises to do thee good whether thou wish it in the court or in the country. And this I durst swear, that if thou come again into England thou wilt be so friendly entreated<sup>(a)</sup> that either thou wilt altogether dwell here or tarry here longer.

The Lady Flavia saluteth thee, and also my Violet. Every-one wisheth thee so well as thou canst wish thyself no better.

Other news here is none but that which little appertaineth to me and nothing to thee.

Two requests I have to make, as well from Surius as myself : the one to come into England, the other to hear thine answer. And thus in haste I bid thee farewell. From London the first of February, 1579.

*Thine or not his own,*

*Philautus.*

This letter being delivered to Euphues and well perused caused him both to marvel and to joy, seeing all things so strangely concluded, and his friend so happily contracted. Having therefore by the same means opportunity to send answer by the which he had pleasure to receive news, he dispatched his letter in this form.

### *Euphues to Philautus*

There could nothing have come out of England to Euphues more welcome than thy letters, unless it had been thy person. Which when I had thoroughly perused, I could not at the first either believe them for the strangeness or at the last for the happiness ; for upon the sudden to hear such alterations of Surius passed all credit, and to understand so fortunate success to Philautus all expectation. Yet considering that many things fall between the cup and the lip,<sup>1</sup> that in one lucky hour more rare things come to pass than sometimes in seven year, that

(a) *entreated* 1580A *enterated* ; corrected in later editions.

<sup>1</sup> *Between the cup and the lip.* The proverb is classical. Its source in Erasmus and hence in modern use is probably Aulus Gellius, xiii. 18 (17). See Düringsfeld, i., no. 676, and Otto, *Spr. d. Röm.*, p. 259. Erasmus in his *Adagia* (Works, ii. 181) discusses it learnedly. There are several classical forms : *Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra ; Inter os et offam multa intervenire possunt* ; etc.

marriages are made in heaven though consummated in earth, I was brought both to believe the events and to allow them.

Touching Surius and Camilla, there is no doubt but that they both will live well in marriage, who loved so well before their matching; and in my mind he dealt both wisely and honourably to prefer virtue before vainglory, and the goodly ornaments of nature<sup>1</sup> before the rich armour of nobility. For this must we all think (how well soever we think of ourselves), that virtue is most noble by the which men became first noble.

As for thine own estate,<sup>2</sup> I will be bold to counsel thee knowing it never to be more necessary to use advice than in marriage. Solon<sup>3</sup> gave counsel that before one assured himself he should be so wary that in tying himself fast he did not undo himself; wishing them first to eat a quince-pear, that is to have sweet conference without brawls, then salt, to be wise without boasting.<sup>4</sup> In Boeotia they covered the bride with Asparagonia,<sup>5</sup> the nature of the which plant is to bring sweet fruit out of a sharp thorn. Whereby they noted that although the virgin were somewhat shrewish at the first, yet in time she might become a sheep.

Therefore, Philautus, if thy Violet seem in the first month either to chide or chafe, thou must hear without reply and endure it with patience. For they that cannot suffer<sup>6</sup> the wranglings of young married women are not unlike unto those that, tasting the grape to be sour before it be ripe, leave to gather it when it is ripe; resembling them that being stung with the bee forsake the honey. Thou must use sweet words not bitter checks; and though haply thou wilt say that wands are to be wrought

<sup>1</sup> *Goodly ornaments of nature* [etc.]. The idea here is of course frequently expressed in classical writers; compare what Ovid says in *Ex Ponto*, i. 9, 39 f.

<sup>2</sup> The rest of the letter is, as Bond shows, derived chiefly from Plutarch's *Conjugal Precepts*. The evidence that Lyly has also used Edmund Tylney's *Flower of Friendship* is not so clear. The instructions to married men in North's *Diall* (Certain Letters, v., vi., vii.) seem to be more like Lyly's passages. De Vocht has shown that a good deal of Lyly's illustrative material here comes from Erasmus' *Adagia* and *Similia*.

<sup>3</sup> Solon . . . a quince-pear . . . brawls: Plutarch, *Conj. Praec.*, § i.

<sup>4</sup> Salt . . . boasting. The allusion is to many classical proverbs in which salt is taken as the type of wise moderation in eating, expenditure, and opinions. See above, p. 84, and Erasmus' *Adagia* (passim). Elsewhere in Lyly (see p. 273) one refrains from salt for fear of anger.

<sup>5</sup> *Asparagonia*: asparagus. The source is *Conj. Praec.*, § ii., but Lyly's form of the word is original.

<sup>6</sup> *They that cannot suffer . . . honey*: with considerable literalness from *Conj. Praec.*, § ii.



when they are green, lest they rather break than bend when they be dry, yet know also that he that bendeth a twig because he would see if it would bow by strength may chance to have a crooked tree when he would have a straight.

It is prettily noted of a contention between the Wind and the Sun,<sup>1</sup> who should have the victory. A gentleman walking abroad, the Wind thought to blow off his cloak; which with great blasts and blusterings striving to unloose it made it to stick faster to his back, for the more the wind increased the closer his cloak clapt to his body. Then the Sun shining with his hot beams began to warm this gentleman; who, waxing somewhat faint in this fair weather, did not only put off his cloak but his coat. Which the Wind perceiving yielded the conquest to the Sun.

In the very like manner fareth it with young wives. For if their husbands, with great threatenings, with jars, with brawls, seek to make them tractable or bend their knees, the more stiff they make them in the joints, the oftener they go about by force to rule them, the more froward they find them; but using mild words, gentle persuasions, familiar counsel, entreaty, submission, they shall not only make them to bow their knees but to hold up their hands, not only cause them to honour them but to stand in awe of them. For their stomachs are all framed of diamond,<sup>2</sup> which is not to be bruised with a hammer but blood, not by force but flattery; resembling the cock,<sup>3</sup> who is not to be feared by a serpent but a glee. They that fear their vines will make too sharp wine must not cut the arms but graft next to them mandrake,<sup>4</sup> which causeth the grape to be more pleasant. They that fear to have curst wives must not with rigour seek to calm them, but saying gentle words in every place by them,

<sup>1</sup> *A contention between the Wind and the Sun* [etc.]: *Conj. Praec.*, § xii., in which Aesop's fable (no. 82 in Halm's ed.) is retold with the same application as in Lyly. Lyly adorns the moral, however, with illustrations from other sources.

<sup>2</sup> *Diamond . . . blood*: see note on p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *The cock . . . not . . . a serpent but a glee*. Conrad Gesner, *Vogelbuch*, Zurich, 1557, pp. 78-9, says that *gold* is harmful to the rooster, and, immediately after, mentions a remedy or preventive which saves chickens from the sting of asps and other serpents, and tells how roosters fight serpents and drive them from their flocks. The source of all this is Pliny, xxix. 25, where remedies against snake-poison derived from poultry are mentioned, and he goes on to tell of the curious effects of mingling the flesh of poultry with gold heated to the point of fusion. Pliny is probably Lyly's source.

<sup>4</sup> *Graft next to them mandrake*: not directly from Plutarch, *De Aud. Poet.*, § 1, but from Erasmus' *Similia* (*Works*, i. 580c).

which maketh them more quiet. Instruments sound sweetest when they be touched softest, women wax wisest when they be used mildest. The horse striveth when he is hardly reined, but having the bridle never stirreth; women are stark mad if they be ruled by might, but with a gentle rein they will bear a white mouth.<sup>1</sup> Gall was cast out from the sacrifice of Juno,<sup>2</sup> which betokened that the marriage bed should be without bitterness.

Thou must<sup>3</sup> be a glass to thy wife, for in thy face must she see her own. For if when thou laughest she weep, when thou mournest she giggle, the one is a manifest sign she delighteth in others, the other a token she despiseth thee. Be in thy behaviour modest, temperate, sober, for as thou framest thy manners so will thy wife fit hers. Kings<sup>4</sup> that be wrestlers cause their subjects to exercise that feat. Princes that are musicians incite their people to use instruments, husbands that are chaste and godly cause also their wives to imitate their goodness.

For thy<sup>5</sup> great dowry, that ought to be in thine own hands. For as we call that wine wherein there is more than half water, so do we term that the goods of the husband which his wife bringeth, though it be all. Helen gaped<sup>6</sup> for goods, Paris for pleasure: Ulysses was content with chaste Penelope. So let it be with thee, that whatsoever others marry for, be thou always satisfied with virtue. Otherwise<sup>7</sup> may I use that speech to thee that Olympias did to a young gentleman who only took a wife for beauty, saying, "This gentleman hath only married his eyes; but by that time he have also wedded his ear, he will confess that a fair shoe wrings(a) though it be smooth in the wearing." Lycurgus<sup>8</sup> made a law that there should be no dowry given with maidens, to the end that the virtuous might be married, who commonly have little, not the amorous, who oftentimes have too much.

<sup>1</sup> *Bear a white mouth*: see note on p. 6. Here Lyly means by *white* 'unstained with blood,' 'not chafed.'

<sup>2</sup> *Gall . . . from the sacrifice of Juno* [etc.]: a translation of *Conj. Praec.*, § xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Thou must . . . despiseth thee*: Plutarch, *Conj. Praec.*, § xiv.

<sup>4</sup> *Kings . . . their goodness*: Plutarch, *Conj. Praec.*, § xvii.

<sup>5</sup> *For thy great dowry . . . be all*: *Conj. Praec.*, § xx., the end.

<sup>6</sup> *Helen gaped . . . Penelope*: *Conj. Praec.*, § xxi.

<sup>7</sup> *Otherwise . . . wearing*. The source is *Conj. Praec.*, § xxiv., but, as De Vocht shows, Erasmus' *Apophth.* (*Works*, iv. 320f) must also have been before Lyly's eyes, for the contrast between eyes and ears occurs there, but not in Plutarch.

(a) *wrings* So 1580b. 1580a *wringe*.

<sup>8</sup> *Lycurgus . . . too much*: Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon.*, *Lycurgus*, 15, or Erasmus' *Apophth.* (*Works*, iv. 127c).

Behave thyself<sup>1</sup> modestly with thy wife before company, remembering the severity of Cato who removed Manilius (*a*) from the Senate, for that he was seen to kiss his wife in presence of his daughter. Old men are seldom merry before children, lest their laughter might breed in them looseness; husbands should scarce jest before their wives, lest want of modesty on their parts be cause of wantonness on their wives' part. Imitate<sup>2</sup> the kings of Persia, who when they were given to riot kept no company with their wives, but when they used good order had their queens ever at their table. Give no example of lightness; for look, what thou practisest most, that will thy wife follow most though it becometh<sup>3</sup> her least.

And yet<sup>4</sup> would I not have thy wife so curious to please thee that, fearing lest her husband should think she painted her face, she should not therefore wash it; only let her refrain from such things as she knoweth cannot well like thee. He that cometh<sup>5</sup> before an elephant will not wear bright colours, nor he that cometh to a bull red, nor he that standeth by a tiger play on a tabor; for that by the sight or noise of these things they are commonly much incensed. In the like manner there is no wife, if she be honest, that will practise those things that to her mate shall seem displeasing, or move him to choler.

Be thrifty<sup>6</sup> and wary in thy expenses. For in old time they were as soon condemned by law that spent their wives' dowry prodigally, as they that divorced them wrongfully.

Fly that vice which is peculiar to all those of thy country, jealousy; for if thou suspect without cause it is the next way to have cause. Women are to be ruled by their own wits, for if they be chaste no gold can win them, if immodest no grief can amend them; so that all mistrust is either needless or bootless.

<sup>1</sup> *Behave thyself . . . daughter*: *Conj. Praec.*, § xiii. The name Manilius does not occur, but perhaps it was given as a gloss in the edition used by Lyly.

(*a*) *Manilius* So Bond. Early editions *Manlius* (1630, 1636 *Monlius*).

<sup>2</sup> *Imitate . . . their table*: *Conj. Praec.*, § xvi. In all these adaptations by Lyly it is instructive to observe how by omissions, changes, and additions he converts his classical source into a thing of different temper and culture.

<sup>3</sup> *Becometh*: here used in the sense 'is natural or easy to.'

<sup>4</sup> *And yet . . . like thee*: *Conj. Praec.*, § xxix.

<sup>5</sup> *He that cometh . . . choler*: *Conj. Praec.*, § xlv.

<sup>6</sup> *Bethrifty . . . can spare*. In this passage Lyly's ideas seem to be borrowed from the *Diall of Princes*. Thus in Book ii. ch. vi., Guevara advises women what to do if their husbands spend their dowry. Other suggestions seem to come to Lyly from the same chapter of the *Diall* (ii. 16) which he had used above, pp. 94-6.

Be not too imperious over her,—that will make her to hate thee; nor too submiss,<sup>(a)</sup>—that will cause her to disdain thee. Let her neither be thy slave nor thy sovereign, for if she lie under thy foot she will never love thee, if climb above thy head never care for thee; the one will breed thy shame to love her too little, the other thy grief to suffer too much.

In governing thy household use thine own eye and her hand <sup>1</sup>; for housewifery consisteth as much in seeing things as settling things. And yet in that go not above thy latchet,<sup>2</sup> for cooks are not to be taught in the kitchen, nor painters in their shops, nor housewives in their houses. Let all the keys hang at her girdle, but the purse at thine; so shalt thou know what thou dost spend, and how she can spare.

Break nothing of thy stock.<sup>3</sup> For as the stone Thyrrenus<sup>4</sup> being whole swimmeth, but never so little diminished sinketh to the bottom, so a man having his stock full is ever afloat, but wasting of his store becometh bankrupt.

Entertain such men as shall be trusty. For if thou keep a wolf within thy doors to do mischief, or a fox to work craft<sup>(b)</sup> and subtlety, thou shalt find it as perilous as if in thy barns thou shouldst maintain mice, or in thy grounds moles.

Let thy maidens be such as shall seem readier to take pains than follow pleasure, willinger to dress up their house than their heads, not so fine-fingered to call for a lute when they should use the distaff, nor so dainty-mouthed<sup>5</sup> that their silken throats should swallow no packthread.

(a) *submiss* So 1580A. 1586 *demisse*; 1597 *dismissive*; 1623 *remisse*.

<sup>1</sup> *Else thine own eye and her hand*: probably in allusion to the fable, well known in the 16th century, of the blind man who carried the cripple on his back. It is pictured in Alciati's *Emblems*, no. 22, and entitled *mutuum auxilium*. Perhaps nearer, however, is another of the *Emblems* (no. 59), in which a blind king is represented as directing counsellors who have no hands, the former representing the impartiality of justice, the latter freedom from covetousness.

<sup>2</sup> *Go not above thy latchet*. See note on p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Break nothing of thy stock*. The paragraph is another illustration (one of many) of Lyly's high esteem for wealth.

<sup>4</sup> *The stone Thyrrenus*: not (as Bond says) Lyly's invention, but from a Simile of Erasmus (*Works*, i. 609F), in which the stone is called *Tirrhenus lapis*. In Pliny, ii. 106 (Erasmus' source), it is called *Syrium* (or *Scyrium*) *lapidem*, but De Vocht shows that some manuscripts have *Thyrreum*, *Tireo*, *tinereum*, *terium*, etc., and conjectures that Erasmus altered one of these forms to *Tirrhenus*.

(b) *to work craft* From this point to the end the text is that of the second or 1580B edition, the first edition lacking the last two leaves.

<sup>5</sup> *So dainty-mouthed* [etc.]: i.e., too fond of fine dressing.

For thy diet be not sumptuous nor yet simple. For thy attire not costly nor yet clownish, but cutting thy coat by thy cloth.<sup>1</sup> Go no farther than shall become thy estate lest thou be thought proud, and so envied; nor debase not thy birth<sup>2</sup> lest thou be deemed poor, and so pitied.

Now thou art come to that honourable estate forget all thy former follies, and debate with thyself that heretofore thou didst but go about the world and that now thou are come into it; that love did once make thee to follow riot, that it must now enforce thee to pursue thrift; that then there was no pleasure to be compared to the courting of ladies, that now there can be no delight greater than to have a wife.

Commend me humbly to that noble man Surius and to his good lady Camilla.

Let my duty to the Lady Flavia be remembered and to thy Violet. Let nothing that may be added be forgotten.

Thou wouldest have me come again into England. I would but I cannot. But if thou desire to see Euphues, when thou art willing to visit thine uncle I will meet thee. In the mean season know that it is as far from Athens to England as from England to Athens.

Thou sayest I am much wished for, that many fair promises are made to me. Truly, Philautus, I know that a friend in the court<sup>3</sup> is better than a penny in the purse; but yet I have heard that such a friend cannot be gotten in the court without pence. Fair words fat few,<sup>4</sup> great promises without performance delight for the time but ijk ever after.

I cannot but thank Surius who wisheth me well, and all those that at my being in England liked me well. And so with my hearty commendations until I hear from thee I bid thee farewell.

*Thine to use if marriage change not manners,  
Euphues.*

<sup>1</sup> *Cutting thy coat by thy cloth*: see note on p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> *Debase not thy birth*: i.e., do not act unworthily of it by being too saving.

<sup>3</sup> *A friend in the court* [etc.]. De Vocht quotes Taverner's transl. of Erasmus' *Adagia* (1539), f. xiv., v.: "Where friends be, there be goods. Whereunto our English proverb alludeth: A friend in court is worth a penny in purse." See Erasmus' *Adagia* (*Works*, ii. 121E, F), where the great humanist neatly inverts the Latin proverb; *Ubi opes, ibi amici*. This may be the source of Lyly's turn in the following clause.

<sup>4</sup> *Fair words fat few*. Exactly in this form the proverb does not seem to be recorded elsewhere. Ray (Bohn ed.; p. 71) has: "Fair words fill not the belly"; while in the form 'Fair words make fools fain' it is extremely common. We have also 'Fair words butter no parsnips,' etc.

This letter dispatched, Euphues gave himself to solitariness, determining to sojourn in some uncouth place until time might turn white salt into fine sugar<sup>1</sup>; for surely he was both tormented in body and grieved in mind. And so I leave him, neither in Athens nor elsewhere that I know. But this order he left with his friends, that if any news came or letters that they should direct them to the Mount of Silixsedra.<sup>2</sup> Where I leave him either to his musing or muses.

Gentlemen, Euphues is musing in the bottom of the mountain Silixsedra; Philautus married in the isle of England; two friends parted, the one living in the delights of his new wife, the other in contemplation of his old griefs. What Philautus doth they can imagine that are newly married; how Euphues liveth they may guess that are cruelly martyred. I commit them both to stand to their own bargains. For if I should meddle any farther with the marriage of Philautus it might haply make him jealous, if with the melancholy of Euphues it might cause him to be cholerick; so the one would take occasion to rub his head,<sup>3</sup> sit his hat never so close, and the other offence to gall his heart, be his case never so quiet. I, gentlewomen, am indifferent, for it may be that Philautus would not have his life known which he leadeth in marriage, nor Euphues his love descried which he beginneth in solitariness; lest either the one being too kind might be thought to dote, or the other too constant might be judged to be mad. But were the truth known I am sure, gentlewomen, it would be a hard question among ladies whether Philautus were a better wooer or a husband, whether Euphues were a better lover or a scholar. But let the one mark the other; I leave them both to confer at their next meeting; and commit you to the Almighty.

<sup>1</sup> *White salt into fine sugar*: compare p. 456, and note.

<sup>2</sup> *The Mount of Silixsedra*: perhaps a mere verbal invention, meaning 'seat of flint.' The fact that many of Marcus Aurelius' letters in the *Diall of Princes* are sent from 'Mount Celio' may have suggested a similarly-named place of retirement for Euphues.

<sup>3</sup> *To rub his head*: in allusion to the horns of the cuckold.

# INDEX

[The following Index is meant to refer to all important matters treated in the notes to the text. Sometimes the main treatment alone is referred to; but cross-references in the notes will enable the reader to find other mentions of the same subject. Proverbs are alphabetized either by their first word or by some leading word. Numbers indicate pages.]

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*Printed in Great Britain by*  
MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED  
*Edinburgh*





















